Durham University

Durham E-Theses

Cultural Capital and Habitus in Golf Consumption: Embedded Mechanisms of Transference

JAMES WILLIAM EDWARDS GLENN

How to cite:

GLENN, JAMES WILLIAM EDWARDS (2020) Cultural Capital and Habitus in Golf Consumption: Embedded Mechanisms of Transference. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 (CC BY)

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

James William Edwards Glenn

Cultural Capital and Habitus in Golf Consumption: Embedded Mechanisms of Transference

Abstract

This study looks to advance our understanding of the increasingly nuanced cultural capital, subcultural capital, and habitus in consumer research by exploring how individuals transfer dispositions of habitus and embodied forms of capital across field boundaries. Using an ethnographic and autoethnographic approach, the research examines how mechanisms of transference, embedded in the habitus and homogeneity between valorizing field structures, permit individuals to utilize aggregated forms of cultural and subcultural capital sculpted by the field of golf. Through participant observation, interviews, journals, and over two years of exhaustive golf performance, both in the Northeast of England and further abroad, the research illustrates how narratives of soft skills and emotional capital shape the dispositions of individuals acquired, developed, and complemented by significant secondary socialization. This research contributes to the existing consumer research and consumer culture theory by extending understandings and conceptualisations of marketplace cultures, particularly subcultures of sport, and how cultural resources and distinctive practices previously thought to be context-dependent might be transferred. Further, the research engages with the middle-class habitus to portray these dispositions with characteristics other of the normative exclusionary and marginalizing. Emergent themes of communication, patience, discipline, asceticism, and critical practice indicate elements of ubiquity in soft skills and emotional capital, highlighted by a varied participant demographic recognizing the value of these themes in other fields. By exploring these narratives of cultural and subcultural capital acquisition, development, and transference in the context of golf, the research also contributes to the conceptualization of sports consumption and its relationship with cultural capital; illustrating sport as a context through which cultural and subcultural capital can be acquired, developed, and augmented rather than contexts in which more traditional forms of capital are simply displayed.

Durham University
Business School

Cultural Capital and Habitus in Golf Consumption: Embedded Mechanisms of Transference

A Study of Consumer Access to the Mechanisms of Transference for Habitus and Cultural Capital in the Field of Golf

James William Edwards Glenn

Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Durham University Business School

2020

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction **15**

1.1 Introduction to the Study *16*

1.2 Thoughts on the Nature of Reality *16*

1.3 Theoretical Motivations: Cultural Capital and Consumption *17*

1.4 The Context of Sport (and Golf) *18*

1.5 Research Aims and Methodological Approach *21*

1.5.1 Introduction of Key Terms 21

1.5.2 Research Questions 21

1.6 Outline of the Thesis *22*

1.7 Terminology in the Thesis *23*

Chapter 2: Cultural Capital Literature Review **24**

2.1. Introduction *25*

2.2 Introducing Cultural Capital *25*

2.2.1 Distinction in Students: Emerging Division in Education and Student Performance 26

2.2.2 Distinguishing Difference as Class 29

2.2.4 Constructing the Field 33

2.2.5 Defining Cultural Capital 35

2.2.6 Expanding Cultural Capital and The Omnivore Thesis 37

2.2.7 The “Middle-Class” Habitus 38

2.2.8 Placing the Middle-Class in the Research 40

2.3 Transference of Cultural Capital *41*

2.4 Cultural Capital in the Consumer Research *42*

2.4.1 Bringing Bourdieu into Consumer Research 43

2.4.2 Cultural Capital and Consumer Lifestyle Research 44

2.4.3 Cultural Capital and Subcultures 46

2.4.3.1 The Nature of Subculture 46

2.4.3.2 Subcultural Capital 47

2.4.3.3 Authenticity in Subcultural Capital: The Cognitive and Corporeal Axes 49

2.4.3.4 Field-Dependent Capital 50

2.5 Deterritorialised Cultural Capital *50*

2.6 Conclusion *51*

Chapter 3: Sports Consumption Literature Review **53**

3.1 Introduction *54*

3.2 Introducing Consumption 54
3.2.1 Evolution of Consumption 55
3.3 Sports Consumption *57*
3.3.1 What is Sport? 57
3.3.2 The Nature and Value of Sport 58
3.3.2.1 The Sports Product 59
3.3.3 Sports Consumption 60
3.3.3.1 Conceptualising Sport Consumption 61
3.3.4 Forms of Sport Consumption and Consumers 62
3.3.4.1 Spectators and Spectating 62
3.3.4.2 Participation and Participants 62
3.3.4.3 The Consumer-Producer Nexus 63
3.4 Issues in Sport Consumption *65*
3.4.1 Consumer Motivations for Sports Consumption 67
3.4.2 Gender in Sports Consumption 68
3.5 Identity and Cultural Capital in Sport Consumption *72*
3.5.1 Identity in Sports Consumption 72
3.6 Fans and Fandom *74*
3.6.1 Sports Fans and Cultural Capital 75
3.7 Sports Consumption in Traditional Cultural Capital Contexts *77*
3.7.1 Outcomes of Sport Consumption in Education 77
3.7.2 Cultural Capital and Predicting Sports Consumption 79
3.8 Sports Consumption and Golf *80*
3.8.1 The Context of the Sport of Golf 80
3.8.2 Golf in the Sports Consumption Literature 81
3.8.3 Golf and Hegemonic Masculinity 83
3.8.4 Golf and Elitism 84
3.8.5 Golf Consumption as Subculture 85
3.9 The Field of Golf *86*
3.9.1 Boundaries of the Field 86
3.9.2 Structure of the Field 87
3.10 Homology and Capital Transference *88*
3.11 Conclusion *89*
Chapter 4: Methodology **92**

4.1 Introduction *93*
4.2 Ontological and Epistemological Individuality *93*
4.3 Ethnographic Approach *95*
4.3.1 Introduction to Ethnography 95
4.3.2 Origins of Ethnography 96
4.3.3 Ethnography in Consumer Research 97
4.3.4 Value, Validity, and Criticisms of the Native Participant Researcher 99
4.4 Research Questions *100*
4.5 Methods in the Study *101*
4.5.1 Complete Participation 101
4.5.2 Autoethnography and Subjective Personal Introspection 104
4.5.3 Interviews 105
4.5.4 Reflexive Journals and Diaries 107
4.6 Phases of Fieldwork *108*
4.6.1 Getting In (Access) 108
4.6.2 Getting On 110
4.7 Data Analysis *112*
4.7.1 Transcription and Readings 112
4.7.2 Thematic Analysis and Coding 113
4.8 Ethical Considerations *114*
4.9 Methodological Limitations *114*
4.10 Conclusion *115*
Chapter 5: Data Set **116**
5.1 Introduction *117*
5.2 Semi-Private Clubs *117*
5.2.1 Club A 117
5.2.1.1 The Club Summary 117
5.2.1.2 Club A Participants 119
5.2.1.3 Club A Participants Summary Table 1 120
5.2.2 Club B 120
5.2.2.1 The Club Summary 120
5.2.2.2 Club B Participants 121
5.2.2.3 Club B Participants Summary Table 2 122
5.3 The University Clubs *123*

5.3.1 The Clubs Summary 123
5.3.2 University Participants 124
5.3.2.1 University Clubs Participant Summary Table 3 124
5.3.3 Participant Recruitment *126*
5.4 My Golf Experiences *127*
5.4.1 Social Golf 127
5.4.2 Tournament Golf 127
5.5 Conclusion and Structure of Findings *128*
Chapter 6: Translating the Habitus and Forms of Cultural Capital in the Field of Golf **129**
6.1 Introduction *130*
6.2 Habitus of Golf *131*
6.2.1 The Nature of Golf Habitus 131
6.2.2 Introduction to Etiquette 132
6.2.3 Cognitive and Corporeal Dispositions 133
6.2.3.1 Cognitive Elements of Habitus 134
6.2.3.2 Blending Elements of Habitus 136
6.2.3.3 Corporeal Elements of Habitus 138
6.2.4 Summary of Golf Etiquette 141
6.2.4.1 Tee Box and Fairway 141
6.2.4.2 The Green 142
6.3 Cultural and Subcultural Capital in Golf *142*
6.3.1 Embodied Subcultural Capital 143
6.3.1.1 Taste in Golf 144
6.3.2 Playing Skills in Golf 149
6.3.2.1 The Golf Swing 149
6.3.2.2 The Function of the Swing 151
6.3.2.3 Putting 152
6.3.2.4 Knowledge and Course Management 153
6.3.3 Other Forms of Cultural Capital in Golf 156
6.3.3.1 Objectified Cultural Capital 156
6.3.3.2 Institutionalised Subcultural Capital 157
6.4 Conclusion *161*
Chapter 7: Communication in Golf **163**
7.1 Introduction *164*
7.2 Communication in Golf *164*

7.2.1 Setting the Stage 164
7.2.2 Verbal and Cultural Discourse 165
7.3 Transference into Other Fields *170*
7.3.1 Extraction 170
7.3.1.1 The Universal Language 172
7.3.2 Application 174
7.3.3 Fields and Exhaustion 177
7.4 Conclusion *178*
Chapter 8: Discipline, Patience, and Asceticism **181**
8.1 Introduction *182*
8.2 Patience in Golf *184*
8.2.1. Patience, Needed 184
8.2.2 Patience, Learned 188
8.2.3 Circumventing Patience? The Natural or the Neophyte 189
8.3 Discipline in Golf *192*
8.3.1 Emotional and Physical Control 192
8.4 If You Don't Win, You Learn—Asceticism in Golf *195*
8.4.1 Sacrifice in Golf Consumption 201
8.5 Patience and Discipline in other Fields *203*
8.5.1 Patience in Education—Teachers 205
8.5.2 Discipline in Education—Students 207
8.5.3 Patience in Non-Educational Fields 212
8.5.4 Emotional Discipline in Other Fields 214
8.6 Linking Patience, Discipline, and Asceticism to the Middle-Class *219*
8.7 Conclusion *220*
Chapter 9: Critical Interactions and Readings in Golf **221**
9.1 Introduction *222*
9.2 Critical Interactions and Readings in Golf: Setting a Critical Stage *222*
9.3 Strike vs Score *226*
9.3.1 Playing Golf, or Hitting the Ball? 228
9.4 To the Player, The Brand? All the Gear and No Idea *230*
9.5 Golf, Critically Demographic *233*
9.5.1 Gendered Practices 234
9.5.1.1 An Alternative Performance 234

9.5.1.2 Feeling Like the Outsider 236
9.5.1.3 A Mother's Guilt 239
9.5.1.4 Age 241
9.6 Critical Consumption and Reflexivity in Transference *243*
Chapter 10: Discussion and a Metaphor for Mechanisms of Transference **246**
10.1 Introduction *247*
10.2 Defining 'Mechanism' *247*
10.3 Metaphor as a Vehicle *248*
10.4 The Metaphorical Golf Course *250*
10.5 The Golfer *251*
10.5.1 Cultural Capital as the Golf Swing 251
10.5.2 Habitus as Clubs 252
10.5.3 The Grip 253
10.5.4 Course-Management and Critical Decision-Making 254
10.6 Summarising the Metaphor *256*
10.7 Discussion *256*
10.7.1 Structural and Habitus Homogeneity 258
10.7.2 Embodied Capital Composition and Field-Dependence 259
10.7.3 Mechanisms of Transference (and the Middle-Class Habitus) 260
10.7.4 Sport as a site for Cultural Capital Development 263
Chapter 11: Conclusion **264**
11.1 Introduction *265*
11.2 Exploration of the Research Questions *265*
11.2.1 What are the mechanisms of transference? 265
11.2.2 How does the structure of a field guide the elementary acquisition, aggregation, and characteristics of cultural capital resources in consumption practices? 266
11.2.3 How do individuals take their aggregated cultural and subcultural capital resources and use them across field boundaries? 267
11.3 Broader Contributions of the Study *268*
11.4 Managerial Implications *271*
11.5 Future Research *273*
References **276**
APPENDIX A: A Life Shaped by Golf **301**

1.0 Introduction to Golf *301*
1.1 Sweet Beginnings *301*
1.2 Smacked in the Head *301*
2.0 High School Golf *302*
2.1 First Year at Seneca *302*
2.2 Sophomore Season *302*
2.3 South Carolina Junior Amateur, 2005 *303*
2.4 Dick Paschal *304*
2.4.1 A Reflection 304
2.5 Disappointment, Burnout, and Soccer. *305*
3.0 Clemson to Sam Houston State *305*
3.1 Clemson, Physics BSc. *305*
3.2 A Year in PGM *307*
3.3 From Clemson to JuCo *308*
3.4 Two Years at TJC *312*
3.4.1 The 2008-2009 Season 312
3.4.2 Summer of 2009 313
3.4.3 The 2009-2010 Season 314
3.4.4 The Summer of 2010 315
3.5 Two Years at Sam Houston *316*
3.5.1 Junior Year at Sam Houston State University 316
3.5.2 Senior Year at Sam Houston State 318
4.0 Lost and Confused in Texas *320*
4.1 Caddying Where the Pines Whisper *320*
4.2 Midtown to Montrose, Ferguson. *322*
4.3 Leaving Houston *323*
4.3.1 The U.S. Pub Links 324
5.0 Back to Tyler *324*
5.1 Vu-Ryte from Wrong *324*
5.2 New Swing Coach *326*
5.3 Failure to Launch *327*
6.0 MSc at University A *328*
6.1 Economics to Marketing *328*
6.2 Golf in the U.K. – an Introduction *330*

6.3 UAGC Year 1 *331*
6.4 Club A Scratch Team *332*
6.5 The Lytham Trophy, 2015 *333*
6.5 Summer of 2015 – Tyler, Texas. *334*
7.0 Ph.D. in Sport and Consumer Culture *336*
7.1 UAGC Year 2 *336*
7.2 Individual Golf in 2015-2016 *337*
7.3 Club B *338*
7.4 County Golf *339*
7.5 Heartbreak, Elation, and Peru *340*
7.6 Golf on the Honeymoon *341*
8.0 The 2017-2018 Season *342*
8.1 BUCS Golf *342*
8.2 2017-2018 County Golf *342*
8.3 Leaving Club A *342*
8.4 The Ganton Incident *343*
8.5 Winning BUCS *344*
9.0 My Cultural Capital *345*
9.1 Introduction *345*
9.2 Who Am I – Education *346*
9.3 Who Am I – Taste *347*
9.3.1 Music 347
9.3.2 Food *348*
9.3.3 Golf *349*
9.4 Evolution of Cultural Capital *350*
9.4.1 Childhood 350
9.4.2 Golf 353
9.4.3 Critical Decisions 354
10.0 Golf In The Field *355*
10.1 Tournament Golf 2017 *355*
10.1.1 The R&A Foundation Scholars Tournament, April 2017 355
10.1.2 The 2016-2017 BUCS Finals, April 2017 357
10.1.3 Campeonato Aficionados Manuel Prado, April 2017 359
10.1.4 The Lytham Trophy, May 2017 364

10.1.5 Irish Open Amateur, May 2017 366
10.1.6 Scottish Open Amateur, June 2017 368

Appendix B: Participant Descriptions 372
A2.1 Club A Participants 372
A2.2 Club B Participants 375
A2.3 University Participants 378

Appendix C: Sample Field Notes 384

Appendix D: Sample Interview 386

List of Tables

Table No.	Title	
1	Club A Participants Summary Table	105
2	Club B Participants Summary Table	107
3	University Clubs Participants Summary Table	110

Statement of Copyright

"The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged."

Acknowledgements

Dr. Gretchen Larsen, Dr. Mariann Hardey, and Dr. Mona Moufahim for your incredibly patient guidance and kind supervision.

My wife, Amanda, for your loving support and unfaltering encouragement.

My Friends and Family who both tolerated and buoyed me.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Study

This research aims to explore the transference of cultural capital through the contextual lens of golf consumption. Thus, this chapter introduces the study and outlines my perception of reality, theoretical motivations, methodological stance, the context, and contributions of the forthcoming inquiry to the sports consumption and consumer research disciplines. I commence with a discussion of the state of current knowledge involving cultural capital in consumer research and sport consumption. This is followed by a presentation and argument for the research context of the study, looking at how the structural framework of golf and its subculture provides a fertile research environment for the investigation of cultural capital transference phenomena. After arguing for the context, the chapter reviews the methodological approach, including my epistemological and ontological stances, of the research. Then the research aims are outlined with an overview of the subsequent thesis chapters, as the introduction chapter concludes with a brief discussion of how my journey to achieving status as an elite golfer led to this thesis.

1.2 Thoughts on the Nature of Reality

I do not believe that a singular reality, a singular metaphorical stage upon which all individuals and consumers are players, exists. Rather, I endure that to each individual their reality is uniquely their own; players on a stage and a production of their own design. We construct these stages and write these productions with the cultural and social tools available to us, through complex processes by which we make decisions, participate, pursue, and piece together increasingly fragmented identity projects in an increasingly consumption-driven existence (Firat and Venkatesh; Gabriel and Lang, 2006; Cornelissen, 2016). In building these realities, we consume; anywhere we exist, we consume (Gabriel and Lang, 2006). Individual realities exist both against and within consumer society, mediating the actions and interactions of anyone who dares to employ a marketplace in pursuing their own means (Belk, 1988; Holt and Schor, 2011). We consume in pursuit of meaning, emotion, and experience (Hirshman and Holbrook, 1982), achievement (Crawford, 2004), and self-actualisation (McDonald et al., 2002). Pursuit of these ends often requires active participation and consumption in various, differing cultural arenas; each cultural arena therefore requiring disparate resources to achieve these means (Graeber, 2011; Cornelissen, 2016). These cultural resources manifest in the form of taste, behaviours, knowledge, dispositions, and signals that both vary between spheres and work to place and distinguish individuals within them (Bourdieu, 1984). Additionally, participation and consumption in cultural spheres requires appropriate blends of these capital resources; economic, social, and cultural (Bourdieu, 19984). Construction of individual realities that resonate with our identities,

then, involves consumption in a delicate combination of cultural spheres that may at times, on the surface, have little in common. How then are we supposed to reconcile consumption across a spectrum of cultural spheres with, likely, little in common and demanding different sets resources?

1.3 Theoretical Motivations: Cultural Capital and Consumption

The cultural resources, then, that we use to participate and consume in these various cultural spheres that make up our constructed realities act as a form of capital (Bourdieu, 1978; 1986). A generic form of cultural capital, acquired through formal education and primary socialization in elite or bourgeois cultures, works to stratify individuals in broader sociocultural structures (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Holt, 2010). These forms of generic cultural capital are understood to influence the general ideational consumption practices of consumers and attitudes across the variety of cultural spheres (Holt, 1998) but less the particular cultural activities in which they are invested in everyday consumption. A form of capital related to how we actually spend our days as consumers is therefore particularly important in our reality construction and pursuit of meaning, as we are noted to participate in an incredible number of these cultural spheres; pockets of society structured around common beliefs, interests and values (Solomon, 2004). Subcultural capital, however, is acquired in these particular consumption activities and are understood to have little purchase outside the specific cultural and contextual structures giving them value (Kozinets, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; McAlexander et al., 2014). Through the display of both generic cultural and subcultural capital resources, we classify ourselves in the sociocultural spaces making up our realities. Contentious as it may be, it is through these stratifying classificatory practices that many sociological and consumer research theoretical insights are drawn; the tastes and preferences of the 'dominant' classes determine aspirations and aversions of those in 'subordinate' positions (Bourdieu, 1984; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). However, individuals may only be 'subordinate' or 'dominated' in their capital resources through birth and or some other arbitrary sociodemographic determinant, rendering the tastes and preferences of those born into wealth or capital a source of disdain (Thornton, 1996; Fiske, 1989). These stratifying practices are furthermore contentious as Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural capital, largely inherited from family and acquired in formal schooling, essentially locks consumers and individuals into predisposed habits and preferences, perpetually striating individuals into these classes. One reason we may struggle in our pursuit of achievement is that participating in so many cultural activities can engender resources which are limited to the boundaries of that activity (Solomon, 2004), leaving us with a 'bundle' of dispositions that must

be plucked and employed depending on which cultural sphere we participate in at the time (Cornelissen, 2016).

There are individuals, however, who buck these trends and systems of predictability. For example, student-athletes can operationalize the cultural capital developed from sporting endeavours to realise formal education opportunities beyond the restrictions of their sociodemographic trajectory (Kaufman and Gabler, 2004); the discipline, patience, cooperative and leadership skills acquired in sport then provide further employment and earning opportunities (Henderson et al., 2006). These mechanisms would also be visible elsewhere, such as professionals changing industries or retraining, provided the desired capital mirrors those acquired previously. As a student, my experience as a varsity golfer on scholarship, and regularly competing, at Sam Houston State University translated directly into an enhanced employment track opportunity at Ferguson Enterprises, Inc. shortly after my studies came to an end. Ferguson Enterprises, Inc. is a plumbing, HVAC, and building supply magnate in the United States, and I recall learning very little about plumbing and heating during my time as a collegiate golfer earning a Bachelors in Business Administration.

1.4 The Context of Sport (and Golf)

The context of sports consumption is a particularly relevant lens through which to study the cultural and subcultural capital phenomena for several reasons. Firstly, sports possess an autonomous chronology to the broader societies they are embedded in (Bourdieu, 1978); they evolve and develop according to their own timelines separate from the mainstream or wider cultural influence, meaning they are devoid of much of the traditional class stratification laid over the history of other consumption activities (Bourdieu, 1984). Secondly, sports provide a means for individuals to pursue identity and reality construction projects regardless of their sociodemographic background or levels of endowed cultural capital. For example, fandom and fan communities organize around the acquisition of cultural resources that perform inclusive functions rather than exclusive (Kozinets, 2001; Hills, 2002; Richardson and Turley, 2006); there are still exclusive practices, such as the ostracizing of 'barstool' fans by those more devoted, though these mirror other subcultural practices like Indie Consumers in identity protection (Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Generally, sports subcultures behave similarly to other cultural spheres with regards to cultural capital. Generic cultural capital, once again education and occupation, similarly stratify sports consumers according to their preferred sports and consumption practices; the same ideational delineations exist between individuals with high and low cultural capital

(Stempel, 2005; Kahma, 2012). With regards to subcultural capital, sports fans similarly develop their own systems of capital and status hierarchies with the resources they have access to achieve their own forms of distinction they are sometimes denied in the mainstream or popular spheres (Richardson and Turley, 2006). Finally, sports permeate modern society, and its plethora of cultural spheres and subcultural spheres, almost entirely (Crawford, 2004; Kahle and Close, 2010; Smart, 2018). Rather than the arts, used as a lens for cultural capital research by marketing and sociological scholars in the 90s and 2000s (e.g. Halle, 1996; Erickson, 1996; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Prieur and Savage, 2011) in which participation has *substantially* declined, sports participation and consumption remains high across almost all cultures (Greyser, 2011). There were, for instance, 59 million golfers globally in 2015 (Hallman and Wicker, 2015). Sports is in fact "the lingua of the 21st Century workplaces and gathering spots" (Greyser, 2011: xiii) and a "universal language" that binds communities together (Beutler, 2008); It's role in community development and the provision of identity is well-documented (e.g. Celsi et al., 1993; Green, 2001; Beverland and Farrelly, 2010; Jones, 2017).

With regards to golf, the particular context of this research, its relevance and suitability for this study are undeniable. Firstly, an investigation into the subculture of golf is not an exercise in the niche or the irrelevant; in the United States alone, 24.2 million people played golf in 2018 (Wearegolf.com, Statista, 2018). Golf is a popular sport, certainly, but also tends to have "achievement" and "skill mastery" as the strongest motivators (McDonald et al.,2002), linking strongly to self-actualising ideational practices which are usually characteristic of high cultural capital individuals (Holt, 1998). Golf also became the object of industrial revolution distinction, whence the English appropriated the sport from the Scottish and turned the once jovial gambling endeavor into a reserved and exclusive networking pastime (Green, 1987). Regretfully, golf therefore has several mentions in the literature as a bastion of exclusivity and elitism (e.g. Bourdieu, 1978; 1984; Erickson, 1996; Putnam, 2000; Lareau, 2002; Andrews, 2011). Of course, some of the most exclusive, chauvinistic, misogynistic, and elitist clubs in the world belong to the broader culture of golf; clubs such as Augusta National, Pine Valley, and Muirfield have only recently decided to tolerate the presence of women. Private clubs in Mexico City still relegate women to a handful of times during the middle of the day, in addition to disguising their clubs from the outside world to prevent unwanted attention (Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2019). Yet, the game of golf itself privileges no one (McGinnis et al., 2005), and can provide a rich, complex interactional environment exposing individuals of all backgrounds to each other when not engaged in one of the more exclusive clubs. Golf is also a subculture, organized around a formal set of rules and

etiquette grounded in the habitus of the elite and the bourgeois (Green, 1987); exclusivity is not an integral part of the game of golf, but this particular subcultural formation provides an opportunity to examine cultural capital development and transference when other classes openly appropriate the extant cultural elements of the dominant class habitus.

This research looks to extend cultural and subcultural capital theory through conceptualizing the transference of these capital resources, often understood to be relatively field-dependent or contextually specific to their respective sociocultural spaces, with emergent themes of structural homogeneity and compositional characteristics of embodied forms of these capitals. I also empirically and theoretically contribute to Consumer Culture Theory, in exploring sociodemographically heterogeneous consumers in a 'marketplace culture' (Arnould and Thompson, 2005) that critically and reflexively embrace dispositions of the dominant middle-class to advance their status and achievements in other consumption fields. In doing so, this research investigates the social elements influencing and shaping consumer "lifeworlds" not part of "ordinary" consumption practices, often glossed over by much of the CCT literature (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). Additionally, this study illustrates how consumers engage with a bundle of dispositions to consume and participate in a network of interconnected subcultures and social systems (Cornelissen, 2016; Arnould and Thompson, 2015). Further, the research contributes to our understanding of middle-class habitus, illustrating nuance beyond the exclusionary and marginalizing, in how soft skills (Weinberger et al., 2017) and emotional capital (Zembylas, 2007; Cappellini et al., 2014) can act as mechanisms of cultural and subcultural capital transference—acquired by individuals in sociocultural environments beyond those of their *primary* socialisation (discussed in Chapter 2). Thus, the research helps realise the value of Bourdieu's theories, not for division and social class analysis, but in the knowledge gained from a deeper understanding of practice and habitus (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). Research on the mechanisms of cultural capital transference can add to understandings of how cultural capital functions as social background (Holt, 1998), the workings of operationalized cultural capital in different and multiple areas of consumption, and the transcendence of consumers above institutionalized, structured, and gendered disadvantage (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Humphreys, 2011). Specifically, though, this research looks to explore how consumers can aggregate cultural capital to function across structural sociocultural boundaries in light of increasingly fragmented lifestyles (Holt, 1997; 1998). This then looks to extend the theory of cultural capital and the notion of field-specificity of its various forms, i.e. the value of cultural resources being locked to the cultural arena of their acquisition (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.5 for exploration of the concept of 'field').

1.5 Research Aims and Methodological Approach

1.5.1 Introduction of Key Terms

The chapter now briefly introduces the key terms *field, structure, habitus,* and *subculture,* invoked both in the study thus far and the subsequent guiding research questions for theoretical clarification. *Field* broadly refers to aforementioned sociocultural arenas and spheres in which individuals compete for status in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1986; Holt, 1998); status being attained through displaying familiarity with and knowledge of the social and cultural rules and customs for behaviour within these arenas (i.e. cultural capital). *Structure* and *structure of the field* refer to the manner in which the hierarchy of sociocultural arenas organise meaningful relationships and interactions around these rules and customs; the study refrains from using the term *structure* with any particular implication towards the structure-agency argument for individual consumers acting within these fields. *Habitus* is the internalisation of systems of value and capital that determine placement along the social hierarchy of a field, and specifically refers to an individual's familiarity with these systems and how their behaviours display that familiarity. *Subculture*, then, refers to fields structured around forms of capital often set apart from those of mainstream sociocultural arenas.

1.5.2 Research Questions

This research looks to explore the mechanisms through which individuals transfer their cultural capital resources across the boundaries of the cultural and consumption fields in which they participate. The study, therefore, aims to understand what characteristics cultural capital may take that then facilitates transference; it investigates the processes and mechanisms through which consumers aggregate, transfer, and deploy cultural capital resources across field boundaries. As such, these main research questions guide the research.

1. How does the habitus of a field, i.e. the subculture of golf, guide the elementary acquisition and aggregation of cultural capital resources in consumption practices?
2. How does the structure of the field, i.e. the subculture of golf, influence the characteristics of these cultural capital resources?
3. How do individuals take their aggregated cultural capital resources and use them across field boundaries?
4. What are these "mechanisms of transference?"

The above questions are exploratory in design, allowing for a nuanced and rich interpretive approach to individual narratives and experiences (Belk et al., 2013). These questions and their interpretive structure allow me to utilize my extensive knowledge and status in the field of golf. The research leans on full-participant ethnography, required to facilitate natural collection of data in the context given my past and present consumption patterns (Krane and Baird, 2005; Smith and Sparkes, 2005). Additionally, an autoethnograhic complement, in the form of recollections, vignettes, and journals, augments the data through layering the researcher's own experiences amongst the narratives of the participants. The methodological approach of the thesis, through ethnographic and autoethnographic methods, permits a more in-depth and satisfactory exploration of the "consumer lifeworlds" beyond the rational and irrational (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011) and a deeper investigation of how subcultural networks influence the development and formation of consumption behaviours grounded in common lifestyle and leisure interests (Cova, 1997; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Arnould and Thompson, 2005). This study digs into the dynamics of cultural fluidity and the "intermingling or hybridization of consumption traditions and ways of life" (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 869), where much of the Consumer Culture Theory literature may offer little more than a customary glossing-over of these phenomena (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011; Arnould and Thompson, 2015).

1.6 Outline of the Thesis

After this introductory chapter, the thesis continues with two literature reviews. The first review explores the origins of cultural capital, its development, and subsequent uses in the consumer research. A second literature review chapter examines sports consumption; first defining consumption, defining sport, then working through salient issues in the sports consumption literature to place the research, finally defining the field of golf through extant literature. Following the literature reviews, a methodology chapter discusses my epistemological and ontological positions, the ethnographic and autoethnographic approach, and a review of the particular methods employed. A subsequent data set chapter outlines the locations of study and data collection, along with tables for participants involved in the research and my own personal golf experiences that have been incorporated into the larger data set. Prior to the Analysis chapters, a Field of Golf chapter illustrates and explains the structure and habitus of the field of golf; how various forms of cultural capital, i.e. embodied, objectified, and institutionalized, manifest in the field of golf.

Analysis chapters investigate and explore the consumption practices and forms of cultural capital

those participating in golf acquire; set into three chapters focusing on the main emergent themes illustrating the mechanisms of transference for those cultural capital resources. The Communications chapter discusses the common communicative processes in the field and how individuals take these learned skills and resources into other fields. The Discipline, Patience, and Asceticism chapter looks into the ascetic and bodily practices of the golfers in the study, drawing on some of the binaries of Holt (1998) in analysis of necessary consumption practices for achieving higher cultural capital and status. A Critical Interactions and Readings chapter aims to understand how critical interactions in the field of golf prepares individuals for accelerated status and consumption achievements in other fields.

This thesis concludes with a discussion chapter, linking the mechanisms of transference together and making sense of the processes of transference though a metaphor of a golfer playing a golf course. This mechanisms chapter employs the notion that the consumer is a golfer, playing a course of their own design based on their cultural and subcultural field cluster, using their cultural capital as a swing and the mechanisms of transference to facilitate performance and status attainment in the fields making up their course. The use of a golf course represents the necessarily homologous structures of habitus between various consumption fields that therefore permit and facilitate the transference of capital.

1.7 Terminology in the Thesis

Throughout this thesis, individuals both in the literature and in the study itself, are referred to with regards to their cultural capital resources and sociodemographic backgrounds. These identifiers, such as “upper-class” and “working-class,” take root in the work of Bourdieu (1984) and are evidenced in consumer research (e.g. Üstüner and Holt, 2010). Holt (1998) provides a classificatory system in his work for short-handing individual cultural capital levels by percentile. Individuals in the top quartile for cultural capital are thus HCC, whereas individuals in the bottom quartile are referred to as LCC, again evidenced in other works in consumer research (e.g. Kates, 2002; Üstüner and Holt, 2007).

Chapter 2: Cultural Capital Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This research explores cultural capital transference in sports consumption through the context of golf. Cultural capital is the central theoretical pillar of this thesis, particularly the nuanced forms in which it manifests and the mechanisms of its transference evident in these nuanced forms. Sports consumption literature, examined in the following literature review chapter, provides an appropriate contextual lens through which to examine the contribution of this thesis; the framework of the study employs a critically underused context, golf, rich with embedded power relations (Humphreys, 2011; Rankin et al., 2017) and gendered, class-based dynamics central to cultural capital theory (Bourdieu, 1984). This chapter, therefore, first introduces the concept of cultural capital, exploring its origins and how the sociological and consumer research literature use and develop the concept. Then, in the following chapter, relevant issues in sports consumption literature are examined with cultural capital and golf.

2.2 Introducing Cultural Capital

The concept of cultural capital, at its core, deals with distinction in the social spaces making up individuals' realities. Cultural capital at a basic level is the collective tastes, preferences, knowledge, skills, and behaviours that individuals enact and deploy to assert their position and communicate their status to others who consume similar activities, within the same communities, or in the same cultural spaces (Bourdieu, 1984; Lamont and Lareau, 1988; Prieur and Savage, 2011). Individuals may use these tastes, preferences, skills, knowledge, and behaviours to exclude and ostracise individuals who do not possess or share them (Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) coined the term 'cultural capital' in *Reproduction*, a dense examination of the relationship between educational achievement, environments of cultural socialization, and the reproduction of social class. Bourdieu (1984) then unpacks the concept in *Distinction* in a thorough exploration of the relationship between music taste, dining practices, sports participation, and arts preferences. Bourdieu (1984) concludes that the tastes and preferences of the elite or bourgeois for 'legitimate' culture, along with their ability to appreciate their tastes 'correctly,' helps to maintain stratification and positioning of the classes in society. The concept significantly develops from the seminal work of Bourdieu to include tangential and contrasting theories, namely Omnivorism (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996), which the review acknowledges later (see Section 2.2.8). To begin, the origins of the concepts behind cultural capital are reviewed in order to draw out the centrality of learned behaviours and preferences in shaping the social standing and achievements of individuals in the cultural environment.

2.2.1 Distinction in Students: Emerging Division in Education and Student Performance

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) coin the term 'cultural capital' in *Reproduction,* as noted in the previous section, their study of social reproduction embedded in the educational systems. They define cultural capital as: the social distinction based on knowledge, preferences, behaviours, and cultural tastes. However, this concept emerges from mid-20th century educational literature on the relationship between educational performance and students' familial backgrounds. While this section of the review explores the early and foundational studies paving the way for later developments of the cultural capital concept, a recent quote illustrates that this principle still holds exceptional purchase in today's society:

> *Rich thick kids do better than poor clever children when they arrive at school [and] the situation as they go through gets worse. Schools should really be engines of social mobility to overcome the disadvantages of birth but, unfortunately, despite the best efforts of many, many people, the situation gets worse.*
> *(Michael Gove, Secretary of State for Education 2010-2014, Evidence to Commons Education Select Committee, 27 July 2010) (Hill and Lai, 2016)*

Years' before Gove's accurate but emotionally vacant quote, scholars explored the relationship between social status and ability in the classroom, testing "a hypothesis that high family social position corresponds to high ability" (Havighurst and Janke, 1944: 365). In a Midwestern USA town, Havighurst and Janke (1944; 1945) administer several standardised tests to all the ten-year-olds in the school system; reading, writing, and verbal intelligence for all along with a Minnesota Mechanical Assembly Test for boys and a Chicago Assembly Test for girls. The Minnesota test included identification and proper use of nuts, bolts, clamps, monkey wrenches, spark plugs, and pliers while the Chicago test included assembling strings of beads, cabinet doorknobs, identifying sewing tools, and weaving; an early precedent of gendered discrepancy thus appears in cultural capital. Havighurst and Janke (1944; 1945) classified the children into five groups of class based on superficial demographic characteristics. Group A comprised of wealthy, landed-families living in the town for several generations or newcomers that are owners and managers of large industries. These families in Group A lived in the best houses on one side of town. Group B comprised mostly professional families, industry officials, and businessmen with higher than average incomes that were 'community leaders' (Havighurst and Janke, 1944: 359). Group C contained small business owners, lesser professionals, and other white-collar workers that made up the bulk of community groups and organisations. Group D, the largest of the classes, included those with small incomes and living in poorer parts of town. The final group, Group E, contained

members with poor community reputations described as ‘dirty,’ ‘shiftless,’ and ‘dishonest,’ while being “river rats” and thinking they are “just as good as anyone else” (Havighurst and Janke, 1944: 360). Interestingly, the authors make only cursory remarks to the educational qualifications of each class; i.e. ‘a good deal of education’ or ‘more than a high school diploma.’ Thus, student’s social status is mostly determined by their family wealth and occupations.

Havighurst and Janke (1944) note a discrepancy in the academic performance of students by their social status; students from higher status families scored higher on the exams than students from lower status families. While convincing, the results were far from conclusive given that “some of the lower-class children and some of the rural children were definitely superior in ability” (Havighurst and Janke, 1944: 368). The authors feel the results confirm earlier studies “of the relation of ability to socio-economic status” (1944: 365). In 1945, they repeat the study with sixteen-year-olds and find the same pattern in higher status students outperforming lower class students on standardized exams. The lone exemption to the pattern, however, was that lower-class students scored higher on the mechanical aptitude tests than higher status students; likely, Havighurst and Janke (1945: 508) say, because “lower-class boys probably spend relatively more time at work or at play with tools and other mechanical devices.” The superior proficiency in mechanical aptitude of lower-status students provides a spark for the transference of cultural capital, which is explored later in relation to cultural capital in sports consumption (see Section 3.8 with Gemar, 2018) and homologous structures in fields (see Section 2.3 with Desmond, 2006, and Gayo-Cal, Savage, and Warde, 2006).

Seeing that educational attainment and 1940s socio-economic status descriptions correlate, Hieronymous (1951) tested whether educational expectation also correlates with socio-economic status. He finds a strong connection between the social status of an individual and their educational aspirations or expectations, and similarly their views regarding the utility of education. Higher status individuals believe an education is essential and are more likely to pursue formal degrees in their socioeconomic ambitions, while lower status students neither see the value in formal education nor believe they can attain the qualifications. Such a discrepancy in ambition and aspiration, while in a disparate cultural context to the studies Bourdieu (1978; 1984; 1986) is yet to conduct, lays an early blueprint for the understanding of social reproduction and stratification through education.

Building further on these studies, Becker (1952) takes to examining educational discrepancy

amongst students from different classes from the perspective of teachers in Chicago. While Chicago is a metropolitan area, unlike Havighurst and Janke's (1944; 1945) towns of ten thousand people, one can safely assume the data is not substantially different given the firm placement of both locations in the Midwestern United States. However, Becker (1952) does not specifically set out to discover teachers' feelings towards social class differences between students but rather he orients his questions around the problems of being a teacher. Teachers identify three distinct "stratum" which their students come from: "a bottom stratum, probably equivalent to the lower-lower and upper-lower class; an upper stratum, probably equivalent to the upper-middle class; and a middle stratum, probably equivalent to the lower-middle and parts of the upper-lower class" (Becker, 1952: 452). These classifications come from the teachers' own descriptions rather than any accepted sociological terminology of the time. Teachers describe the lower-class students being difficult to motivate, disrespectful, and unwilling to please the teacher merely because the system tells them to do so. An overtly classist tone lingers over one interview response, where one teacher states:

> *"[O]ur educational system, which next to the family is the most effective agency in teaching good work habits to middle class people, is largely **ineffective** and **unrealistic** with underprivileged groups. Education fails to motivate such workers because our schools and our society both lack **real rewards** to offer underprivileged groups. Neither lower class children or adults will work hard in school or on the job **just to please** the teacher or boss."*
> *(Becker, 1952: 453-454)(Emphasis added by the researcher)*

Another teacher follows up with:

> *"They don't have the right kind of study habits. They can't seem to apply themselves as well. Of course, it's not their fault; they aren't brought up right. After all, the parents in a neighbourhood like that aren't really interested…"*
> *(Becker, 1952: 454)*

While critical of the background, rather than the student, some teachers do not hide what appears to be hints of their own disinterest in attempting to connect with the lower status or lower-class students. This disinterest is implicitly clear both above, when noting that "lower-class children or adults" won't work hard to please teachers or bosses, and when one another teacher states "They go places and they see things… You bring something up and a child says, 'Oh, my parents took me to see that in a museum.' You can just do more with material like that" (Becker, 1952: 454). Broadly, the interviews and data presented by the researcher and teachers both propose that upper-class children are easier to work with and more readily attentive in the

classroom. Becker concludes his study stating, firmly, that there are some cultures and lifestyles than produce children with whom teachers cannot work effectively, stating that it is "impossible" for teachers to work with lower-class students (Becker, 1952: 464). A careful reading of the interview excerpts Becker uses reveals that regardless of whether teachers describe upper or lower-class students, they imply it is the culture at home that influences the students' performance in their classroom.

These researchers had not yet specifically referred to these abstract cultural advantages as a resource and not explicitly used the term 'cultural capital.' Yet, these studies convey an understanding of some cultural influence to account for these disparate achievements in education; influences in the home environment were promoting the success of middle-and-upper class students in their scholastic endeavours and hindering the lower-and-working classes. Hieronymous (1951: 193) posits "American education is selective by social class," and Becker (1952) explicitly acknowledges, as do his teachers, that schools favoured students from middle-and-upper class backgrounds.

2.2.2 Distinguishing Difference as Class

The recognition of status influences on student performance in the classroom hints at the presence of some abstract form of capital, as students from higher status backgrounds possess it in ways that enabled them to perform better in school. In 1977, Bourdieu and Passeron published *Reproduction*, and termed this cultural advantage of the upper class 'cultural capital.' Their work is an exceptionally dense exposition on how educational hierarchy reproduces and reinforces social hierarchy. *Reproduction* (1977) illustrates that the culture of the elite, or bourgeois, mirrors that of the classroom, therefore clarifying the earlier arguments of Havighurst and Janke (1944, 1945), Hieronymus (1951), and Becker (1952). Children of the upper class are better equipped to succeed in the classroom because they grow up, metaphorically, in the classroom. Relationships with parents and authority figures not only reflect the student-teacher relationship, but encourage for example reading and listening to classical music. Growing up in an upper-class home enculturates a child to the classroom, whereas those children with lower-class backgrounds have to learn this culture in the classroom itself, alongside any academic material (Bourdieu, 1974).

Transporting cultural capital from the realm of education, Bourdieu (1984) argues that it has a broader sociological influence in his seminal text *Distinction.* Bourdieu unpacks the concept as the

collective tastes, preferences, knowledge, and skills that individuals use to place themselves in the social spaces where they participate. At the outset of *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984: 3) defines taste and preferences as *one of the most vital stakes in the struggles fought in the field of the dominant class and the field of cultural production. This is not only because the judgment of taste is the supreme manifestation of the discernment which, by reconciling reason and sensibility, the pedant who understands without feeling and the 'mondain' who enjoys without understanding, defines the accomplished individual.* Bourdieu argues that taste and preference are not as simple as Bach or Beethoven, Cheddar or Brie, nor do they adhere to the lower, middle, and upper-class classifications of early scholarship from the Becker (1952) and Hieronymus (1951) studies. Bourdieu instead categorises taste into 'popular, middle-brow, and legitimate' classifications (1984: 8). This system of terminology frees Bourdieu to later caustically describe in a legitimate-illegitimate binary. His 'taste' is the assertion of the negative, the refusal, or the "something other than" (Bourdieu, 1984: 559).

> *It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes. In matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation; and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance ('sick-making') of the tastes of others….which amounts to rejecting others as unnatural and therefore vicious. Aesthetic intolerance can be terribly violent. Aversion to different lifestyles is perhaps one of the strongest barriers between the classes.*
> *(Bourdieu, 1984: 49)*

Bourdieu (1984) couples this negative taste with the unconscious, behavioural dispositions of social and cultural dispositions known as 'habitus' to explain the differences in social positioning of the classes. Though only briefly referencing habitus in *Distinction,* and ambiguously defining the term as "an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation" (1984: 95), Bourdieu utilises the term in a cyclical sense. The behaviours of the classes reinforce the tastes and preferences, which reinforce the behaviours and dispositions. This perpetual reproduction of taste and behaviour works to keep the classes stratified. Taste is thus a conduit for expression of cultural and social exclusion, wherein the preference for a particular wine, composer, or artistic movement coupled with the appropriate enactment of the taste works to grant access to, or denial from, various social settings and situations (Bourdieu, 1984).

The elite or bourgeois possess the knowledge or skills to appreciate what Bourdieu (1984) defines as 'legitimate' forms of artwork or music, such as discussing how the time signature of a symphony

or the composition of a painting influences the mood of the piece. Furthermore, they also consume these cultural forms with an aloof distance from material necessity, a prioritization of the formal over the material aesthetic, and expression of distaste or disinterest in the material choices of popular culture. As such, those with 'legitimate' taste separate themselves in the social space. Bourdieu (1984) frequently refers to forms of culture organized around classical and high art as 'legitimate,' and the accumulation of cultural capital centres around the appreciation, consumption, and possession of this legitimate culture. Yet, the major defining characteristics of the elite or bourgeois stratum, i.e. those which can appreciate and consume these consecrated forms of culture, are only education level and occupation. Occupations such as cultural producers (i.e. teachers, professors, artists, etc.) are considered highest while unskilled manual labourers are the lowest.

Expanding on *Distinction* (1984), *Forms of Capital* (1986) explores the impending polysemic nature of cultural capital. Bourdieu explains that cultural capital exists and manifests in the social spaces in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. He defines these terms as "…the embodied state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.) which are the trace or realisation of these theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalised state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee" (1986: 47). As individuals acquire, collect, and deploy these forms of cultural capital, they naturally vary in composition of the aforementioned types. Some individuals may possess more embodied capital, or objectified capital, or institutionalized capital. It is through this compositional variance of not only cultural capital, but economic and social capital, that individuals distinguish themselves in the social spaces. Each social space has unique cultural capital valorisations, therein placing a higher value on different compositional structuring of these resources (Bourdieu 1984; 1986). This system of cultural capital valorization extends into nuanced differences in the same form of cultural capital; university professors, for example, all likely have a great deal of cultural capital both in institutionalized (i.e. degrees, formal education, publishing, etc.) and embodied (i.e. teaching skills, research skills, etc.) forms. However, a research university may valorize individuals with higher amounts of institutionalized capital (i.e. publishing) and research-oriented embodied capital while a teaching university may valorize individuals with higher amounts of different particularized embodied capital (i.e. teaching skills).

A strict reading of Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital and social stratification of society in mid-20th century Paris infers that it is narrow and binary. Bourdieu implicitly assumes that all individuals compete for status in the same social spaces with the same nomothetic symbolic currency, suggesting that these legitimate-popular taste dimensions and their corresponding social hierarchies are vertical. Today, in a world of fragmented identities (e.g. Firat and Venkatesh, 1995), subcultural consumption (e.g. Kates, 2002), and a global elite becoming increasingly distant from the others below them, meaningful stratification may well be horizontal. Popular critiques of Bourdieu's theory of taste and cultural capital, and its role in social stratification, emphasise two main tenets. First, widespread participation in the 'legitimate' and high cultural art-forms is relatively non-existent beyond 1960s Parisian culture. Even if it was, the attendance and appreciation of high art forms is not some great exclusionary divide between the dominant and the dominated classes as Bourdieu's writings would lead one to believe (Erikson, 1996). Further, the elite and the bourgeois do not communicate the 'legitimate' cultural signals Bourdieu heralds in meaningful ways in larger society (Erikson, 1996). Emphasis on business and the private sector determination on social class in other cultural contexts negates the usefulness of high status culture as tool for demarcation almost entirely. Private sector success, which reinforces the status hierarchy in America through more financial than cultural means, depends more heavily on the ability of upper-level individuals to coordinate and integrate efforts with others working towards profitability to maintain their standard of living outside the workplace. Erikson (1996: 248) directly challenges Bourdieu's assumptions that the class-culture correlation translates to usefulness, stating that "high-status culture in particular is such a waste of time in the business world," since profitable organisations thrive on coordination between dominant and dominated rather than exclusion. Unsurprisingly, then, research attempting to linearly import Bourdieu's rather binary theories of taste and cultural capital into other cultural contexts struggles to find any plausible applicability. Halle (1993) utilizes residential location to explore class groupings in America. These groupings are more dependent on economic and social capital than cultural capital, and illustrate a negligible difference in arts consumption between classes by residential location. The studies of Halle (1993) and Erikson (1996) prompted Holt (1997, 1998) to investigate the relevance of cultural capital and its manifestation in modern American consumption despite a dearth of American adhesion high-status culture.

One might ask is it so outrageous that a formally educated individual, especially today, may prefer punk-rock to classical music? The need to update Bourdieu's theory becomes clear as lines

demarcating the social spaces of contemporary consumers become increasingly blurred and the application of skills and tastes, across the boundaries of these social spaces, becomes more notable.

2.2.4 Constructing the Field

Social status, as communicated to, and through, the various forms of cultural capital depends on the social spaces in which individuals consume and participate (Holt, 1998). Thus, the concept of the social space itself, including its boundaries and the native language through which individuals communicate their status within it, is central to the broader concept of cultural capital. Bourdieu calls various social arenas in which individuals compete for status and authority 'fields,' and though his definition of them is rather nebulous it can be simplified to an unequal distribution of capital wherein those who acquire capital gain power to impose the laws dictating the reproduction of said capital within the field (Bourdieu, 1986). Anheier et al. (1995: 860) clarify this in their interpretation, more directly stating that *fields encompass the relations among the totality of relevant individual and organizational actors in functionally differentiated parts of society, such as education, health, and politics, or in the case examined here, arts and literature.* Fields are therefore made from the relationships between the agents within them, and these relationships give value to the capital resources most appropriate for status production amongst those agents. Later, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 97) define the structure of fields as "a network, or configuration, of objective relations." The fact that Bourdieu (1984; 1986) keeps his writing deliberately vague to prevent misinterpretation of objective characteristics does little to help visualize how fields may actually look. Consumer Culture Theory helps use make sense of these sociocultural constructions, and Holt (1997, 1998) in particular takes charge here neatly translating Bourdieu's theory of taste from 1960s Paris and sociology into 1990s America. Holt (1998: 4) explains that fields *are the key arenas in which actors compete for placement in the social hierarchy through acquisition of the statuses distinctive to the field. Thus, cultural capital takes on a distinctive form in each field: for example, in the academic field, cultural capital takes the form of intellectual brilliance…and society fellowships.* Holt's work bringing these concepts forward from both 1960s Paris and Bourdieu's ambiguous writing style illustrates just how interrelated and interdependent cultural capital and fields are. Cultural capital takes different form and characteristics for each field of consumption, with the rules of each field determining what constitutes cultural capital for status acquisition. Notable works in the CCT literature (e.g. Arsel and Thompson, 2011) benefit from the clarity Holt (1997, 1998) provides in defining the field and separating cultural capital from a generic disposition towards the high and classic art forms.

These studies lay a foundation for later expansion on these concepts into other integral aspects of contemporary consumption; expansions such as subcultural capital, especially relevant to this thesis research which is explored in Section 2.4.2. Today, fields are even "networks of interrelated consumption activities, brand and product constellations, and embedded social networks" (Arsel and Thompson, 2011: 792). Consumer researchers now explore how consumers deal with encountering field boundaries and how they make sense of cultural capital in alien consumption fields (e.g. Mormon defectors struggling to adjust to unfamiliar social spaces and rules in McAlexander et al., 2014), resonating with Consumer Culture Theory through often-forced pluralities and mixing of consumption practices, cultural traditions, and ways of life (Featherstone, 1991; Arnould and Thompson, 2005).

Bourdieu also defines the field as "the structure of the social setting in which habitus operates" (Swartz, 1997: 117). Succinctly, the 'habitus' is a set of internalised dispositions and behaviours that manifest into systematic field-oriented practices (Bourdieu, 1984). The struggles of the Mormon defectors, referenced above, are most due to unfamiliarity with new fields, new social spaces, and therefore the inability to effectively communicate and accrue any non-Mormom cultural resources (McAlexander et al., 2014). Communication of cultural capital resources, and thus the viability of status-seeking practices, depends on familiarity with the governing structures of the field, i.e. the habitus, permitting the communication and display of capital resources befitting the status of the consumer (Holt, 1998). Achieving 'legitimate' status through consumption in a field thus requires fluency in the habitus of that field, and recognition that the same cultural item may carry different values in different fields; akin to playing cards, where the same hand will play differently depending on poker or blackjack rules (Bourdieu, 1984; Tapp and Warren, 2010). The subculture of indie consumption and the nuanced behaviours of indie consumers themselves further exudes the importance of the importance of nuanced consumption displays—for example, symbolic demarcation—in delineating 'legitimate' consumption in particular fields (Arsel and Thompson, 2011). The social rules for consuming rock music, then, differ from the social rules for consuming opera. One permits and encourages brash and outlandish behaviour, where the other demands a strict adherence to formal etiquette (Tapp and Warren, 2010).

The concept of field further develops over the next few decades with studies in both sociological and marketing disciplines using cultural status and consumption as mechanisms for exploring this construct and its relationship with social classes, social stratification, and reproduction. Holt's

earlier work (1997, 1998) permits the exploration and expansion of the field concept that further develops characteristics in how the construct operates and structures consumption spaces. Ohl (2000) notes, like Holt (1997), that each field possesses fairly autonomous and distinctive forms of cultural capital. Meaningful and symbolic social interactions with capital resources valorize the status struggles of agents competing in a social space. The fields themselves can define their boundaries by the extent of meaningful relationships between individuals who engage in the same activities, rendering field-specific values to capital acquired within a field that requires some linkage or commonality with another field to provide any use (Tomlinson, 2004). Given that many fields consist of individuals interacting and competing in a social environment also beholden to the larger structure of society, and that most individuals participate and compete in more than one social environment as they construct their realities, common elements exist between fields as structural homologies (Gayo-Cal, Savage, and Ward, 2006). These structural homologies effectively appear as 'zones of taste" (Silva, 2006), wherein an individual with a taste for impressionist art is likely to also possess a taste for French restaurants and particular wines. However, it is not the actual tastes that are homogeneous in these studies of homology, but rather identification of similarities in the tastes horizontally amongst the same classes which elicits the zones, or brackets, of taste. For example, "those who most appreciate modern art also tend to like science fiction books and heavy metal music," (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006: 224). Structural similarities in how consumers express their status through tastes leads to zones of taste in all culturally relevant fields, and superimposing these 'zones' creates a picture of the lifestyles of the classes (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006). Though the authors note some fields do little to provide meaningful points of cultural convergence, such as television programming, others provide robust facilitation of cultural clustering around which individuals from potentially divergent sociodemographic backgrounds gather (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006; Silva, 2006). These points of cultural convergence could provide a platform for the more direct transfer of cultural capital between fields as discussed later (see Section 2.3).

2.2.5 Defining Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital (1984), field, and habitus (1986), contribute a great deal to the sociological, consumer research, and consumer culture disciplines. For example, in the study of music Bourdieu has left a legacy with which to make sense and understand how music mediates and expresses extant power relations and "stratified social trajectories;" many of which are considered post-Bourdieusian even though his influence lingers (Prior, 2013: 191). In consumer culture, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) note the influence of Bourdieu's theories of capital and

practice in literature investigating the social factors of consumption. Bourdieu's epistemology "that underwrites practice, habitus, and misrecognition" showing that consumers actions are guided by external structures reflexively manipulated by improvisations in those same consumption practices (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011: 389). His work influences and reverberates through many subfields of these disciplines, as his seminal work *Distinction* (1984; 2013) alone has over 57,700 references thirty-five years later. However, such widespread implementation of his theories led to at times disparate understandings of the concepts of cultural capital (Lamont and Lareau, 1988). Notably, the studies of DiMaggio (1982) and DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) illustrate how easily the concept of cultural capital can take on polysemic meanings. DiMaggio (1982) employs the concept of cultural capital to mean participation in elite culture, rather than a possession of institutionalized awards or behavioural dispositions, or cultural preferences. Furthermore, DiMaggio (1982: 199) declares educational levels to be a "very imperfect proxy" for cultural capital, largely ignoring an important central principle of Bourdieu's earlier theoretical postulation. Barely three years later, DiMaggio and Mohr (1985: 123) consider cultural capital to be "interest in and experience with prestigious cultural resources," which while similar, is not the same as 'participation' in elite culture.

Many authors' linear and liberal implementations of Bourdieu's cultural capital (see Lamont and Lareau, 1988, for an excellent review of these disparate implementations), coupled with Bourdieu's refutation of traditional Anglo-Saxon quantitative methodology (Wuggenig, 2007) begets a need for a contemporary definition. Lamont and Lareau (1988: 156), after reconciling the polysemy of cultural capital in the 1980s following *Distinction*, provide an excellent starting point in defining cultural capital as "institutionalised, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviours, goods, and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion." This definition critically omits any positive characteristics of cultural capital, however, which are evident in the role cultural capital and habitus play in facilitating inclusion through community and personal identity as shown in section 3.4. Therefore, the review suggests an amended definition of cultural capital more appropriately reflective of the role identity and inclusion play in contemporary consumption, wherein it *exists as status-dependent cultural signals (i.e. attitudes, behaviours, preferences, knowledge, goods, credentials, etc.) individuals use to participate and communicate their positions in fields of consumption.* This proposed definition does not rely on any contentious mechanisms of exclusion, allowing any lack of cultural capital to perform that role (Back et al., 2001), whereas certain fields may not exclude individuals with a lack of cultural capital but will instead assign them a lower status; the contexts

of fandom and golf being two examples explored in Chapter 3.

2.2.6 Expanding Cultural Capital and The Omnivore Thesis

An emphasis on the element of inclusion, rather than more negative exclusive or 'distaste' elements in cultural capital, provides a salient link to briefly introduce the Omnivore thesis (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996). Peterson (1992) attempts to reshape how cultural capital manifests in the social spaces of consumers by innovatively considering the nature of individuals' tastes. Cultural capital traditionally sets high-status or 'legitimate' tastes *against* lower-status or 'popular' tastes to stratify society; elites shun and express avid aversion to the preferences of the lower classes. What if, as we asked with rock and classical music earlier, traditionally high-status and elite individuals *also* like forms of popular culture? What if, in fact, they preferred popular forms of culture? Before the influential studies of Holt (1997, 1998) explored in section 2.4.1, Peterson (1992) imports Bourdieu's cultural capital into the United States and challenges the narrow, traditional view of taste and preference (perpetuated by studies such as Halle, 1993 and Erikson, 1996). Peterson finds that cultural elites, rather than exercising their tastes in stratifying themselves vertically, distinguish themselves horizontally in the breadth of their tastes. Rather than a preference for the most legitimate forms of music, high-status individuals simply illustrate a preference for the most types of music; lower-status individuals indicate a preference for substantially fewer, often only one type such as country. To capture these ideas, Peterson (1992) introduces the Omnivore Thesis, wherein cultural elites express their cultural dominance through their ability to consume and appreciate a significant breadth of cultural forms; positioning the classes against each other not along the legitimate-illegitimate binary but along an omnivore-univore binary. Critically, the Omnivore Thesis is not at odds with the central premise of cultural capital, as individuals still acquire and utilize the same cultural resources to distinguish themselves. Distinction is now an appreciation of a wider range of cultural goods, and an expression of tolerance rather than disdain (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996).

Peterson and Kern's (1996) update of the Omnivore Thesis proves popular in the sociological and consumer research disciplines, with over 2400 citations in subsequent sociological and consumer research publications. Many of these casually reference the omnivore thesis as evidence that traditional class boundaries between elite and popular culture are dissolving or that Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital and field are not determinist (e.g. Warde and Tampubulon, 2002; Grenfell, 2015; Carfagna et al., 2014). Other studies use the thesis to reference a historical shift

from “snobbish exclusion to omnivorous appropriation” (Peterson, 2005). An exhaustive list of these studies, in cultural contexts of the United Kingdom (e.g. Warde et al., 1999; Katz-Gero and Sullivan, 2004; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005), North America (e.g. Erickson, 1996; Holt, 1997; Holbrook et al., 2002; DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004), Western Europe (e.g. Lahire, 2004; Bellavance, 2008), and Australia (e.g. Bennett et al., 1999) can be found in Peterson (2005), though generally the findings are consistent in that omnivorousness has become a marker of good taste rather than high-brow exclusion. Predominantly, however, the authors invoking the omnivore thesis rely on secondary data which leads to a harrowing criticism; there is an extent to which such intimations regarding the thoughts and actions of individuals in society be gleaned from inference of secondary survey data not even fine-tuned for cultural analysis (Warde, Wright, and Gayo-Cal, 2007). Without, for example interview data, the assumption that this omnivorism is a historical trend may dangerously under informed (Bellavance et al, 2004; Warde et al., 2007). A spread of the omnivore, based on a priori historical classifications of culture into high, middle, and low brow categories from secondary data, erroneously leads to assumptions of these categories as “reified analytical frames rather than as contingent historical artefacts” (Jarness, 2015: 67). Furthermore, neither Peterson and Kern (1996) nor a significant number of authors following their model account for the distinction between *what* and *how* in Bourdieu’s original theory. Nor do any of the aforementioned studies investigating the transition from the high-brow snob to the cultural omnivore examine an Asian or Eastern context (Peterson, 2005). Though the omnivore thesis is not at odds with Bourdieu, this oversight works to undermine any significance of the omnivorousness evident in evolving consumer taste profiles. Therefore, some consider the Omnivore Thesis to be a fallacy, and omnivorism merely an ability to “discern the differences and similarities amongst products and constructed genres that are, ultimately, similarly situated and consumed because of similar aesthetic orientations” (Atkinson, 2011: 185).

2.2.7 The “Middle-Class” Habitus

Peterson (1992) and Peterson and Kern’s (1996) Omnivore Thesis, and the broader disappearance of traditional displays of social distinction vertically stratified through taste profiles organized along a low-brown to high-brow axis (e.g. Holt, 1998; Carfagna et al., 2014), provides a necessary but salient opportunity to briefly discuss the tastes and habitus of the middle-class prior to a more thorough investigation of cultural capital in consumer research following in the subsequent sections. Understanding the middle-class habitus is imperative to understanding consumer culture, as some Western cultures have now marginalized both the low and high ends of the taste spectrum, leaving the middle-class habitus as largely dominant in consumer cultures where

traditional class boundaries are potentially disappearing (Gripsrud et al., 2011; Kravets and Sandikci, 2014).

The habitus of the middle-class consumer is one driven by 'upward' mobility, characterized by a distaste for the preferences of individuals both below and, somewhat paradoxically, above them; they are defined by a perpetual, aspirational discomfort (Friedman, 2012; Lahire, 2011). For example, individuals who have worked themselves into the middle-class from working-class backgrounds face the following dilemma—to accept being middle-class would be a denial of their working-class origins, but to denounce their middle-class status would be a denial of their own educational and professional achievements (Reay, 2007: 228). This discomfort, or "oscillation" (Lahire, 2011: 38), originates from the need to negotiate and communicate multiple behaviours, tastes, and points of view depending on the field in which they are participating. Further contributing to this discomfort is that "middle-brow" tastes, at least at one time, were an emulation or imitation of the class to which one aspires; performance of aesthetic displays without the requisite knowledge or economic capital to communicate a thorough or complete appreciation (Peterson, 1992). Tastes such as light classical, previous season's ready-made fashion, and "prudish" etiquette are examples of such emulations (Gans, 1974, Peterson, 1992). Discomfort with and in acceptance of their own taste profiles leads some middle-class consumers to enact a "defense of distinction," wherein they describe an aversion to the influences of other classes (namely the working-class and underclass) in an effort to affirm their own social positioning (Reay, 2015). Historically, the middle-class has included individuals from an incredibly diverse range of socioeconomic backgrounds (farmers, professors, entrepreneurs, etc.) that now comprises an incredible variety of career paths and contradictive behaviours in modern marketplaces and subcultures (Kravets and Sadikci, 2014). Yet, the middle-class can also be largely conceptualized as one of *unique conformity;* consumption styles in this "middle stratum" of consumers display a measure of "formulaic creativity," constantly striving to communicate a distance from those below them in the societal hierarchy (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014: 137). Others offer a different view to the middle-class habitus; one of reconciliation and evolution. Still aspirational, the middle-class habitus is not necessarily one of denunciation and distance, but one acting as a proxy for the struggles of the modern-day consumer to balance and negotiate their consumption across a range of fields, marketplaces, and subcultures (Cornelissen, 2016). Thus, middle-class consumers are more likely able to display some measure of fluency and legitimacy in expressing their *wider* taste profiles in these ranges of fields and subcultures (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996).

Most significantly for this research, however, is that the habitus of the middle-class is increasingly defined by the importance of "soft" skills (Balcar, 2014; Cappellini et al., 2014; Weinberger et al., 2017) and "emotional capital" (Reay, 2000; 2004; Zembylas, 2007). Soft skills manifest as "creativity, communication, flexibility, proactiveness, and life-long learning" (Weinberger et al., 2017: 332); forms of embodied cultural capital embedded into middle-class consumption practices and habitus. These forms of capital are evident in traditional middle-class sociocultural spaces, notably in household management and consumption (e.g. Cappellini et al., 2014) and the workplace (e.g. Morrison, 2014; Burke, 2014; Rivera, 2015). Middle-class families often take the opportunity to display a "creativity" in consumption strategies that mitigate financial constraints, providing a source of distinction without the need for substantial amounts of economic capital (Cappellini et al., 2014). Furthermore, the soft skills allow "middle-class young adults to demonstrate their appreciation and awareness of such valued traits through the development of narratives of self-growth, challenges, and mastery" (Weinberger et al., 2017: 350). Similarly, emotional capital is a form of embodied cultural capital that emerges from cultural socialization at the "intersection" of bodily capacities and cultural requirements (Scheer, 2012). These "emotionally valued assets, skills, love and affection, expenditure of time, attention, care, and concern" (Allat, 1993: 143) can be more easily understood as patience and commitment built over time. Notably, these forms of emotional capital are theorized as predominantly familial endowments, following parental efforts to bestow their resources upon their children (e.g. attitudes towards authority) (Reay, 2000; 2004). Emotional capital in the middle-class also carries strong linkages to the notion of "sacrifice," particularly evident in narratives of thrift, financial constraint, and "self-regulation" (Nguyen et al., 2017; 450); important themes in later analysis of the habitus of golf in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

2.2.8 Placing the Middle-Class in the Research

The following sections, particularly 2.4.1 and Holt's (1997; 1998) investigation of differences in consumer behaviours manifest from of high and low cultural capital profiles, do explore the characteristics, positioning, and role of the 'middle-class' habitus in the consumer research in more detail. However, it should be noted that any further intentional focus on the conceptualization of the habitus of the middle-class, particularly for this thesis, might be problematic. Significantly, this is *not* a study of how participation in the culture of golf endows one with the middle-class habitus, but rather an exploration of how cultural capital and habitus acquired in one field can be transferred to another. To instead focus on how participants acquire

a middle-class habitus might then imply that any previously possessed cultural capital or habitus *not* middle-class (i.e. working) is therefore undesirable (Lehmann, 2013). Positing the middle-class habitus as desirable or something to aspire to, would be the same pitfall encountered with many studies that focus on the appropriation of middle-class habitus in fields of higher education (e.g. Allen, 2002; DeKeere and Spruyt), implicitly suggesting that any reproduction of working-class tastes and behaviours is somehow "problematic" and these non-middle-class experiences have no value (Lehmann, 2013). In fact, the Omnivore Thesis provides a conceptualization for combating this potentially problematic vertical positioning of tastes in the social hierarchy (at least with regards to consumer culture literature). Rather than seeing working, middle, and upper-class taste stratified vertically—implying that a working-class background is somehow *below* or *less*, rather than different—we can now view the classes as stratified horizontally, in the breadth of tastes and habitus fluency an individual is able to legitimately display (Peterson and Kern, 1996). A conceptualization of this horizontal type is more in line with the data and the findings in this research, explored in later Chapters.

These criticisms notwithstanding, cultural omnivorism shows purchase later in how cultural capital manifests in sports consumption literature and helps illustrate the homogeneity between field structures. The review now moves towards examining evidence in the extant literature for the potential transference of cultural capital.

2.3 Transference of Cultural Capital

The idea that individuals could transfer their cultural capital, or cultural resources, across field boundaries is not necessarily novel. Bourdieu (1986) expects that individuals already convert forms of either economic, cultural, and social capital into one of the others in pursuit of social mobility and positioning. However, there are scarce extant studies that even entertain the notion of cultural capital transference. Rey (2004) and Stroope et al. (2014) both note, in passing, that individuals do convert their cultural capital and social capital into economic capital; they are not, however, *transferring* their capital resources across field boundaries in so much as *converting* them into a different type. There is almost no extant research or literature that explores if and how individuals take their cultural capital resources as acquired in one field and apply them, directly, into another with utility.

Yet, the habitus provides a fertile area to begin an argument for capital transference. Bourdieu (2000) implies that secondary habitus and even multiplicity of habitus are possible, given the

perforation of contemporary life with subculture and fragmented identities. The studies of Desmond (2006) and Cornelissen (2016) provide salient points of departure. Desmond (2006) explores how a 'country-boy' habitus helps woodland firefighters, noting the many similarities between the primary habitus of a rural childhood is congruent with the adult habitus of wildfire fighting. The dispositions required for firefighting and soldiering, Desmond (2006) illustrates, mimic those acquired from a typical 'country-boy' upbringing. Homology in the structural frameworks of the two fields indicates a homogeneity that permits direct application of cultural capital; the habitus structures what forms of capital engender status in a field, and therefore a shared habitus indicates similar cultural capital values between these two fields. Cornelissen (2016) adds to this potential in the theorization of 'context-specific' habitus, drawing on the later arguments of Bourdieu (2000) with regards to secondary and multiplicity of the habitus and Swidler (2001) with the cultural repertoire. Instead of a singular habitus, she argues for conceptualizing habitus as a bundle of distinct, decentralized, context-specific dispositions acquired in separate contexts that are both linked together and linked to the individual's primary (childhood) habitus. These bundles form a repertoire of cultural resources on which the individual draws (Swidler, 2001). Therefore, moving between contexts in the course of their lives, individuals and consumers draw from different context-specific sensibilities as required and even deploy them favourably across context boundaries (Cornelissen, 2016). Investigation into the processes and mechanisms of cultural capital transference, given the acknowledgement of habitus homogeneity by these authors may help understand how consumers work towards and build more culturally universal repertoires and capital resources.

2.4 Cultural Capital in the Consumer Research

Building on the earlier sociological literature, the review now examines how the concept of cultural capital is utilized in relevant consumer research. Relevant to the discussion of potential transference above, the consumer research studies largely implicate cultural capital as, similar to context-specific habitus, locked into the field in which it is acquired (e.g. Kozinets, 2001; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Subcultural capital (Kates, 2002), discussed in section 2.4.2, paradoxically provides a link to transference. We begin this section, however, with the work of Douglas Holt (1997; 1998) as other authors (e.g. McAlexander et al., 2014; Carfagna et al., 2015) regard Holt as the scholar who first meaningfully imports the theories of Bourdieu into consumer research. The section then moves into relevant studies both explicitly using the term 'cultural capital' and implicitly looking at how taste, preferences, behaviours, and knowledge shape the social spaces and consumption practices of consumers.

2.4.1 Bringing Bourdieu into Consumer Research

The first major study to transport Bourdieu's seminal concept of cultural capital into the consumer research discipline looks at whether cultural capital still holds any relevance and purchase in structuring postmodern American consumption (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Holt, 1998). Additionally, Holt (1998) looks to 'rescue' Bourdieu's theories of taste from the apparently misguided and fundamentally flawed interpretations of critics such as Lamont (1992), Halle, (1993), and Erikson (1996). These critics mostly operationalize 1960s cultural signals from Parisian culture and, applying them directly and linearly, deem them inapplicable and irrelevant to 1990s American consumer cultures. Holt (1998) refutes these critiques on the basis of a Warnerian social Darwinism that places objective significance on the cultural signals as goods themselves rather than taking account of nuances in the relationship between cultural, economic, and political resources and the epistemological underwritings of Bourdieu's theories (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). Sociological scholars long ago discredited the Warnerian approach due to its ignorance of those same nuances between the cultural, political, and economic (Holt, 1997). Furthermore, a central flaw in the Bourdieu reductionists' (Lamont, 1992; Halle, 1993; Erikson, 1996) argument is that arts constitute a fraction of the possible universe of consumption fields leveraged for status and social reproduction. A dwindling participation rate in the United States of high arts and a decline of arts history in school curriculums leads Holt (1997, 1998) to note, as Peterson and Simkus (1992) do, that individuals with the highest amounts of cultural capital are often the most avid consumers of popular or mass culture; the connection to high arts becomes irrelevant in evaluating the utility of cultural capital in contemporary consumption.

Holt (1998) confirms that cultural capital manifests as socially rare or distinctive tastes and dispositions, but as practice rather than a conspicuous display (Veblen, 1899) or objective relationship between good and social position (Warner, 1949). Cultural capital, rather, allows individuals to consume the ideationally difficult rather than the materially scarce to distinguish themselves in consumption. Furthermore, the habitual, embodied forms of cultural capital supplant objectified cultural capital in the postmodern contemporary age; acquisition of material scarcity is less a proxy for cultural resources than the ability to ideationally appreciate them. Thus, the dissolution of the legitimate-popular boundaries recognized in the Omnivore Thesis (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996) places the mantle for distinction now on *how* individuals consume rather than *what* they consume. Holt (1998) therefore discerns six ideational distinctions between high and low cultural capital individuals (HCC and LCC from this point). The binaries of material

versus formal aesthetic, critical versus referential reception of cultural text, materialism versus idealism, cosmopolitan versus local, subjectivity versus local identity, and leisure as self-actualisation versus autotelic socialization work to present salient HCC and LCC profiles that resonate in a contemporary, postmodern, and fragmented consumption practice (Holt, 1998). See Holt (1997, 1998) for detailed descriptions of these HCC/LCC profiles.

The review notes that the binary of critical and referential reception of cultural texts incorporates elements of reflexivity (Holt, 1998). These referential competencies of consumers nod to later arguments of Thompson et al. (2018) regarding existential and critical reflexivity. This provides a link to both earlier explorations of educational sociology contexts and the transference of cultural capital; while the educational system cultivates reflexivity, and the ability to critically reflect on the social and ideational elements structuring one's position in the social space, the *aptitude* for reflection therein stems from skilled-dispositions endowed by cultural capital (Atkinson, 2010). Individuals who participate in activities or fields that encourage or require reflexivity, actively acculturating the habitus of the elite, illustrate the potential of localized cultural capital transference in both horizontal and vertical dimensions. For example, 'working-class' students at private school who abandon their native habitus, despite feeling out of place in the elite culture, because they recognize the education as a means to further their life opportunities (Hill and Lai, 2016).

2.4.2 Cultural Capital and Consumer Lifestyle Research

A critical element, then, of introducing the concepts of cultural capital and habitus into the consumer culture and consumer research disciplines is the nuanced manner in which these resources and dispositions now manifest. The Holt (1998) binaries outline a foundation for subsequent research which, as opposed to sociological (e.g. DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Erickson, 1996; Prieur and Savage, 2011) and educational studies (e.g. DiMaggio, 1982; Lamont, 1992; Eitle and Eitle, 2002), focus more on *how* individuals consume rather than *what* they consume. As Holt (1998) illustrates, cultural capital is no longer a set of specific preferences and tastes associated with 'legitimate' culture or high arts but sets of ideationally rare consumption practices individuals then use to set themselves apart. Beyond Holt (1998), consumer researchers invoking Bourdieu's 'multi-faceted' theories of cultural capital have done so along primarily two trajectories (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). The first trajectory involves exploring the ways in which consumers' cultural capital levels systematically influence and determine the taste profiles, lifestyle patterns, and consumption choices (e.g. Allen, 2002; Bernthal et al., 2005; Üstüner and

Holt, 2010). The second trajectory demands an examination of the forms of cultural capital produced, acquired, distributed, and deployed in consumption communities and subcultures (e.g. Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; McAelxander et al., 2014).

Studies along the first trajectory present comparisons of relatively high and low cultural capital consumers, along Holt's (1998) scale. Importantly, these studies mostly place consumers according to their levels of 'generalised' (i.e. educational level, occupation, etc.) cultural capital (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012) to illustrate the reproduction of broader sociocultural and socioeconomic distinctions. Taste is therefore often operationalized as a symbolic weapon perpetuating these socioeconomic distinctions despite its frequently arbitrary nature (Holbrook, 1999). For example, even though they recognize their tastes as a hindrance to their explicit desires for social mobility, consumers choose cultural environments in which they feel comfortable despite having the opportunity to participate in more opportune cultures (Allen, 2002). Their working-class consumption choices are molded by the tacit cultural capital endowed to them by their socialization into lower-class taste profiles (Allen, 2002). Furthermore, LCC and HCC taste profiles contain elements of constraint and freedom, respectively (Bernthal et al., 2005). In their attitudes towards credit card consumption and the utility of credit cards in constructing their lifestyles, LCC consumers note a distinctive avoidance and fear of material constraint; credit cards serve the purpose of insurance against loss of their current levels consumption, grounded in living at the edge of luxury. HCC individuals, contrastingly, view credit cards as a means to accumulate valuable experiences and engage in important self-actualisation practices with almost no regard for a 'maintenance' element (Bernthal et al., 2005). Similar sentiments are shown in Turkish consumption of the Western Myth (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; 2010). LCC individuals strive for ostentatious, materialistic consumption and feel a great need to continue to acquire increasingly rare materialistic goods or experiences; they 'collect' travel destinations, moving their lives to a temporary home in an exotic locale without experiencing and investing in the local culture itself. HCC consumers on the other hand practice minimalism, restraint, and invest in integrating a wide body of experiences into their tastes; when HCC's vacation, they immerse themselves in the local culture rather (Üstüner and Holt, 2007).

Taste, in many of these studies in the 'generalised comparison' trajectory, works as a boundary-making process. Arsel and Bean (2013) extend the notion of taste, central to the concept of cultural capital, from a boundary-making process to a discursively constituted and performative practice. Whereas other studies (e.g. Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Holt, 2007) compare the practices

and tastes of low and high cultural capital individuals against each other, taste regimes explores how differing tastes within the same homologous zone form and influence practice. Adhering to a taste regime influences how consumers relate to and interact with cultural objects in the marketplace, providing a congruency in an increasingly diverse marketplace along with an enhanced comprehension of what these offerings entail (Arsel and Bean, 2013). Furthermore, in the increasingly fragmented nature of contemporary consumption (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995), taste itself becomes less a simple linear proxy for social status or field hierarchy, as consumers now participate in a wide variety of consumption activities across a wide variety of fields. It becomes increasingly apparent that consumers rarely participate in many generic, traditional mainstream fields; rather, individuals more often choose to participate in a multitude of smaller, apparently autonomous fields that align with their perceptions of themselves and their identities (Belk, 1988; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Instead, consumers now operationalize an array of preferences from an accumulation of context-specific dispositions (Cornelissen, 2016), gleaned from participation in a wide variety of consumption activities. Thus, taste regimes in fact help to clarify where some of these delineations may still exist in providing a structure to account for navigating tastes across these homologous multitudes of acquired contexts (Arsel and Bean, 2013).

2.4.3 Cultural Capital and Subcultures

2.4.3.1 The Nature of Subculture

The second trajectory of cultural capital in consumer research, as noted above, demands attention be paid to the forms of capital developed, produced, acquired, distributed, and deployed in consumption communities and subcultures (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). Specifically, this research stream links to Consumer Culture Theory through explorations and investigations of consumption in 'marketplace cultures,' a significant collection of which are subcultures (Kates, 2002; Arnould and Thompson, 2011). Therefore, an introduction to the nature of subcultures and a definition important to placing this research are necessary. Anthropologists noted that individuals form clusters within the larger scope of society; often centred around geographic location (Morland, 1971), race and ethnic background (Kitano, 1969), lifestyle choices (Irwin, 1962). These clusters became known as subcultures, though the prefix of 'sub' intimated a subversive and underground element to these clusters (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007). Much of the sociological research investigating subcultures characterized and imbued these clusters with deviant and menacing elements, i.e. the punks (Thornton, 1997), with some agenda for political and cultural resistance likely rooted in the understanding that subcultures

were formed by the subordinate and dominated consumers who could not participate and achieve distinction in elite mainstream culture (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007). Yet, Solomon (2004) shows that we all organize into groups around age, ethnicity, social background, location, and through strong identifications with activities; thus, we all participate in subcultures and often a multitude of them as we associate with others around a plethora of identifying factors. Dominant characteristics of these groups include: social orientation, grounded in experience, escapist, globally practiced, activity preceding and existing outside of commercial interests (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007). These groups require no political or counter-cultural agenda to legitimate their existence, for they exist by our identity with others through common beliefs and experiences (Solomon, 2004); critically undermining the notion of a central dominant culture around which consumers orbit.

2.4.3.2 Subcultural Capital

The second stream of consumer research invoking cultural capital, then, deals with subcultures and consumption communities apart from the mainstream (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). Some of this research, however, investigates somewhat marginalized consumers and individuals without the traditional cultural capital resources to enact meaningful HCC and LCC boundaries (Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013). This stream is critical in returning the agency stripped from traditionally 'dominated' or 'lower class' consumers by their lack of traditional cultural capital, as these individuals are not automatically relegated to a subordinate position merely because of their lack of cultural resources valued by the elite (Thornton, 1996). These individuals create their own systems of value with cultural capital resources they do have access to, where these resources would have little or no value in broader cultural or elite social and consumption fields (Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013). These subcultural systems form parallel to, against, alongside, or tangential to mainstream, popular, or 'legitimate' culture: e.g. the punk-rockers of Thornton (1997), bikers of Schouten and McAlexander (1995), Trekkies of Kozinets (2001), and Mormons of McAlexander et al. (2014). Contrary to Bourdieu's traditional cultural capital that individuals acquire through primary socialization (in the sociological sense, i.e. familial upbringing, home environment, and early education), acquiring this subcultural capital requires 'profound' secondary socialization in the subculture (Kates, 2002: 397). Even when subcultural members do have access to mainstream cultural capital, these subcultures can engender values counter to the mainstream through a collective aversion to certain elements of the mainstream (e.g. punk rockers disliked the banality of disco music). By shirking often constrictive mainstream ideals and acquiring a set of cultural resources meaningful to them, these subcultural individuals find

freedom within their subculture to compete for status in a system of meanings more in line with their own identities (Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Participating in these subcultural fields therefore provides both opportunities for status and authenticity to subcultural consumers not always available to them in the mainstream (Jancovich, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011), and solace away from criticisms of the normative society (Kates, 2002).

Subcultures, like other consumption fields, are however embedded into the "broader sociocultural structures," and are therefore neither entirely self-contained nor entirely autonomous (Arsel and Thompson, 2011: 793). Remembering that consumers frequently participate and identify with a multitude of subcultures (Solomon, 2004), this broader sociocultural embedding of the subcultures ensures the likelihood of some subcultural boundary overlap or gaps where the consumer may be forced to navigate the mainstream. Participating and competing for status in a field organized around counter-cultural or subcultural values, then, requires that consumers then negotiate contradictions at the intersection of where the mainstream world meets their subcultural world; consumers' realities rarely consist entirely of either subcultural or counter-cultural fields (Richardson and Turley, 2006). Consumers may mitigate these contradictions by adopting various consumption practices with dimensional characteristics mirroring that of other social strata groups. For example, Kates (2002) shows that some low cultural capital individuals living in metropolitan areas display dispositions and taste profiles in line with those of someone with much higher cultural resources because of their metropolitan surroundings. They adopt a "playful inventiveness" in their consumption as they willingly engage with the plethora of aesthetic tastes on offer (Kates, 2002: 396). Other subcultural consumers conversely display decidedly LCC characteristics, such as Indie consumers in Arsel and Thompson (2011). These Indie consumers, seeing themselves embattled against the rising tide of 'hipsters,' defend their subcultural identities and field positioning through symbolic demarcation and aesthetic discrimination. In a traditionally Bourdieuian practice, Indie consumers purposefully and publicly discriminate against the chosen brands and music of the hipster (read as impostor looking for quick forms of mainstream distinction) and then dismisses any resemblance between their practices. The Indie consumer seeks to preserve their identity investments and status through projection of the negative connotations back to the hipster. Yet, acquisition of these semi-HCC statuses in the Indie field require an uncharacteristic dependency on public validation, which is in itself a decidedly LCC practice (Holt, 1997).

It is important to note that subcultures, unlike brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001) or

consumption communities (e.g. Ostberg, 2007) subcultures antecede acts of consumption and commodification. The goth subculture, for example, inspired a wide variety of consumption objects and practices that came about as a result of the values and affinities of the subcultural members (Goulding and Saren, 2007). Some studies in consumer research, such as Kates (2002), posit that consumption precedes subcultural affiliation, and that consumption provides the cohesive glue and buoys these communities; subcultures without consumption relegate their participants to an illegitimate space in the broader sociocultural landscape (Muniz and O'Guinn (2001). Now, however, the goth subculture mentioned above has evolved into a subculture of consumption or consumption community rather than more strictly a subculture, leaving members struggling to communicate their identity of their cultural objects (i.e. mostly black clothing, piercings, leather, etc.) were no longer available (Goulding and Saren, 2007). A true subculture's existence, however, is not tied to a brand or a consumption practice. The legitimacy of subcultures exists in the strength of identification participants draw from activity and practice (Solomon, 2004). Brand communities and, to a degree, consumption communities, depend on a linking agent around which to bind individuals. Whereas a Mac or Jeep community would disband if the brand failed (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007), likewise the Swedish Brats would no longer be able to achieve distinction through conspicuous consumption if their favoured brands disappeared (Ostberg, 2007), subcultures remain aside and independent from commercial dependence; despite its influence on the activity, surfing would continue if Ripcurl vanished. Similarly, golf would endure if Titleist and Taylormade disappeared.

2.4.3.3 Authenticity in Subcultural Capital: The Cognitive and Corporeal Axes

The review notes a crucial similarity in the characteristics cultural and subcultural capital; authenticity and legitimacy in the possession and display of capital resources. Authenticity and legitimacy in subcultural capital is found in, like cultural capital, embodied and objectified forms that manifest in both cognitive and corporeal dispositions (Thornton, 1996; Haenfler, 2014). These particularized forms are the possession and use of specialized knowledge, subcultural language (i.e. slang), sacred objects, body competency (obtained through repetitive practice), and body performance (corporeal displays of subcultural fluency)—for example, a skateboarder effortlessly landing a difficult trick (Thornton, 1996). Specifically, the review draws attention to body competence and body performance, proposing that these bodily aspects of embodied subcultural capital combine to form a corporeal axis in the habitus of the field. Subsequently, the possession and display of specialized knowledge, and its tempered use, communicate being 'in the know' and the correlating subcultural status. It is the blend of these two axes, just as in the

more mainstream fields with *embodied cultural capital,* that ensure successful displays of distinction within boundaries of subcultures (Thornton, 1995).

2.4.3.4 Field-Dependent Capital

A significant contribution from these studies is the development of the concept of 'field-dependent' cultural capital, as a form of subcultural capital, despite whether it works in tandem with, instead of, or as a substitute for traditional cultural capital resources (Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Haenfler, 2014). These field-dependent capital resources are acquired through the identity investments individuals make in subcultures and consumption communities (Muniz and Schau, 2005; Schau et al., 2009), and therefore play a central role in the creation of collective and group identities through subcultures as well as subcultural hierarchy (Schau et al., 2009). Field-dependent capital also permits individuals endowed with subordinate forms of traditional cultural capital to engage in status games otherwise unavailable to them, in addition to achieving a legitimacy and authenticity in their consumption practices unavailable to them from the mainstream marketplaces as noted before (Jancovich, 2002; Arsel and Bean, 2013; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). This authenticity and legitimacy is achieved, in part, through subtle signals (Berger and Ward, 2010). Those with field-specific, or even field-dependent, forms of cultural capital can utilize subtle signals of consumption to further demarcate and stratify themselves in the social space (Berger and Ward, 2010); evidence of this in the golf context (Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018) may play a role in fostering such strong identities as 'golfers' amongst working-class individuals who play and consume the sport. These elements of identity and competition are important in the following chapter on sports consumption.

2.5 Deterritorialised Cultural Capital

As the identity and authenticity needs of consumers adjust to the systems and resources available to them, as in the creation of subcultures and adherence to taste regimes, likewise an increasing fragmentation, availability of contexts, and liquid nature of consumption begets adaptation and adjustment of consumer behaviours (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2017). Research in cultural capital, social stratification, subcultures, and signaling eventually engenders the concepts of "deterritorialised" cultural capital and mismatched habitus, both of which are relevant to this thesis given the predominant sociodemographic backgrounds of many of the research participants; enthusiastic working-class adoption of a traditionally elite system of behaviour in the subculture of golf. A constant cycle of Turkish elites appropriating Western tastes and consumption practices, then deploying them in a strictly emulative fashion, leads Üstüner and

Holt (2010) to argue for the concept of 'deterritorialised' cultural capital. This form of cultural capital differs from the traditional, which embeds into and sediments through everyday lives, because it belongs to a culture foreign to the consumer. It is not cultural capital born of primary or indigenous socialization, but rather through the concerted and constant performative efforts of individuals to engage in specific practices that work to replace and reform their own taste profiles and habitus (Üstüner and Holt, 2010). Consumers employing deterritorialised cultural capital, much like Turkish adherents to the Western Myth, attempt to transcend their own habitus in a perpetual battle against their surroundings, ensuring that the foreign culture is always borrowed.

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review introduced the concepts of cultural capital, habitus, and the field, further illustrating how they link together to sociocultural stratification of society. Summarising the early cultural capital research in education, through Midwestern studies of correlations between student sociodemographics and scholastic achievement, an initial cultural resource becomes apparent. Further studies in the educational context, including the foundational and seminal works of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Bourdieu (1984), and DiMaggio (1982; 1985), reveal the pervasiveness of which cultural capital determines scholastic success; familiarity with the 'culture of the elite' in the home provides students with a measurable advantage in the classroom. These advantages once manifest as tastes, preferences, and knowledge of 'legitimate' culture. Over time, the distinctions between individuals in the social spaces by taste and preferences alone diluted; individuals with higher cultural capital appreciate *more* cultural goods, in ideationally difficult ways rather than through materialistic scarcity (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996; Holt, 1998).

Today, these cultural resources manifest in consumer research as ideational modes of consumption, subcultural capital, and practices. Holt (1998) illustrates that individuals can consume the same item in vastly different ways, and for different means, and that cultural capital shifts now into how individuals appreciate the cultural goods they consume (i.e. a formal vs material aesthetic). The varying modes and means of consumption provide opportunities for status, satisfaction, and identity to many individuals now rather than just the elite or the bourgeois; the studies in subcultural capital and subcultural consumption particularly inform this thesis with regards to how individuals subscribe and adhere to a system of values and hierarchy positioned parallel, alongside, and against the mainstream (Thornton, 1997; Arsel and Thompson,

2011; Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013). How individuals draw value from the subcultures and contexts in which they participate, develop their set of dispositions, and transfer that value across the homologous practices of their consumption provides insight into the mechanisms of cultural capital transference.

Notably absent from this review chapter are how cultural capital, subcultural capital, and habitus are relevant to and used within the context of sport and the sports consumption literature. This absence was necessary to provide a focused introduction and conceptualization of the general mechanisms of cultural capital and these types of resources work to stratify and distinguish consumers in the social spaces; linking to the research questions in exploration of how field structures valorize behaviours, dispositions, and practice that become forms of 'capital.' The following chapter examines how these distinctive and advantageous cultural resources manifest in sports and sports consumption, exploring relevant streams of research for the context of this thesis after offering a foundational conceptualization of sports consumption. Particularly, the following chapter explores relevant research of cultural and subcultural capital in marketplace cultures and subcultures, introduced broadly here in sections 2.4.2-2.4.3.4, in the context of sports and links them to the consumer research (when viable) to help address gaps in the literature with regards to how consumers reconcile consumption and participation across sociocultural field boundaries with resources that appear to be contextually limited.

Chapter 3: Sports Consumption Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous literature review of cultural capital, focusing on sports consumption to further inform and place this research with regards to the relevant research context. First, the chapter examines the evolution of consumption into an experiential, hedonic, and emotional means through which consumers satisfy similarly increasingly experiential, hedonic, and emotional needs (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982). The chapter then defines sports consumption against the backdrop of broader understandings of consumption, allowing the review to then focus on the major issues of gender, identity, and fandom in the sports consumption literature. These issues inform the study through understanding why individuals consume sport, how gendered practices in sports consumption manifest, how individuals communicate their social and personal identities through sports consumption, and the emotional attachments sports consumers develop through and to the consumption of sport. The chapter concludes with an argument for the potential of cultural capital transference through structural and habitus homology in sports fields.

3.2 Introducing Consumption

A broader conceptualization and understanding of consumption is necessary before delineating a nuanced conceptualization of sports consumption. This is particularly important given the general lack of agreement regarding what the term 'consumption' entails (Askegaard and Heilbrunn, 2018). Consumption as an idea is often taken for granted as self-evidently important, where many scholars write about consumption in myriad ways without ever actually defining the term (Graeber, 2011). The lack of consensus on what we mean by 'consumption' is surprising given the significant role that consumerism plays in shaping present-day cultures and that the notion of being a consumer is so central to our existence in modern society (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Gabriel and Lang, 2006). Consumption is ubiquitous in daily practice, and permeates almost all of our social constructions and perceptions of reality (Gabriel and Lang, 2006); so much so, in fact, that it "saturates everyday life" and inconspicuously passes "under the radar" with the exceptions of more spectacular events (i.e. types of consumption seen on Reality TV) (Askegaard and Heilbrunn, 2018: 7). Indeed, consumption is now "a term that seems to permeate relations between society and individual," namely as a "search for existentially fulfilling experiences" (Askergaard and Linnet, 2011: 3-4).

When authors *do* attempt to define consumption, it takes on a polysemy not unlike the early development of Bourdieu's cultural capital in the 1980s (discussed in section 2.2.6); the term has

meanings ranging from "individuals or groups acquiring, using, and disposing of products, services, ideas, or experiences" (Arnould et al., 2004: 9) to "stuff we have fun with, provide meaning to various life situations with, build communicative structures with, and use as social markers" (Askegaard and Heilbrunn, 2018). The differences between these definitions are mostly that Arnould et al. (2004) focus on *what* is being consumed and the process of consumption whereas Askegaard and Heilbrunn (2018) describe consumption based on its function or value. Furthermore, neither of these definitions offer any limitations or boundaries within which consumption takes place; thus, some questions remain in order to underpin the concept of consumption upon which to later delineate sports consumption. What is and isn't included in the "stuff" that we have fun with? What types of experiences constitute 'consumption'? To provide this underpinning, the review turns to a quick overview of the historical development of the concept of 'consumption' and its evolution into modern implementations.

3.2.1 Evolution of Consumption

The term 'consumption' originates from 14th century English, where to 'consume' was to destroy or deplete; fire consumed buildings and diseases consumed victims (Graeber, 2011). 'Consumption' did not refer to meeting human and individual needs with material goods. Only after Adam Smith (1776; 2010: 11) writes "every workman has a great quantity of his work to dispose of beyond what he himself has occasion for…enabled to exchange a great quantity of his own [for a great] quantity of theirs," in which he incidentally juxtaposes the spheres of production and consumption, does consumption begin to refer to the meeting of only the most basic of human needs (Graeber, 2011). From the late 18th century this juxtaposing of production and consumption led early economic scientists to investigate how individuals meet these basic needs with material goods (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). Consumption, then, became a cultural universal as everyone alike needs food, shelter, and clothing (Larsen, 2013) and economic scientists continued studying how individuals met these needs and how they patterned their behaviour. Deciding that consumption was driven by function and utility, individuals thus became rational agents in the marketplace, satisfying basic physiological and psychological needs in the "maximisations of their own personal benefit" (Askegaard and Heilbrunn, 2018: 7).

A more modern notion of consumption, as one preoccupied with material or 'consumer' goods, appeared abruptly with the industrial revolution at the end of the 19th century (Graeber, 2011). This modern notion of consumption signaled the rise of consumerism and consumer society, and consumption of material goods became the de facto means of human fulfilment (Stearns, 2011).

Consumers moved on from merely satiating physiological needs to satiating more fantastical and social desires, no longer merely the simple maximization of utility and value (Askegaard and Heilbrunn, 2018). Futhermore, individuals even conspicuously use their consumption to demarcate themselves in society (Veblen, 1899) and marketplace cultures (Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011); consumption and consumption practices are forms of communication, through which individuals communicate both their sociocultural position and cement their identities (Prieur and Savage, 2011; Zhou et al., 2014; Hewer et al., 2015). Researchers also begin to note how social classes organize themselves around similar consumption profiles and patterns (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). Products serve myriad different purposes for different individuals, and therefore understanding how and why individuals choose certain products reveals certain cultural undertones regarding the structuring of society (Belk, 1988; Holt, 1995). Consumers appropriate the meanings they acquire in goods, services, and experiences, actively constructing and communicating their social positioning and identity (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1995). Whereas social classes once demarcated themselves in the physical products and material goods they consumed, today we see that social structures follow more nuanced characteristic displays of how these particular goods are consumed; i.e. along the materialistic-idealistic nexus outlined by Holt (1998). Consumption practices tend to coalesce along the different class and sociodemographic lines, providing temporal structures upon which cultures shape their hierarchies and positioning. Consumption thus became critically important in understanding cultures and also how cultures evolve over time; the patterns of consumption indicate the patterns of society at large, and act as a metaphor for social class behaviours (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). The works of Bourdieu (1984), Peterson and Kern (1996), and Holt (1998), for example, evidence that while taste profiles themselves change and evolve over time they still provide salient insights into the organized entities shaping the temporal structural hierarchies in sociocultural spheres; it is both *what* people consume and *how* people consume that works to reinforce sociocultural structures today.

Broadening the understanding of consumption, from functional to experiential, hedonic, and symbolic (i.e. Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Kozinets, 2001; Arsel and Thompson, 2011) may begin to disturb the traditional boundaries between consumption and production spheres; the increasingly varied ways in which individuals use and engage with various marketplaces to construct their realities challenges some of the traditional delineations between these spheres (Gabriel and Lang, 2006). For example, when someone goes to a Cubs, Lazio, or Texas A&M football game, and they are directly involved in chanting and creating an influential atmosphere in the stadium, are they a still simply a consumer? Are they a fan? Are

they some form of producer? Something else? Holt (1995) and Guschwan (2012) show that fan behaviours and sports consumption behaviours can provide a deeper understanding of this interrelation between production and consumption. A more nuanced conceptualization permits exploration of consumption in more varied contexts to further understand how consumers engage in these behaviours to meaningful ends (Larsen, 2013). The next section begins delineating sports consumption from broader conceptualisations of consumption to then further explore this blurring consumer-producer nexus.

3.3 Sports Consumption

3.3.1 What is Sport?

To begin a further demarcation of sports consumption from broader consumption, we must first define what constitutes sport and the sport context against which a more nuanced conceptualization can be made. The European Sports Charter (1993) offers the following:

> *All forms of physical activity which, through casual or organized participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels.*
> *(European Sports Charter, Article 2, 1993)*

This definition provides three extant limitations for a working definition of sport. Firstly, sport must be some form of physical activity. Secondly, sport can be either casual or organized. Third, sport must satisfy one of the following criteria: aims to express, communicate, display, or improve physical fitness, aims to form social relationships, or aims to obtain results in competition. However, this research argues that the European Sports Charter's definition, comprehensive as it may be, is somewhat incomplete. Conceptualisations of sport in sports consumption literature verify most of the extant limitations of the ESC (1993) but also suggest that for physical activity to qualify as 'sport' is must meet additional criteria. Hargreaves (1986) outlines that 'sport' must adhere to: an element of play, formalisation and governance by rules, uncertainty in the result, drama for regular public discourse, ritualistic adherence to rule, and the body as a symbolic material core of physical activity. The only criteria that the ESC definition explicitly satisfies compared to Hargreaves (1986), then, is that sport requires physical activity. Additionally, Guttman (1978), Tamburrini (2000), and Drewe (2003) note than sport must involve a physical contest. This verifies the physical elements of the ESC definition but also explicitly focuses on there being a 'contest.' Miller et al. (2001: 132) write that sport is "recreational and professional competitive, rule-governed physical activity," supporting both the elements of physical activity, competition, but making a point like Hargreaves (1986) to suggest sport must be governed by

rules. Suits (2007) also agrees with Hargreaves (1986) and Miller et al. (2001), arguing that sport is goal-directed activity bound to rules and customs. Notably, the ESC definition conspicuously omits any necessity for sport to adhere to rules or customs; an omission that sport as subcultural participation (explored in later sections) rectifies. Furthermore, Hemphill (2005) contends that skill in physical movement, rather than chance or luck, should be integral to the outcome of a sporting event. Thus, it appears that even after integrating only a small sample of the sports literature that the ESC definition needs to be amended to provide a working definition in this thesis. Therefore, I propose the following:

> *All forms of casual or organized physical activity, adhering to set rules, regulations, or customs, that aim to express or improve physical fitness and mental well-being through forming social relationships and competing against other participants. (European Sports Charter, Article 2, 1993 – Amended by Author)*

The above definition, amended to include both the original criteria validated by the literature and the additional criteria argued by the literature, provides a satisfactory working definition for sport. The inclusion of a provision that sport adheres to rules and customs provides an appropriate grounding for the upcoming discussion of sport as subcultural following a review of the nature and value of sport.

3.3.2 The Nature and Value of Sport

Sport is inextricably woven through the fabric of modern society, ubiquitously pervading almost all local, regional, and global cultures, their politics, and economies (Green, 2001; Greyser, 2011). One needs only look at recent FIFA World Cup viewership, with about half of the world's population watching at some point, to see a global value in sport; 3.2B viewers in 2014 and 3.26B viewers in 2018 (Clinch, 2018). Sport operates as a driving force for economic development and consumerism, certainly, but also for regional development in developed countries and modernization in developing countries (Green, 2001; Khondker and Robertson, 2018). Sport has long been closely linked to political and social policy, and is noted as being far from an 'apolitical' or culturally autonymous entity (Black, 2010: 125). For example, the original Olympiad in Ancient Greece mainly served as a means of mitigating social conflict (Murray and Pigman, 2014), while today the Olympic Games are used and manipulated by member states to further their own interests and prestige on the global stage (Grix, 2013). In fact, the creation of the modern Olympic Games was driven by political desire (Guttman, 2002) wherein countries could cement their relevance and importance through achievement in a global sport event. Sport is so critical to modern political interests and agendas that the United Nations and the 1975 European Charter

(Coalter, 2010) dictate that the opportunity to participate in sport is a human right, sparking an entire sports-for-all movement in many European countries (Coalter, 2010; Skille, 2011). The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006: 37) writes that "opportunity to take part in sport is a right in itself which must be promoted and safeguarded." Positioning participation in sport as a human right then frames sport as a means to mobilise people both physically and symbolically (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). In helping to create a healthier, inclusive participatory social culture sport plays a binding role in society, both permitting alignment of heterogeneous members of the same community and extending emotional identification between disparate communities (Chalmers Thomas et al., 2013; Maguire, 2011). Sport can play this role because it is 'character building,' developing not just personal and physical skills but desirable moral traits such as honesty, discipline, integrity, and trustworthiness (Coalter, 2010). Participation in sport has beneficial social impacts, thus playing this important role in inclusive community development (Coalter, 2007).

3.3.2.1 The Sports Product

One needs only look towards the reach of football brands such as Barcelona F.C., FIFA World Cup viewership, and the Olympic Games as examples of the ubiquitous nature of sport in modern society making the engagement with sport more accessible for more people. Beyond the importance of sport to social political policy (e.g. Shove and Pantzar, 2005; Coalter, 2007; 2010; Maguire, 2011), sport is critically important in an economic and marketing sense; it is a product and market with little to no substitutes (Mason, 1999). From an economic sense, the sports product is "the game itself" (Borland and McDonald, 2003: 4379), where from a marketing perspective there is not a consensus on what actually constitutes sport as a product. Metcalfe (1987: 163) argues that "perhaps the most visible and far-reaching example of sport as a marketable product is professional team sport," and in doing so agrees with the economic perspective. Mason (1999) also argues, rather unconventionally, that professional sports are the main sports product; his argument is that the professional leagues are the products rather than the games (i.e. the NFL rather than the Superbowl). However, Fullerton and Merz (2008) offer a more comprehensive view where the sports product is divided into three subcategories; 'spectator sports' such as attending game or media viewership, 'participation sports' whether seriously or casually organised, and 'sporting goods' such as apparel, equipment, souvenirs, and any material sports-related good. Revenue from the global sports market was expected to reach a value of US$90.1 billion in 2017 (Collignon, 2014), with the total value of the market exceeding US$600 billion by 2022 (Businesswire, 2019), evidence of the draw that activities facilitating social

processes of collective identity wield regardless of how economics or marketing disciplines define them (Davis and McGinnis, 2016).

3.3.3 Sports Consumption

Sport thus mediates the expression and formation of personal and communal identity (Donnelly and Young, 1988); providing a fertile playground for meeting many types of consumer needs like, for example, music (Larsen et al., 2010; 2013). Sports and their respective communities nurture a sense of both consumers' self-identification and the centrality of these communities' values to their identities (Kurpis and Bozman, 2011). The distinct and varied nature of sports, along with the need for sport to organize around established rules and customs, means the context provides a "highly visible, easily accessible, and particularly salient setting for the formation of subculture and the resulting expression of subcultural beliefs and values" (Green, 2001: 3-4). Each sport provides its own unique subcultural arena with divergent beliefs and values; contrasting the boisterous socialization and physicality of rugby (Donnelly and Young, 1988) with the more genteel, if at times exclusive and misogynistic, mannerisms and reservations of golf (Humphreys, 2011). Sport also clarifies the blurred delineation between social and consumption groups, illustrating a distinction between subcultures, brand communities, and communities of consumption (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007); illustration of this distinction, and the conceptualization of sport as subcultural and community consumption, provides a further link to engagement with the extant body of CCT literature where sports consumers engage with their products and brands in similar ways to extant subcultures (e.g. Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Arsel and Thompson, 2011) and communities (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001). A salient example of these types of communities and their relationship to more traditional forms of consumption are those of sports fans, with their role in value co-creation examined by Kolyperas et al. (2018).

In addition to satisfying identity and value needs, sport satisfies experiential, emotional, and fantastical needs and desires of consumers—evidenced, for example, in CCT (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Celsi et al., 1993; Sullivan and Gershuny, 2004). Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) note that the fields of leisure, entertainment, and the arts prompt higher levels of emotional and experiential engagement in consumers; thus, the experiences and depths of emotional affiliations in the sport context often transcend many traditional consumption fields (King et al., 2011). Furthermore, sport satisfies the more traditional psychological needs of self-esteem, escape, group interaction (tying into communal and local identification), drama, and entertainment (e.g. Wann, 1995; Trail and James, 2001). Significant research into the motivations for fandom,

spectatorship, and sport participation explore how sport meets these needs in more detail which the review discusses in section 3.4. In the following section, however, the review more urgently provides a conceptualization for sport consumption that draws from and builds upon these previous sections.

3.3.3.1 Conceptualising Sport Consumption

The review now conceptualizes and defines sport consumption, remembering that consumption is, broadly, enacting the right to choose in a marketplace, where Arnould et al. (2004: 9) state that consumption is "individuals or groups acquiring, using, and disposing of products, services, ideas, or experiences to satisfy needs and wants." Borrowing from Larsen (2014), who adapts this definition to suit the conceptualization of arts consumption, I similarly find this template definition suitable for sport consumption. Where Larsen (2014: 186) argues that arts consumption needs only changes of "goods, services, ideas, and experiences" to "arts," I posit that sport consumption needs only to add 'sport/sporting' and remove 'acquire' and 'dispose' for clarity, where sport consumption can be defined as *individuals or groups using sport and sport products, services, ideas, and experiences to satisfy needs and wants.* Maintaining the *products, services, ideas, and experiences* qualifiers is integral in keeping with the definition of sport provided in section 3.3.1, and allows for delineation between the consumption of *a sport* and *sports products, services, etc.* For example, an individual who purchases and wears a Liverpool F.C. shirt is not explicitly in those acts consuming the sport of professional football, they are instead consuming the Liverpool F.C. brand. They engage more broadly in sports consumption, attempting to integrate or communicate elements of the Liverpool F.C. brand or consumption community in their own identity, through a sports product as discerned by Fullerton and Merz (2008). Thus, this individual is participating in the LFC brand community and perhaps even the LFC fan subculture (under more specific contextual circumstances) (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007).

Sport consumption follows and adheres to many characteristics of subcultural consumption in providing viable behavioural and identity alternatives to mainstream and mass media culture (e.g. Celsi et al., 1993; Green, 2001; Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Sport provides a critical and practical link between sports consumption, sports consumers, and the broader domain of consumer research through subculture (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Holbrook, 1986). Sport serves this linking role through consumers engaging in three major forms of sports consumption: spectating, participation, and fandom (Holt, 1995; Guschwan, 2012). Critically, both fandom and participation in sport (as a form of consumption) provide a salient link to Consumer Culture Theory

and a discussion of co-creation and the consumer-producer nexus that helps inform this study as one of 'consumption' (Kolyperas et al., 2018). Therefore, the following section provides an overview of these three modes of consumption and an exploration of co-creation and the consumer-producer nexus.

3.3.4 Forms of Sport Consumption and Consumers

3.3.4.1 Spectators and Spectating

The most widely-researched and traditional mode of sport consumption is that of the spectator, someone who views the game or sporting event rather than participates on the field; whether it be through attending live matches or games, through engagement with traditional media (e.g. television and radio), new media (e.g. social media platforms and live streaming), or some combination of the two (Fullerton and Merz, 2008). Scholars delineate between these forms with two clear categorisations of 'direct consumption" and 'indirect consumption' (Wann et al., 1999; Mehus, 2005). Direct sport consumption involves consumption of sport live and in person, where the consumer physically attends the event as a spectator, fan, co-creator, or even as a participant in the game (Mehus, 2005). Indirect sports consumption requires engagement through some form of traditional or new media that mediates the viewership of the product (Mehus, 2005). The distinction between direct and indirect sport consumption is significant to later discussions of cultural capital in sport, as several studies wield cultural capital as a means to predict participation and spectatorship via direct and indirect distinctions (e.g. White and Wilson, 1999; Thrane, 2001; Mehus, 2005).

3.3.4.2 Participation and Participants

Another mode of sport consumption is that of participation, where an individual physically participates in sport (i.e. on the field rather than in the stands) whether it be as an athlete, coach, or referee (Kassing et al., 2004). The physical participation or playing sport, can largely be considered sport consumption most saliently in amateur sport; the individuals engaging in the performance are not producing any saleable product nor are they being paid to do. For example, an amateur golfer will pay a green fee to play a course or hold membership at a club, and therefore the golf course and the clubhouse can be understood as products for which they have paid; playing golf is then consumption of a product (Fullerton and Merz, 2008). However, an individual participating in professional sports is more likely a producer, whether they be an athlete, coach, manager, owner, or administrator (Andrews and Ritzer, 2018). The professional athlete is employed to produce the sports product consumed by others. Interestingly, however, a large

portion of the sport consumption literature investigates participation in sport from the lens of spectator behaviours (e.g. Holt, 1995; King et al., 2011; Guschwan, 2012). Spectators are seen as 'participating' in the game by playing a critical role in generating the atmosphere at the event, a backdrop against which the game itself is played (Andrews and Ritzer, 2018). This ties directly into the notion of working consumers (Zwick et al., 2008), wherein these spectators add value to the sports product that *they* have paid to attend and are not subsequently reimbursed for their efforts. Guschwan (2012) details the important role played by loyal Lazio F.C. fans in creating that stadium atmosphere in practices of for example singing, chanting, and insulting opposing players.

3.3.4.3 The Consumer-Producer Nexus

Following a brief overview of the two most prevalent types of sport consumers, spectators and participants (with a more in-depth discussion of fans and fandom coming later), an exploration of the boundaries between consumption and production in sport is necessary to place this research as one of consumption. The demarcation between the spheres of consumption and production in modern consumption and especially the context of sport is becoming increasingly muddied; the concepts of co-creation of value (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004a), working consumers (Zwick et al., 2008; Cova and Dalli, 2009), and prosumption (Cova et al., 2011; Ritzer, 2015) are changing the landscape of the consumer-producer nexus in showing the growing consumer influence in shaping their own marketplaces in the search for identity and value. The review turns to the issue of the blurred consumption-production nexus in sport, looking at typologies of integration (Holt, 1995), the consumption of performance, co-creation in co-consumption communities (Pongsakarnrungsilp and Schroeder, 2011), and prosumption (Andrews and Ritzer, 2018) in the context. Thus, the muddying of these traditional boundaries between and the changing dynamics surrounding the consumer-producer nexus are necessary in placing this research, one that investigates how *playing* a sport and *participating* in its culture, as one of consumption.

Fan behaviour at Chicago Cubs' games illustrates that spectators and fans engage in productive and personalizing practices through desires to integrate their sport consumption experiences into their identity (Holt, 1995). These practices, even as simple- as holding up signs and cheering, generate an enhanced perception that these individuals are involved in producing the baseball game; critical in making the baseball game a part of their constitutive identities (Belk, 1988; Holt, 1995). Guschwan (2012) and Khandker and Robertson (2018) agree, arguing that that fan and spectator behaviours do indeed influence and impact the professional sports product they consume. Watkins and Lee (2016) show these influences often manifest in creating an

advantageous atmosphere for the 'home' team, using the American colloquialism of the "12th Man" to communicate this behaviour in American Football fans and spectators. Thus, these fan behaviours provide a powerful example of how boundaries between consumption and production are blurred in direct forms of sports consumption. The boundaries between consumption and production are also blurred outside of the stadium, evidenced in the indirect sport consumption practices of spectators and fans engaged in co-consumption communities; ThisIsAnfield a salient example (Pongsakarnrungsilp and Schroeder, 2011). Through ThisIsAnfield, the online fan community for Liverpool F.C., fans of all stature come together to disseminate and acquire subcultural capital in the forms of knowledge, information, and experiences of the Liverpool F.C. team and brand. Groups such as this can be viewed as workshops enabling consumers to co-create value with not only other consumers in the community but the brand (i.e. team) itself (Pongsakarnrungsilp and Schroeder, 2011). Conversely, such a strong sense of co-creation and identification with both the brand and the co-consumption community can also lead consumers to engage in destructive behaviours. When fans feel as though clubs and teams, i.e. their brand, ignore their desires, they may reject the brand and even form counter-brand communities (Cromie and Ewing, 2009; Cova and White, 2010). Acts of rebellion and discord amongst fanbases can influence decisions of the club and therefore the product on the field (Stokvis, 2008).

However, for sport consumers who are primarily participants rather than spectators or fans, this nexus becomes more nuanced and complicated. Noted in section 3.3.2.1, participation sports are a sports product; both organized and casual participation sports along with individual sports involving access to and use of sport facilities (Fullerton and Merz, 2008). Clearly, physical participation in or performance of sport is then a form of sports consumption, though curiously there is a dearth of literature that investigates sport participants as consumers let alone the consumption-production nexus from this perspective. Therefore, the thesis is left largely to address the following question—at what point does someone physically playing or performing sport, rather than 'participating' in sport as a spectator or fan, become a consumer? Golf offers a viable context in which to examine this question against the primacy of my research questions. A golfer, playing with three others, is only hitting their own ball and 'playing' their own game a quarter of the time spent on the course. Does the golfer then become a consumer, or at the very least a spectator, of their playing partners' performances while not engaged in their own performance? The concepts of co-creation and co-consumption groups in sport (e.g. Healy and McDonaugh, 2013; Kolyperas et al., 2018; Pongsakarnrungsilp and Schroeder, 2011) may apply to this question, however, the extant literature mostly employs these concepts to understand how

spectators and fans—not players—contribute to the production of sport products. Perhaps this is due to persistent classification of players, coaches, and other on-field individuals as 'producers' who co-create sport products with 'consumers' (Andrews and Ritzer, 2018). The notion of prosumption may help conceptualise this nexus; individuals act as 'prosumers' in an interrelation of traditionally productive and consumptive behaviours (Ritzer, 2015). The core concept contends that there can be no consumption without some degree of production and no production without some degree consumption (Ritzer, 2015), best illustrated by social media platforms (i.e. Facebook and Instagram requires users to post for content to exist). Sport prosumption has largely been confined to studies of digital media platforms, where athletes and non-athletes alike engage in co-consumption communities with beneficiaries and providers; i.e. freeskiers making the effort to perform urban photoshoots for the purpose of sharing the media (Woermann, 2012). Though limited in its application at this point, the concept of prosumption illustrates the deeper need to embrace an understand of behaviours that do not conform to traditional consumption-production boundaries.

Even the concept of prosumption, however, is not satisfactorily exploring how *playing* sport can itself be an act of consumption. There is no extant literature that employs any concept challenging the traditional consumption-production nexus (co-creation, co-consumption, prosumption, etc.) without still delineating between, no matter how interrelated or convoluted, individual practices that are considered 'production' or 'consumption.' Yet, as these concepts work to reinterpret our understanding of production and consumption in a postmodern society, there is an increased appreciation for the role that work plays in consumption; bussing our own tables at fast food restaurants, assembling our own IKEA furniture (with mixed results), and pumping our own diesel to name but a few ways in which the landscape is changing (Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010). Perhaps it is too straightforward, and therefore invisible, to consider playing golf to be consumption. Surely, a golfer must *play golf* with their golf clubs, on the golf course that they pay to play or to be a member, to satisfy the needs and wants for which they made those marketplace choices; to consider the performance of golf to be strictly production, or work, ignores the entirety of the consumption process that consumer researchers have so arduously argued for.

3.4 Issues in Sport Consumption

The sports consumption literature spans the marketing (e.g. Mahony et al., 2000; Gladden and Funk, 2001), management (e.g. Funk and James, 2001; Funk and James, 2006), and sociology (e.g. Donnelly and Young, 1988; Gemar, 2018) disciplines in addition to some substantial studies in the

field of consumer research (e.g. Holt, 1995). However, much of the abundant research in the marketing and management disciplines may not fall under the banner of 'sport consumption' if it does not investigate how consumers use sport and its ideas, services, experiences, and products to satisfy needs and wants. These needs and wants are broad, from traditional consumer psychology and a more rational interpretation of the consumer to more hedonic, experiential, and emotional needs. The review necessitates that issues in sport consumption are examined from a combination of two perspectives. Consumer researchers invoke sport, the sports context, and sport consumers to investigate a wide array of issues: expanding behavioural profiles (Celsi et al., 1993), a consumption object and typologically classifying framework (Holt, 1995), a bastion of masculinity (Holt and Thompson, 2004; Kozinets et al., 2004; Thompson and Holt, 2004), window into alternative ritualistic practices (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry, 1989), resolution and restoration of disenfranchised consumers' agency (Martin and Schouten, 2014), community and personal identity (Sun and Wu, 2012; Chalmers et al., 2013), and a significant amount of casual references where sport is used in an arbitrary or as a minor methodological detail to investigate other consumer phenomena (e.g. Simonson, 1989; Wertenbroch et al., 2007). More traditional marketing and managerial scholars utilise sport for a more targeted set of collective issues: loyalty in attitude and behaviour (e.g. Mahoney et al., 2000; Funk and James, 2001; Bauer et al., 2008) motivations for consuming sport and participating in sport (e.g. McDonald et al., 2002; Smith and Stewart, 2007; Wann et al., 2008), identity as team affiliation (e.g. Trail, Anderson, and Fink, 2005; Bee and Kahle, 2006), and gender in sports consumption (e.g. James and Ridinger, 2002; Farrell, Fink, and Shield, 2011; Berlin and Klenosky, 2014). Researchers in sports consumption have been primarily concerned with these issues to satisfy managerial curiosities, evidenced by the overwhelming presence of managerial implications at the end of many articles in, for example, the *Sports Marketing Quarterly* and *Sports Management Review* journals.

Given the differing nature of the consumer and managerial perspectives, the review looks to combine these into one more cohesive set of issues in the sports consumption literature; motivation for sport consumption, gender, masculinity and femininity in sports consumption, and identity and fandom in sport consumption. Research concerning motivation for sport participation and attendance, sport and identity, and gendered consumption practices in sport carry significance to this thesis, informing the research with explicit and implicit links to cultural capital in the role sport plays perpetuating and structuring consumers' social spaces and their efforts to gain status within them. Therefore, the review adopts a structure of recognising the broad issues and then identifying the relevant literature within. Motivation for sport consumption informs the

thesis by addressing how individuals choose particular sports and subsequently develop attachments to those sports, driving the acquisition of capital and status. Gendered issues in sports consumption explore differences in the acquisition and characteristics of capital and status. Finally, identity and fandom in sports consumption practices investigates how consumers may influence their social positioning through certain displays. It should be noted, however, that while the issue of loyalty in sports consumption has been investigated with a fair degree of fervour, this particular research stream is largely irrelevant to this thesis. Given the extremely quantitative and managerial nature of much of this extant research on loyalty, it does little to contribute to this discussion so will be omitted from the upcoming section.

3.4.1 Consumer Motivations for Sports Consumption

Another issue throughout much of the sports consumption literature is that of the motivations driving consumer behaviour, also providing a platform to investigate why individuals consume sport; linking back to consumer research and cultural capital. Consumer motivations for sport consumption inform this research in the ways individuals place themselves along Holt's (1998) idealistic binaries (i.e. autotelic as opposed to self-actualising motivations for sport imply different characteristics about capital resources in the field). Wann et al. (2008) neatly outline the accepted motivations for sport: escape, eustress, economic, self-esteem, group affiliation, family, entertainment, and aesthetic. Several of these motives directly relate to the evolution in consumer research from the rational decision-making process into the experiential and emotive conceptualisation of consumption. Escape involves consumers using sports consumption as a diversion from everyday life, and one might expect a nod to experiential or hedonic consumption (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Hirschman and Holbrook ,1982) but none occur. The eustress motive, seeing "[f]ans with high levels of eustress…enjoy the excitement and arousal they experience watching sport" (Wann et al., 2008: 7), also begs a linking with experiential and hedonic consumption but none are made. Consumer researchers touch on these same motivations, however, and engage with experiential and hedonic aspects; for example, as Holt (1995) discusses how, in consuming as play, sports consumers share experiences to build mutual affiliation and entertain each other.

Perhaps the lack of Sports Marketing and Management scholars exploring the experiential and hedonic aspects of consumption in sport is due to the fairly narrow and common derivation of sport motivation being linear satisfactions of Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs (e.g. Sloan, 1989; McDonald et al., 2002; Ko, Park, and Claussen, 2008). These studies develop Maslow's basic needs

into more refined lists of various factors (i.e. physical fitness, stress reduction, catharsis, skill-mastery, self-actualisation, etc.) and quantitatively determine the most important factors for different sport participants and spectators; despite the fact that Maslow's needs hierarchy has not been relevant to consumer research for almost half a century (Baumgartner, 2002). However, there are distinct traces of cultural capital that emerge if these tired, regurgitated motivations are reclassified. Health and well-being becomes physical fitness and development of the body (e.g. Bourdieu, 1978; Warde, 2006; Kahma, 2012), achievement becomes self-actualisation (e.g. Holt, 1998; Munoz-Bullon et al., 2017) and group affiliation becomes communicated identity (e.g. Holt, 1995; Holt, 1998; Warde, 2006; Jones, 2017). All of these reclassified motivations link to cultural capital and stratification in the social space, particularly with regard to gendered stereotypes and cultural capital development, acquisition, and characterisation (Warde, 2006). These motivations, reclassified, can now provide insights into the broader consumption ambitions of the consumer; not only critical, but more appropriate, to a field clearly shown to create intense emotional and symbolic attachments that extend far beyond any singular act of participation or consumption (Lobert, 2012; O'Reily et al., 2013). If only there was a body of literature in sports consumption that employed these reclassified motivations.

3.4.2 Gender in Sports Consumption

Reclassified or not, motivations in sports provide an appropriate point of departure for an overview of relevant gendered issues in sports consumption. Gendered consumption practices in sports provide a natural link to exploring cultural capital in the sports consumption context. Gendered elements of sports consumption are, at once, both obvious and intricately nuanced, evidenced in stereotyping, motivations for, and socialisation into sports consumption practices. With regards to stereotypes, despite developments in the criticisms of gender being a binary, the literature largely still adheres to the typical men/women classification—therefore, the review employs these terms to maintain a continuity with the literature being discussed. Research posits that men and women mostly prefer different sports; men prefer sports that focus on socialisation and competition, women prefer sports that focus on body development and maintenance (Warde, 2006; Bennett et al., 2009; Reeves, 2012). Sport stereotyping, i.e. which sports are appropriate for men and women respectively, contribute to this preferential divide. The concept of masculinity has traditionally dominated the realm of sport, with only a fraction of sports reserved or set aside for women (Koivula, 1995). Hyper-masculinity, aggression, and competition characterise many mainstream sports such as football, American football, and basketball, whereas femininity characterises marginalised sports such as gymnastics and figure skating (Koivula, 1995).

Women compete in most sports regardless of these stereotypes, even those carrying the extreme hyper-masculine connotations (Hardin and Greer, 2009). Interestingly, participation in sport and physical activity carries a positive correlation to the neutralisation of sport being perceived as either masculine or feminine; the more an individual participates in any sport, the less likely they are to classify any other sport in a stereotypical gendered manner (Harden and Greer, 2009). It is important to note that research investigating these stereotypical associations show that golf, this research context, carries no gendered characteristics and individuals largely consider golf to be neutral and neither dominantly masculine nor feminine (Koivula, 1995).

Studies argue that men and women do compete and participate in sport for different reasons (Wann, 1995; Wann et al., 1999; Reeves, 2012), however, the literature cannot reach a consensus on how these motivations differ (Farrell et al., 2012). Some research posits that men consume sport with a focus on eustress, self-esteem, escape, and aesthetics while women indicate a focus on family-oriented and social consumption (Wann et al., 1999; Dietz-Uhler et al., 2000). Another study claims that men, in fact, rather than women, are more concerned with family-oriented consumption (i.e. watching sport with family members) (James and Ridinger, 2002). Further confusing any consensus are studies confirming more competitive motives for women in sport, contradicting the narrative of women as primarily with maintenance of the body and socialisation; particularly those who participate in lawn bowling, swimming, and golf (e.g. Heuser, 2005; Berlin and Klenosky, 2014). These contradictory studies are qualitative in design, and therefore could indicate that much of the inability to reach consensus on sport motivations is the inability of objective, quantitative research to provide meaningful data that can account for nuances in individualistic aspects of consumption (Murray and Ozanne, 1991). Nevertheless, it is still widely accepted that women consume sport with a bodily and family-oriented focus while men consume sport with a broadly social and competitive focus (Stempel, 2005; Warde, 2006; Bennett et al., 2009).

Gender alone then seems an insufficiently nuanced factor to account for the various motivations and preferences in sports consumption. Considering the confusion between motivations of men and women, factoring in class and social standing strengthens the relationships between gender, motivation, and consumption patterns (Reeves, 2012). Therefore, a considering for cultural capital in how gendered sports consumption patterns manifest provides at least a modicum of necessary clarity. In the sports context, several authors make references to gendered cultural capital. Wilson (2002) argues for the importance of gender in determining sports preference and

practice as a form of cultural capital, even noting how Bourdieu (1984) seriously underestimated the role of gender in formation, acquisition, composition, and deployment of cultural capital. Often, Bourdieu's analysis of gender and class is too broad to appreciate and discern patterns of practice especially in sport (Reeves, 2012). Traditional levels of cultural capital, measured by education and occupation levels, illustrate a gendered relationship in predicting sport attendance (Wilson, 2002); this only confirms DiMaggio's (1985) condemnation of using education levels as a proxy for cultural capital levels, as other authors maintain that gender is the single most important differentiation factor when sport consumption becomes cultural capital (Warde, 2006).

Gender is a powerful factor in predicting levels and types of sport consumption when considering additional factors to gender and education levels themselves. Women still perform the bulk of 'status work' in the home, therefore dominating cultural production and consumption (Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2004). This is time-intensive work, a fact oft-overlooked by research parameters, and may play a large role in determining which sports and activities women engage in; likewise, stay-at-home fathers may exhibit similar physical activity preferences to women in traditional hegemonic roles (Skeggs, 2004; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2014). Therefore, female preferences for fitness sports and aerobic exercise, implying by default a focus on the body so often referenced in the literature, could result from the disparities in how men and women spend their leisure time and consequently how much "free" time women actually have. Women may even consume *more* sport than men, but gravitate towards the gym or fitness sports as those typically take less time overall than more competitive, traditional sport (e.g. Humphreys, 2011; Hoeber and Kerwin, 2013). Therefore, perhaps it is not that women prefer fitness sports to those with heightened elements of individual or team competition, but instead that those fitness sports are the only type available to them within the context of their consumption and hegemonic responsibilities. This becomes clear, as when women identify as the head or partner of the head of household, they report watching live sport at a fraction of the rates that men do (Bauer et al., 2008; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2010; Farrell et al., 2011).

When consumers watch live sports, the manner frequently depends on their socialisation into sports culture. The socialisation of women into sport carries heavily gendered observations, with men playing the role of 'socialiser' most often; women rarely, if ever, credit any female influence on initiating their interest in participation or attendance in sport (Farrell et al., 2011). Women socialised into sport often adopt the preferences of the socialiser, and this pattern of subcultural capital transmission contributes to the lack of female consumption of women's sport.

Respondents to Farrell et al. (2011) show that having grown up and socialising into sport via men's basketball or American football, women's sport is now 'boring.' Furthermore, women's sport receives little media coverage, and spectator loyalty is dependent on team performance—contradicting much of the literature on fandom that paints an emotional co-creative bond almost completely independent of team performance (Sandvoss, 2005; Healy and McDonaugh, 2013). Oddly, even consistently winning is frequently not enough to sway media attention away from mediocre men's teams (Farrell et al., 2011). Professional and elite athletes, both male and female, recognise not only the disparity in media coverage but the necessity to find ways other than sport and athletic competence to grab attention in that media. Mainstream media continues to promote sensual and sexualised images as a representation of women's sport, though the research demonstrably shows that the core consumers of women's sport—women—react negatively to sexualised imagery opposed to portrayals of athletic competence and skill (Kane et al., 2013). This research, proving the inefficacy of selling sex to a fleeting and inconsequential demographic of women's sport consumers, has yet to penetrate the mainstream media consciousness; further proof of the rampant dominance of masculinity evident in the context of sport (Kane et al., 2013). These observations reflect the pervasiveness of hegemonic masculinity and the dominant position men occupy throughout sports and broader culture (Schell and Rodriguez, 2000).

These gendered discrepancies in sports consumption link to the positioning of women as 'capital bearing objects' rather than 'capital accumulating objects' (Lovell, 2000; Skeggs, 2004). This is a Bourdieuian positioning, illustrated by the characterisation of many traditional forms of cultural capital, such as participation and a taste for the arts, theatre, etc. as feminine (Dumais, 2002). Women who break this hegemonic mould and invest in their sports consumption and participation instead struggle for recognition and the respect of their often-male peers. Evidence of this appears in fantasy sport, sports knowledge, and action sports. Female participants in fantasy sports, for example, is rising steadily and women are consistent, loyal consumers even "in sport of the ridicule and perceived 'second class' status that female sports fans continue to experience" (Ruihley and Billings, 2012: 450). Women display voracious appetites for sports knowledge and information, yet find themselves shut off from engaging with their male counterparts seeking to protect the masculinity of their identities (Farrell et al., 2011). Professional female snowboarders, for example, compete in the same field and accumulate cognitive and corporeal skills and experiences in the same fashion as their male counterparts, yet are still marginalised by a hyper-masculine field requiring neither a physical or emotional masculinity (Thorpe, 2009). These are

frustrating patterns of exclusion and marginalisation, considering that men visibly succeed in other fields more readily when adopting feminine characteristics or at least muting their own masculine tendencies (Dumais, 2002; Stempel, 2006). Taking part in sports which mute or soften hyper-masculine behaviours extant in typical high school environments tend to both better prepare and provide opportunities to the white-collar workplace (Stempel, 2006). Further, the muting of masculinities in sporting success echoes Dumais' (2002) claims that young men with more traditional cultural capital resources may be hesitant to deploy them due to their effeminate qualities. Thus, we see a blatant social hypocrisy in the field sport. Women are denied opportunities and marginalised in the field of sport by a dominant, hegemonic masculinity; the same masculinity cast off by successful, ambitious young men who embrace elements of femininity to further their own social and cultural opportunities.

3.5 Identity and Cultural Capital in Sport Consumption

Identity provides a salient point of departure in the exploration of cultural capital in sport for two reasons. Firstly, Bourdieu (1984) notes that 'taste' is predominantly a *distaste* for the identity associated with other sets of preferences and dispositions. Therefore, Bourdieu (1984) establishes an early and primary link between identity and cultural capital, as the concept of taste is central to his theories of cultural capital and habitus. Secondly, subcultures develop specific sets of tastes and values, drawing meanings from their consumption objects disparate to the mainstream (Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Given that sport consumption behaviour not only often mirrors, but is considered to be, subcultural consumption behaviour (e.g. Green, 2001), this reinforces and reifies the relevance between the sports context and investigation of cultural capital. The review now explores identity and the sports context.

3.5.1 Identity in Sports Consumption

Identity is a critical issue to sport consumption literature, as sport provides a fertile context for individuals to attain and communicate valued personal, social, and communal affiliations (Jones, 2017). Strong links to cultural capital emerge in thematic elements of subculture in sport (e.g. Wheaton, 2000; Green, 2001; Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007), immersion (e.g. Donnelly and Young, 1988; Kozinets et al., 2004), and adoption of normative behaviours (e.g. Zhou et al., 2014) to establish, validate, and communicate identities embedded into the sport context. One aspect of sports consumption and identity that holds significance is that of integration. Holt's (1995) seminal study of consumption practice typology provides a reasonable point of departure. In those typologies, integration illustrates how a sports context provides consumption objects that

become part of the consumer's projection and self (Belk, 1988). Integration plays a foundational role in the formation of sports consumers' identities, as the process of integration requires absorbing and associating the values and meanings of the consumption object into the consumers' self-concepts (Solomon, 2003; Zerubavel, 1993). This works in a reciprocal way, either from object to self (Belk, 1988) or self to object (Zerubavel, 1993). Prevalent elements of co-creation (Zwick et al., 2008) and prosumption (Andrews and Ritzer, 2018) in sports consumption with the heightened levels of involvement extant in sports (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982) encourage the integration process; participation in the production of the consumption activity, i.e. fans cheering, makes integration of the consumption object automatic (Holt, 1995). Given that this integration can be automatic, sports consumers may by default then develop identities embedded in the sports context they integrate (Holt, 1995). The sports context does place certain baggage on identities embedded and located in the sports context, as there are behavioural expectations associated with communicating athletic and sports-related identities (Coleman and Williams, 2013). For example, sports consumers identifying as fans, and therefore devoted individuals with deep emotional connections to a team, would be expected to keep up to date with, attend games of, and generally engage with the team across media platforms. Identities in sport, whether more casual or intense, are often self-proclaimed and aspirational as individuals immerse themselves into subcultures of sport to satisfy desires for group affiliation and social validation (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Sloan, 1989; Zhou et al., 2014).

The often-subcultural nature of sport consumption facilitates the development of these identities located in valued social constructs centred around community (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007). In order to join and participate in these communities, consumers must learn and display the normative subcultural behaviours to acquire, validate, and communicate their aspirational identities within them (Zhou et al., 2014). Neophytes and new members are seen "deliberately adopting mannerisms and attitudes, and styles of dress, speech, and behaviour they perceive to be characteristic of established members of the 'achieved' subculture" (Donnelly and Young, 1988: 224). These practices illustrate, essentially, the neophyte's attempts to acquire and socialise into the habitus of the subculture. Some sports subcultures, such as rugby, welcome these neophytes and aspirational participations; subjecting new members to various degrees of hazing before embracing them into the fold with raucous drinking culture (Donnelly and Young, 1988). Other sports subcultures are less receptive to dissemination of their distinct capital resources and engage in purifying practices (Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Strong desires to form localised communities in surfing leads dominant members to deny or withhold others' ability to

express their newfound subcultural identities; stealing waves to prohibit neophytes, or even experienced but foreign surfers, from practicing the sport and the reification of an authentic, sports-related identity (Csikszentmihaly, 2000; Botterill, 2007). Dominant members of the surfing community spot these outsiders through embodied and objectified cultural capital such as their equipment, and then enact physically violent acts in order to assert their status and hierarchical position; in doing so completely disregarding much of the surfing etiquette (Evers, 2010). Their efforts to establish their authority in the field establish only that they are "assholes" while disrupting the consumption practices of others (Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Similarly, fans of certain football clubs engage in exclusionary practices that link to subcultural demarcation and symbolic projection (Arsel and Thompson, 2011); for example, members of the diehard Manchester United fan community refusing to wear branded clothing in the stadium (Brown, 2008). Thus, anyone without the correct cultural "entry ticket" to the supporter communities, is denied access (Back et al., 2001).

3.6 Fans and Fandom

Fandom is a form of consumption and engagement with cultural contexts and cultural brands, described as the "recognition of a positive, personal, relatively deep emotional connection with a mediated element of popular culture" (Duffet, 2013: 2); fans are a form of consumer evidencing strong emotional attachment, experiential aspect, personalised identity, and communal identity with cultural brands (i.e. sports and their teams) (Holt, 1995; Hirt and Clarkson, 2011). Literature exploring Lazio F.C. loyalists (Guschwan, 2012), excessive and compulsive sports consumption behaviour (Davis and McGinnis, 2016), and discordant or disruptive sports consumption behaviours (Hewer et al., 2015), all use fans as a lens through which to study overtly emotional and sometimes irrational consumption. 'Fandom' embodies the transcendence of emotional and experiential aspects of the sports context (King et al., 2011), in addition to illustration the powerful social and communal nature of sport (Csikszentmihaly, 2000). Studies in consumer research expose a deep commitment to and symbolism in the sports context where consumers engage in sacred ritualistic practices (Belk et al., 1989) bordering on the religious (O'Reilly et al., 2013). In fact, fans and fandom help explain the concept of experiential loyalty, that goes far beyond any traditional behavioural and attitudinal constructs and takes root in the development of intense, symbolic aspects of consumption; illustrates why these types of consumers exhibit 'irrational' behaviours (Obiegbu et al., 2019). Futhermore, fandom is a manifestation of the deep social desire for inclusion (Kozinets, 2001), which can be seen in the popularity of socialisation and group affiliation as motives for sport participation, that stands resoundingly at odds with the traditional

exclusionary nature of Bourdieu's cultural capital.

The deep emotional and experiential aspects of being a 'sports fan' have become critical to consumer and personal identities of the fans where, for example, being a Manchester United or a Yankees fan is a primary form of identity in the same manner as a nationality or occupation (Kozinets et al., 2004; Hirt and Clarkson, 2011). Sports fans of the same teams therefore often experience strong emotional ties to the team and other likeminded fans (Jones, 2017). The communal elements of these identities and emotional attachments bind people together, even bonding heterogeneous groups like subcultures, subcultures of consumption, and brand communities organised around sport (Brown, 2004; Chalmers Thomas et al., 2012; Greyser, 2011). Fandom thus provides tangible visualisation of the binding social fabric that renders sport so important to many communities in modern society, and communities of fans behave like strong traditional brand communities (Greyser, 2011; Guschwan, 2012; Hewer, Ganon, and Cardina, 2015). Fandom and the practice of being a sports fan do, however, carry some more insidious and institutionally hegemonic connotations. Notably, Thompson and Holt (2004) make a considerable point to show how sports fandom provides a socially acceptable method for consumers and individuals to engage in hegemonic masculinity; sports being a "cultural bastion of phallic masculinity" that often excludes female consumers from achieving the same legitimacy in consumption through gendered discrimination. Kozinets et al. (2004) further position the negativity of sports and fandom in noting the role U.S. sports culture plays in perpetuating violent and gendered market subversions of normative behaviours, i.e. the lack of resistance to the hyper-masculine, hyper-competitive, drunken atmosphere of sports bars and the ESPN Zone in particular.

3.6.1 Sports Fans and Cultural Capital

Whether positive or negative, fans and the practices of fandom in sports consumption provide a natural link to cultural capital evidenced in a few consistent themes of distinction in the general understandings of subcultural behaviour (e.g. Green, 2001; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Sports fans look to distinguish themselves from other fans of the same team, fans of other teams, non-fans or casual sports consumers through classifying consumption practices (Holt, 1995), positioning themselves against the 'mainstream' like other subcultures (Jancovich, 2002), and the creation of their own systems of social positioning and cultural capital (Fiske, 1989; Kozinets, 2001; Chadborn et al., 2017). Sports fans, like other consumers, practice consumption as classification, through either objects or activity, in efforts to distinguish themselves in the

market and social spaces (Holt, 1995). Objects can include memorabilia, merchandise, team-branded apparel, equipment, or any number of specific objects an individual could use to set themselves aside as a sports fan or team fan. The display of cultural objects works to help newcomers achieve status and bolster identities (Hills, 2002), and likewise the display of cultural objects is a display of group knowledge and cultural capital (Geraghty, 2014); evidenced both in the display of cultural markers as objectified cultural capital and the facilitating role objectified cultural capital plays in foreign or new consumer assimilation (Davis and McGinnis, 2016). Recalling the "asshole" surfer, the neophyte displayed the *wrong* objects and was therefore treated as an outsider. Classification as activity sets the fan apart and positions them within the social space and relative fan hierarchy with which they identify. Two salient examples of classification as activity are given by baseball fans (Holt, 1995) and Manchester United 'lads' (Richardson and Turley, 2006). Baseball fans occasionally will invoke the "throwback," wherein if a knowledgeable fan catches a home run hit by the opposing team, they will throw the ball back onto the field as an act of defiance; neophytes or new consumers might keep the ball, but this would indicate unfamiliarity with more in-depth levels of knowledge of the baseball fan subculture (Holt, 1995). Diehard Manchester United fans as mentioned earlier, on the other hand, distinguish themselves in their drinking, chanting, singing, and refusal to wear merchandised apparel or accessories into the stadium; any fan seen wearing a team shirt in the stadium is immediately branded a 'new consumer' by the 'lads' (Richardson and Turley, 2006).

In the 'throwback' and the boycott, these two fan bases use acts of defiance to claim status and express the intensity of their sports-related identities (Crawford, 2004). These practices stem from the desire for recognition and distinction, rather than a rejection of the mainstream market (Richardson and Turley, 2006), strengthening the connection between fans, fandom, subculture, and cultural capital; it was the aversion to disco, rather than rejection of the entirety of popular music, that spawned the punk subculture and movement (Thornton, 1997). In a similar way to those identifying with the punk subculture looking to distinguish themselves from the banality of disco music, or Indie consumers looking to distinguish themselves from hipsters and other 'mainstream' culture, sports fans look to demarcate themselves from 'barstool' or casual sports consumers (Richardson and Turley, 2006; Richardson and Turley, 2007). In doing so, sports fans and fan subcultures, like other subcultures, develop and conform to their own systems of cultural capital i.e. 'subcultural' capital (Kates, 2002); unique mechanisms such as the 'throwback' and boycott work to enforce these subcultural systems (Holt, 1995; Chadborn et al., 2017). These fan subcultures can be incredibly active and participatory, as fans must construct and deploy systems

of cultural capital structured around the resources to which they *do* have access (Fiske, 1989); noting a prevalent theme amongst working class fans that they are relegated and excluded in society due to that the family they were born into (Fiske, 1989).

3.7 Sports Consumption in Traditional Cultural Capital Contexts

Following the discussion of relevant, broad issues in sports consumption the review briefly revisits the traditional research contexts of cultural capital from a sports consumption lens in refreshing the linkage between these two literature review chapters. Before *Distinction* (1984), and shortly after *Reproduction* (1977), Bourdieu (1978) studies the demand for sport and its products. Guided by questions of how taste for sport develops, and therefore taste for certain sports over others, Bourdieu (1978) discovers that sport has its own autonomous chronology; a history separate from the society in which it operates. The taste for sport amongst the classes does not follow the same patterning and progression in sync with other consumption areas (i.e. food, music, clothing, etc.). For example, rugby was once a sport preferred by the working and lower classes, and football was preferred by the middle upper classes; however, the bourgeoisie appropriated rugby into the culture of private schools while divesting the football culture to the masses (Bourdieu, 1978). The bourgeoisie did not appropriate the entirety of rugby culture, though, only Rugby Union. Rugby League was left, with football, to the dominated masses (Bourdieu, 1978; Dunning and Sheard, 1976). Golf is beginning to show similar signs of bifurcation, with the dominance of Tiger Woods instigating more widespread adoption; working classes, lower classes, and minority ethnicities are now reversing the 19th century middle class appropriation (Ceron-Anaya, 2015) of golf by participating where it is affordable. The review briefly examines sport consumption in education contexts (e.g. Eitle and Eitle, 2002; Kaufman and Gabler, 2004) and sociological contexts (e.g. Thrane, 2001; Mehus, 2005; Stempel, 2005) that invoke more traditional forms of cultural capital.

3.7.1 Outcomes of Sport Consumption in Education

In education, sports consumption often occurs in the form of varsity or intercollegiate athletics. The extant literature examines the relationship between participation in sport and academic achievement, opportunity, and social mobility while largely discounting, or ignoring, the impact of spectatorship and fandom on academic achievements. These studies examine how individuals use sport to meet achievement, self-actualisation, and socialisation needs. These studies are predominantly quantitative in design, looking to provide conclusive judgments on the positivity or negativity of sports participation during academic pursuits; the boost or burden of being a student-athlete. Sports participation increases academic drive, as students must maintain certain

grade levels to remain eligible to play (Eitle and Eitle, 2002). Playing sport in school brings players increased attention from the disseminators of cultural capital in the school, particularly teachers; critical for low cultural capital students 'leveling' their own playing field (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1990; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 2000). Sport participation in school further leads to increases employment and networking opportunities post-education, and participating in popular sports improves students' chances of gaining admission into academically superior institutions (Light and Kirk, 2001; Kaufman and Gabler, 2004). Furthemore, former student-athletes tend to cash in on these opportunities, seeing a wage premium over non-athletes by 7% when all other factors are held constant (Kotschwar, 2014). Employers recognise certain abstract forms of subcultural and cultural capital, such as discipline, work ethic, and teamwork, are imbued into adolescents and young adults playing sport (Henderson et al., 2006). However, in order to receive and take advantage of these opportunities from sport, the student-athlete requires access to adequate facilities; recent studies provide counter-evidence that merely participating in sports in school may not, in isolation, provide lasting changes in social and employment trajectory (Black et al., 2019).

Conversely, scholars have long argued that sports consumption integrated into the academic curriculum (i.e. varsity sport programs) plays a critical role in undermining the maximisation of learning, leading athletes to perform poorly in the classroom (e.g. Coleman, 2006). Disadvantaged sociodemographic cultures overemphasise the role sport plays in social mobility, as ethnic minority students disproportionately consume sport in efforts to achieve elusive, hyper-rare, and lucrative sports contracts to improve their life chances (Eitle and Eitle, 2002). While some authors claim, definitively, that there is no causal relationship between sport participation and academic success (e.g. Rees and Sabia, 2010), others conclude that participation in sport does in fact lead to better grades (e.g. Munoz-Bullon et al., 2017). Furthermore, compared to non-athletes, student-athletes achieve higher university entrance exam scores and attain graduate degrees at higher rates (Henderson et al., 2006). A confluence of research contexts and methodologies is likely to blame for these discrepancies and oppositional findings, though for now there remains little consensus in the literature on the relationship between sports consumption (as participation, at least) and educational achievement. The impact of sports consumption on educational achievement is relevant, informing the thesis as many of the research participants, during the fieldwork, were university students and reference sport participation improving their academics.

3.7.2 Cultural Capital and Predicting Sports Consumption

There are strong correlations between economic capital and sports consumption, especially direct consumption, offering a straightforward stable construct in which to predict sports consumption (Mehus, 2005). However, the relationships between levels of traditional cultural capital and sports consumption are more complex and nuanced (e.g. White and Wilson, 1999; Thrane, 2001). The following contexts each carry strong positive relationships between levels of cultural capital and sports consumption, with much of the variance coming in how sports consumption manifests in each context; in Canada, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavia, scholars find those with the highest levels of education are the most likely to attend sporting events and participate in sport (White and Wilson, 1999; Thrane, 2001; Stempel, 2005; Warde, 2006; Kahma, 2012). Individuals with high levels of traditional cultural capital exhibit stronger preference for fitness, aerobic, and deliberately non-physical competitive sport; a focus on the body, and bodily discipline, helps to physically embody the symbolic demarcation of the upper class from the lower (Stempel, 2005; Kahma, 2012). Generally, the higher an individual's social class and cultural capital levels, the higher their focus on self-actualising sport pursuits and less physically competitive consumption. In a self-proclaimed paradox in North America, Wilson (2002) notes those with the highest levels of cultural capital are the most likely to directly consume sports in general but also the least likely to consume sports favoured by the working classes. Problematically, Wilson (2002) states that American elites avoid sports that emphasise asceticism and violence, whereas others show that not only do American HCCs actively seek asceticism and discipline (Holt, 1998), elites in general prefer these characteristics as well in their sport (Kahma, 2012).

Like studies reviewed earlier in marketing and cultural capital research, these are not without inconsistency. One study in particular finds a negative relationship between cultural capital and sport consumption. In Scandinavia, those with higher amounts of cultural capital, in the form of education attainment, engage in less direct sports consumption that others. Remember that direct sports consumption involves physical attendance and participation in sporting events—providing, albeit in a variant context, a refutation of Wilsons' (2002) findings. Looking at soccer, basketball, and ski-jumping, Mehus (2005) concludes, using education levels once again as a proxy for cultural capital (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.6 for issue here), that higher cultural capital individuals directly consume less soccer, basketball, and ski-jumping than lower cultural capital individuals. Oddly, none of the sports used in his study would actually qualify as sporting interests for HCC individuals (Thrane, 2001; Stempel, 2005; and Kahma, 2012) therefore only confirming

assumptions that other studies took for granted. Mehus (2005) recognises the shortcomings of his sampling of sports in the introduction and discussion of his paper, noting that a study comparing ice hockey and golf, for example, would likely provide sharper data on the relationship between education and direct sports consumption. However, this research *does* confirm a negative relationship between cultural capital and direct consumption of sports now considered to be working class (i.e. soccer/football and basketball), illustrating the inverse relationship of other studies examining sports consumption and cultural capital.

3.8 Sports Consumption and Golf

A review of the literature on the consumption of golf is now necessary to inform and place the research. The penultimate section of this literature review begins with an exploration of the context of golf and clearly justifying it as sport. The section then works through extant literature and uses of golf, sparse though they are, to move into discussions of golf as subcultural consumption. Finally, the section concludes with a look at how cultural manifests in golf and the gap this research seeks to fill.

3.8.1 The Context of the Sport of Golf

To begin, golf satisfies the definition of sport given at the beginning of the chapter, having elements of physical activity, competition, skill, and rules and customs. In fact, golf is governed by a *highly* formalised, exhaustive set of rules with two global governing bodies in the United States Golf Association and the Royal & Ancient Golf Club (Rankin et al., 2017). Golf is certainly not the only sport with formalised rules, though, as it cannot be by definition of sport; the International Football Association Board (2019) lays out the laws of football in a 246-page document. Golf is, however, unique in that it is the only sport that often requires players and participants to call penalties *on themselves* during formalised competition; in many sports, players will get away with whatever they can (though this is not necessarily maliciously intended). Individuals use their participation in golf and spectatorship of golf, like consumers in other sports, to achieve value and meaning; satisfying both more traditional psychological and physiological needs (Robinson et al., 2004; Hwang and Lee, 2018) as well as the modern experiential, hedonic, fantastical needs as leisure and recreation (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982).

Golf began in 16th and 17th century Scotland, as an egalitarian game for the people wherein players and spectators would move from the pub into the local field to gamble and show off their skill

(Green, 1987). The first set of rules were published in Leith, Scotland, in 1744, but "despite the publication of this code, the game was still played on public land using all sort of improvised equipment, bets were a normal practice, and golfing matches were commonly followed by festive groups drinking and celebrating the outcomes on the course," (Ceron-Anaya, 2010: 343). Over time, the Industrial Revolution in England produced a newly-wealthy middle and upper class that needed some means of social demarcation in this new societal hierarchy; like how Bourdieu (1978) and Dunning and Sheard (1976) note the private schools appropriated Rugby Union, these individuals appropriated golf. Golf became a marker for social status and exclusivity (Green, 1987). These new middle and upper classes instituted dress codes, asset of behaviours they deemed acceptable (i.e. etiquette), and, perhaps most importantly, a system of handicapping. The handicapping system in effect stripped away much of the necessity for skill in order to play and achieve recognition in golf, allowing these new elite players to completely disregard anyone more physically proficient at the sport (Green, 1987; Ceron-Anaya, 2010). The act of playing golf then became an exercise in self-actualisation, working to better oneself and improve the 'handicap.' With the removal of the necessary elements of skill, golf thus became a networking pastime hidden away in exclusionary elitist establishments. Private clubs, charging high entry and membership fees, were created to prohibit anyone without the requisite economic, cultural, and social capital accessing these networks (Humphreys, 2011) and "ensure a certain calibre of member" (Belk, 2000: 10). The fact that these clubs excluded the lower class from actually participating in golf was likely secondary. Golf as a networking pastime, hidden away behind English aristocracy rather than as the exercise in fun, skill, and gambling prowess as the Scottish intended, perpetuated the contentious power relations of disadvantage that golf has become known for (Green, 1987; Rankin et al., 2017; Gladwell, 2017). It is critically important to note that the game of golf itself and its rules for play, not membership to any club, do not exclude or include anyone in particular; they privilege no-one (McGinnis et al., 2005).

3.8.2 Golf in the Sports Consumption Literature

Following an introduction to the context, an exploration of golf in the sports consumption literature informs this research with regards to its own contextual framework. There is a surprising dearth of literature in sports consumption that studies golf at all; golf has a massive global market and popularity in an exploding sports tourism market (Hennessy et al., 2008). There is even further scarcity of consumer research that digs into the development of culture and subcultural meaning in the sport (e.g. Humphreys, 2011), and almost no literature at all dealing with cultural and social elements of golf consumption (Perkins, 2010). Mostly, when used, golf is

a medium for investigating the behaviour of sports tourists (e.g. Wilson and Thilmany, 2006; Videira et al., 2006). Sports tourism studies use golf to examine customer satisfaction through broadly quantitative methods; determining which arbitrarily different factors have the greatest impact on consumers reporting a 'satisfactory' experience at a golf resort. This involves categorising golfers in some way. Wilson and Thilmany (2006) categorise as enthusiasts, affluent-resorters, and networkers, while Correia and Pintassilgo (2006) classify as serious competitors, leisure lovers, active singles, homebodies, and dabblers. These categories depend on the demographic metrics of income, family, and marital status to predict consumption behaviour and subsequently determine which has the greatest influence on self-reported satisfaction. Moital et al. (2013) offer that four major factors (booking ease, equipment quality, landscape, and technical quality of the course) and two value factors (cost of accommodation and green fees) are the most important for golfers on holiday. The dominance of quantitative methodology and a focus on destination golf, rather than behaviours at the home or native club, renders these studies informative but of little value with regards to cultural and subcultural capital development and transference through golf. These studies do, however, illustrate a substantial gap in the collective body of sports consumption literature for studies in golf that explore the behaviours of golfers in non-destination environments.

There is a small, informative body of literature that explores motivations for the consumption of golf. Golf is consumed, like other sports, both actively and passively through participation and spectatorship (Rankin et al., 2017). Studies look at both spectators (e.g. Lee at al., 2011; Krohn and Backman, 2011) and players (e.g. Kim and Trail, 2010; Hallman and Wicker, 2015), finding unsurprisingly that golf consumers express similar motivations to consumers of many other sports. Individuals play golf to broadly realise the benefits of satisfaction (cost, enjoyment, and convenience), achievement (personal growth and mental development), and well-being (mental health, physical health, and social communication) needs (Lee et al., 2011; Hallman and Wicker, 2015). Similarly, Li (2011) finds that leisure, skill, and social motives are the most salient to golf participation. The social element is likely one of, if not the, most powerful motivations for golf consumers (Robinson et al., 2004; Rankin et al., 2017), again in line with other sports consumers (e.g. Kurpis and Bozman, 2011; Hewer et al., 2015). Spectators also consume golf with similar motives to other sports; attending PGA Tour events for the scenery, the LPGA Tour for excitement and drama, and attend Senior Tour events for the celebrity status and personalities of many players (Hansen and Gauthier, 1994). There is a need to update these findings, however; a gross dissonance between Hansen and Gauthier (1994) reporting attendance at the LPGA (Ladies Tour)

for ‘excitement’ and ‘drama’ given that even many women report, largely, they find women’s sport ‘boring’ (Farrell et al., 2011). One key difference between golf and the consumption of other sports is the development of spectator and fan attachment. In golf, fans develop attachments to players the same way that fans in other sports develop psychological and emotional attachments to teams (Robinson et al., 2004); therefore, fans experience the same vicarious achievements and failures but instead feel they are sharing them with a person as opposed to a brand or team (McDonald et al., 2002). Furthermore, the golf spectator experience is unique amongst sports, wherein the consumer can choose who to watch, where to watch them, and for how long along with unprecedented proximity to the athletes themselves (Hansen and Gauthier, 1994).

3.8.3 Golf and Hegemonic Masculinity

Beyond participant and spectator motivations, the review now addresses the issue of masculinity in golf. Firstly, the motives for golf consumption evidence little gendered differentiation (McGinnis et al., 2005). The majority of golfers are male, and the sport carries a hegemonic masculinity particularly in private golf and country clubs (Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018), and yet the sport of golf itself is not overtly masculine in character (Koivula, 1995; Holt and Thompson, 2004). Golf in fact works to mute much of the overt masculinity of its athletes (Stempel, 2006), so it seems incongruent that it does carry such a masculine overture (Jun and Kyle, 2012) despite privileging no-one, least of all by gender, in the rules or etiquette (McGinnis et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the male dominance of the sport and influence during the appropriation and evolution of golf, into the elitist pastime, surely contributed to extant gendered issues in the game today (Ceron-Anaya, 2017). Women must frequently overcome barriers to both entry and participation, put in place by sexism and misogyny, such as being denied ‘premium’ or desirable tee-times and relegated to subordinate positions in the club structures (McGinnis et al., 2005; Ceron-Anaya, 2018). Even exceptionally skilled female golfers are not exempt from this treatment; if anything, they are chastised more intensely because of the threat they pose to both hegemonic ideals of ‘powerful’ male members (Ceron-Anaya, 2018) and frail masculine identities in sports that would not survive any legitimate feminine challenge (Farrell et al., 2010). Thus, many women are unfortunately relegated and restricted to playing women-friendly courses—a rampant example of misogyny in itself. Women largely overcome, if not at least circumvent, these hegemonic issues by playing challenging the stereotypes of the female golfer when given the opportunity; playing confidently, acting assuredly in the clubhouse, and focusing on the benefits golf provides them (physical activity, socialisation, beauty in surroundings, etc.) (MCGinnis et al., 2005).

Yet, the evident links between golf, elitism, exclusive networking, and female marginalisation are under threat. Usually, women who attempt to participate and consume male-dominated activities, especially sports, encounter substantial resistance and gendered gatekeeping practices (Farrell et al., 2010). At least in the professional environment, women are playing more golf and advancing through proverbial glass ceilings (Agarwal et al., 2016). Those who dare to play golf and challenge these gendered gatekeeping practices find themselves significantly more likely to serve on the board of publicly traded companies, helping to turn this misogyny on its head (Agarwal et al., 2016). This recent development may help, if only in some small measure, combat the damaging and contentious power relations frequently embedded in the golf context, perpetuating cultural guidelines for who *should* and who *shouldn't* play golf (Haig-Muir, 2004; Rankin et al., 2017; Hargreaves, 1986).

3.8.4 Golf and Elitism

Sexism, misogynistic, and exclusionary gendered practices in golf provides an unfortunately salient point of departure to investigate elitism in the sport. Drawing on the exclusionary history of golf, Ceron-Anaya (2017, 2018) conducts a seven-month ethnography at three private Mexico City golf clubs which, to this point, are the most in-depth investigations of golf-specific culture in extant literature of any discipline. His research paints a vibrant picture of exclusivity, with the actions of some members portraying caricatures of stereotypical chauvinism and ignorance; restrictions of women's tee times, overtly subordinate treatment of caddies, but the utmost respect for the best players. The most significant findings of his research are twofold; the field of golf resolutely excludes anyone without the correct cultural 'entry ticket' (Back et al., 2001) and that the denigration of neophyte members and players works to assert the status of individuals in the field. Firstly, 'carnal' research as the author boldly attempts and fails, requires the physical expression of the intellectual phenomenon (Ceron-Ananya, 2017); an abject failure to acquire sufficient corporeal habitus and embodied cultural capital relegates data collection to the clubhouse. Therefore, the research, as confined to the clubhouse bar, is severely limited in the candid and intimate data that can be drawn on the course—where 'business' is done (Ceron-Anaya, 2018). Ceron-Anaya's shortcoming is significant for placing this research, as I am not subject to the cultural box office—my corporeal habitus and embodied cultural capital provide entry to and legitimate participation at any golf course or golf club in the world. Secondly, golf appears to mirror other sports subcultures in the denigration of neophytes or foreign members to assert one's own superiority in the field (Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Additionally, this study

particularly illustrates the behaviours of individuals dependent on cognitive habitus to assert their positions, rather than a combination of the cognitive and the corporeal; in doing so, golf appears to unfortunately take on a much more exclusive than inclusive disposition when compared to other sport subcultures such as fan communities (Healy and McDonaugh, 2013; Hewer et al., 2015).

Critically, however, the review must note that Ceron-Anaya's (2010, 2017, 2018) studies from the Mexico City ethnography are not, at their core, studies of *golf*. The author was emphatically denied entry to the laboratory of significance, the course, and therefore his studies consist mostly of data gathered from only areas in which he was allowed to participate somewhat invisibly; falling dangerously close, then, to only being studies of elite and misogynistic practices *at* golf courses, rather than a true ethnography of *golf.* Furthermore, Lefevre and Ohl (2012: 47) state without ambiguity that "the majority of those who declare themselves to be golfers are far from belonging exclusively to the upper social groups, even though this activity is considered 'bourgeois', 'distinctive' or 'upmarket' by people and is seen to belong to the upper-class way of life in the literature."

3.8.5 Golf Consumption as Subculture

With regards to golf consumption, a final point should be made to posit golf as subculture. It is governed by rules and structures that, while not necessarily deviant from the mainstream, are specifically set aside (Rankin et al., 2017). Golf is a sport that, at times, can serve to uphold mainstream culture and therefore patriarchal power systems—seen in golf being an almost de facto means of networking in business (Humphreys, 2011; Agarwal et al., 2016). Golf involves play, participation, consumption, and socialisation with like-minded others seeking pursuit of the same benefits and 'golf capital' (Humphreys, 2011); fitting the definition of a 'marketplace culture' offered by consumer culture theory (specifically in Arnould and Thompson 2005) where it is grounded in shared beliefs, rituals, meanings, and practices. Individuals develop their golf capital, a cultural ticket akin to requisite knowledge of behaviours and traditions for fans, through interactions with reputable cultural resources (i.e. objectified and institutionalised cultural capital) (Humphreys, 2011). Furthermore, the display of objects and standards of dress corresponding to status are especially important in the golf context, very similar again to Canniiford and Shankar's (2013) surfers; without, however, the physical violence in establishing social order.

3.9 The Field of Golf

3.9.1 Boundaries of the Field

This next section looks then to develop and conceptualise the boundaries of golf as a subcultural field. Defining the boundaries of the field, and therefore the social space in which individuals consume golf, is central to understanding the structure in which cultural capital resources are developed, acquired, and then deployed in pursuit of status (Holt, 1998). This definition involves examining what the field of golf is, what it is comprised of, and what practices can be considered the consumption of golf. As a point of departure in defining the boundaries of the field of golf, we return to the definition of sports consumption and modify it for golf consumption, wherein golf consumption would be *individuals acquiring, using, and disposing of golf to satisfy needs and wants.* Note that this definition does not exclude indirect forms of consumption, such as television viewership or engaging with social media, but it does narrow the focus of golf consumption to locales in which the influence of golf's habitus presides over consumption practices (discussed at length in section 6.2 and introduced as golf etiquette). These locales are therefore the places wherein individuals engage in direct consumption of golf; e.g. the playing, practicing, or spectating of golf at a golf course, club, or practice range, etc. The field of golf, then, includes anywhere that would be considered official grounds where the playing or performance of golf takes place; e.g. the course itself, the putting green, the bathroom, the bar, the kitchen, the offices, the professional shop, the driving range, etc. Additionally, the field of golf includes any consumption practices which occur within these physical boundaries of golf-specific establishments as the vast majority of behaviours, tastes, and dispositions are guided and governed by the etiquette of golf (i.e. habitus).

The field boundaries of golf necessitate a delineation between direct and indirect consumption, wherein a breach of habitus or field-language constitutes a reaction or expression of distaste (Bourdieu, 1984). When viewing golf on television, for example, a viewer could scream at the player during their swing with no repercussions whatsoever. In direct setting, however, this is a highly offensive breach of habitus (as discussed from section 6.2 onwards) with significant social consequences; such behaviour on a golf course or in a clubhouse would either result in an embarrassing reprimand from other golfers or the removal of the individual in question. Importantly, fields are the arenas in which individuals compete for status (Holt, 1998) and thus define their boundaries by the extent of meaningful relationships and interactions between individuals who engage in the same activity (Bourdieu, 1984; Tomlinson, 2004). Meaningful relationships and interactions between individuals in a field must be governed by the habitus, as

adherence to, fluency in, and breaches of the habitus all have different consequences for an individual's status (Canniford and Shankar, 2013; Cornelissen, 2016). We return to the example of the consumer wearing the Liverpool FC shirt, who consumes the Liverpool FC brand but does not consume the live sport, from Section 3.3.3. Consumers may watch a PGA Tour or Professional golf event on television and therefore consume golf, like any other indirect sports consumption, but that consumption does not necessarily take place *in the field* because it may not be guided by golf etiquette. Conversely, a group of golfers may gather for a Premiership Football match in the bar of the golf club after their round and this would constitute a consumption practice in the field.

3.9.2 Structure of the Field

As the boundaries of the field are now established as physical locations wherein the practice and performance of golf occurs, in addition to any consumption practices participated in within these physical constructs, the chapter now outlines the structure of the field. Broadly, the small amount of extant literature explicitly investigating golf consumption (e.g. Widdop and Parnell, 2016; Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018) posits the field structure as reflective of a traditionally Bourdieuan social and societal organization, wherein the dominant consumers relate to the dominated in a fairly straightforward and linearly vertical manner. Stempel (2005) notes that generally the field of sport participation organizes around a strong to weak relationship between participants in normative dominant positions and normative dominated positions, with a secondary relationship of male superiority to female subordination within the factions organized in this linear vertical hierarchy. Ceron-Anaya (2017 and 2019) confirms this hegemonic relationship in his detailing of the power structures of golf in Mexico City; members, especially those in prominent positions elsewhere in society, perform these hegemonic power relations in a manner that is almost a caricature of stereotypical elitism. Detailed in Ceron-Anaya's (2017; 2019) ethnographic account, the restrictions placed firstly on new members and secondly on members who dare to be women, expose this residual elitist hierarchy.

However, mostly absent from the literature and public opinion (see Gladwell, 2017) on golf, is a second axis influencing the structure and power of relationships in the field of golf and golf consumption. Ceron-Anaya (2017) directly, and Humphreys (2011) and Rankin et al. (2017) more indirectly, hint at this axis only to instead prefer focusing on the more contentious issues of gendered and classist practices. Certainly, both members and committees of some private clubs and world-famous golf courses perpetuate a distinct element of exclusivity and work to maintain golf performed at their locations an exercise in privileged social capital development (Ceron-

Anaya, 2010; Humphreys, 2011); Augusta National Golf Club and Muirfield being two fine examples of the elitism so frequently wielded against golf. Yet, golf is a game that is *played.* The definition of sport requires elements of competition and skill, and though the English in the late 19th and early 20th centuries attempted to remove the importance of skill from the structure of the field through handicapping, one's handicap is the proxy for mastery and position in the field of golf rather than one's status as a member of any particular club. Membership at Oakmont or Royal County Down, both ranked inside the Top 10 golf courses in the world (Whitten, 2018), might be wielded and deployed to assert status in a more general social hierarchy but it does not by default bestow a dominant position in the field of golf itself. It is the playing ability, and the consumption practices that result in pursuit of this skill and physical ability, that bestow heralded statuses upon individuals in the field of golf, evident in the data from this research. This second axis, then, is far more in line with subcultural capital and subcultural status acquisition (e.g. Thornton, 1996; Arsel and Thompson, 2011) and cultural capital in sports consumption (e.g. Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007; Canniford and Shankar, 2013) as noted in this literature review. That being said, there is a single club to which membership *does* guarantee an elevated status in the field of golf; the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews. This is only because the R&A are responsible for writing and maintaining the Rules of Golf outside of the United States and Mexico, and therefore have direct influence on the practices and means through which individuals can attain and pursue skills and handicaps to communicate them. Furthermore, changes in the Rules of Golf can have an immediate and direct influence on other consumption practices in the field, such as in 2010 when the R&A changed the specification for the construction of wedge grooves. This change reverberated through the professional and amateur game, causing widespread changes in consumer purchases and behavior, as any club made pre-2010 became illegal for use in professional competition on January 1st, 2010 and amateur competition on January 1st, 2014 (Burnham et al., 2013).

3.10 Homology and Capital Transference

Sports consumption and the sports context provides a salient platform in which to explore homologous structures that may encourage capital transference. Structural homologies, or similarities, between individual sports contexts as per the definition of sport above such as rule governance, competition, physical activity, and skill, including the hegemonic theme of masculinity dominating most sports contributes to these overarching similarities (Koivula, 1995; Hardin and Greer, 2009). Mass media perpetuates this masculinity which further cements the propensity for some measure of similarity extending across a broad range of sports and sport

consumption subcultures. Traditional cultural capital theory posits that individuals choosing sports that mute hypermasculinity (i.e. golf, tennis, etc.) more likely belong to, and become, the dominant class (Stempel, 2006). Individuals choosing sports that exemplify masculinity may belong to the lower- and working-classes; sports such as rugby, carrying heavy elite schooling connections, are exceptions (Bourdieu, 1984; Light and Kirk, 2001). Yet, there seems to be significant homogeneity across the classes regarding the sports taste spectrum (Lefevre and Ohl, 2012). Individuals distinguish themselves in, drawing on Peterson and Kern's (1996) Omnivore Theory, how many different tastes they legitimately display. Additionally, there are distinct homologous characteristics in the taste profiles of different social groups and classes (Lefevre and Ohl, 2012). One study in particular in the sports consumption literature helps illustrate the potential for cultural capital transference and what that transference may look like.

Gemar (2018) studies the place of sport participation within the broader cultural landscape of Canada. Noting early on a dearth of research that combines sport and culture in broader forms of analysis, he seeks to address the absence of literature that deals with the "relationship between social consumption patterns of sport and other cultural activities," (2018: 2) and the ways sport acts as another domain of general culture rather than a separate domain. The review notes, significantly, that including sport into the domain of general culture contradicts a central Bourdieuian element of the sports domain, remembering that sport is autonomous and with its own chronology outside of mainstream culture. Gemar (2018) draws on Bourdieu's (1978, 1984) arguments that propose similarities of taste, in that different social groups structure their tastes in similar fashion given they depend on the habitus of the dominant group of the social arena; subcultures, such as those fan communities that develop their own systems of cultural capital, evidence this (Richardson and Turley, 2006; Jones, 2014). These similarities in taste hint a deeper similarity in the fields where individuals may apply these tastes, and thus open a discussion for applicability of taste across multiple fields in which individuals apply the same taste profiles and cultural capital resources in expressing those tastes.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter sough to provide a review of sports consumption literature, how cultural capital manifests in and through sports and sports contexts, and how golf as a context has been used in sports consumption literature thus far. The review began offering a broad overview of consumption and a definition of sport to better understand what sports consumption is prior to identifying relevant literature; sport requires four extant limitations of physical activity, skill,

competition, and rule-governance. Given that Arnould et al. (2004:9) offer the definition of consumption as "individuals or groups acquiring, using, and disposing of products, services, ideas, or experiences to satisfy needs and wants," the definition of sports consumption is therefore *individuals or groups using sport and sport products, services, ideas, and experiences to satisfy needs and wants.*

Beyond defining sports consumption, the review examines how individuals consume sport. Consumers can be both participants and spectators, sometimes simultaneously, in a complex consumer-producer nexus that varies slightly with each context; i.e. football fans play a more active role in producing the league product (Guschwan, 2012) than do golf spectators at PGA Tour events due to the differences in expected and approved subcultural behaviours. The review then looks at main issues in the sports consumption literature, notably motivations for consumption, gender, identity, and fandom. Sports consumers are driven by often intrinsic motivations such as self-esteem, achievement, escape, among others depending on the particular study (e.g. McDonald et al., 2002; Stewart et al., 2003). With identity, a link towards cultural capital becomes apparent in the adoption of normative behaviours and dispositions in how consumers express their respective identities (Zhou et al., 2014). Identity through sports consumption also provides a link to CCT, where consumer motivations move beyond basic identify-seeking in the search for more meaningful membership to small-scale, intimate social unions and consumption communities as individuals yearn to make sense of increasingly fragmented subcultural existences (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). Beyond casual spectators, the review explores fandom and how sports encourage deep emotional and identifying connections and attachments between individuals and teams (Funk and James, 2001). A link is drawn between fandom and subcultures, leading to a further delineation between subcultures and brand communities amongst sports consumers. A link to subcultures ties the sports consumption literature to the previous review chapter while also illustrating some of the ways in which cultural capital manifests in sports consumption. The review uses subculture and the initial investigation of sports and cultural capital to link into the relationship between sports and more traditional contexts for the study of cultural capital; i.e. influences in educational achievement (e.g. Eitle and Eitle, 2002) and prediction of social behaviours (e.g. Thrane, 2001; Stempel, 2005).

From the studies of the likes of Warde (2006) and Kahma (2012), the review moves to explore the relationship between sports consumption and golf. This section works through an introduction to the context of golf, a brief history illustrating the birth of contentious power relations still evident

today (Rankin et al., 2017), and issues in golf literature. A sincere point to illuminate the dearth of literature investigating cultural and social practices in golf and golf consumption is made, noting that many studies utilising golf are some form of quantitative study into consumer satisfaction metrics for sports tourism with managerial implications (e.g. Wilson and Thilmany, 2006; Hennessy et al., 2008; Kim and Trail, 2010). Only two studies have been found, those of Ceron-Anaya's (2017, 2018) ethnographic work on private golf clubs in Mexico City, that utilise qualitative methods to understand and uncover cultural practices in the sport; regretfully, the research findings perpetuate the stigma of golf as elitist and overtly sexist.

Ultimately, the scarcity of literature qualitatively investigating the cultural and consumption practices of golf consumers, a massive and critical market (Readman, 2003; Hallman and Wicker, 2015), furthermore in their home locales, opens a substantial gap in the consumer and sports consumption research literature along with the exploration of cultural capital transference.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology of the research, beginning with a review of the ontological and epistemological positions of the research. From there, the chapter explores the ethnographic approach, its origins, and the validity and value of the native participant researcher. The chapter then presents the research questions which guide this ethnographic and autoethnographic work, and the subsequent methods employed; examining the origins of the methods and their use in cultural capital related studies in consumer research and sport consumption research. After outlining the broader general methodology from which the research draws, the chapter reviews the individual ethnographic and autoethnographic methods involved in data collection—participant observation, interviews, reflexive journals, diaries, and self-transcription. Finally, the chapter concludes with a review of thematic analysis, ethical considerations, and limitations of the research.

4.2 Ontological and Epistemological Individuality

It is important to account for my own ontological and epistemological positions regarding the nature of reality, the nature of social beings, and the nature of knowledge generated at the outset of this chapter. The entire methodological framework of the research depends upon my foundation as an interpretive phenomenologist. I do not believe that a singular reality, a singular metaphorical stage upon which all individuals and consumers are players, exists. Rather, I endure that to each individual their reality is their own, as players on a stage and in a production of their own design, constructed with the tools available to them through the complex processes by which consumers make decisions, participate, pursue, and piece together fragmented identity projects (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Gabriel and Lang, 2006). These identities and realities are constructed sometimes carefully, sometimes recklessly, through proactive and voluntary participation efforts in infinitely diverse compositions of consumption fields and social spaces. Individuals fashion these realities to reflect their own perceptions of themselves (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; Murray and Ozanne, 1991). Furthermore, individuals are drawn to fields that reward their accumulated resources, i.e. habitus (Allen, 2002), therefore there are by default similarities and homologous elements between the fields constituting in these realities. Cultural capital, acquired through primary and substantial secondary socialization in these fields (Kates, 2002), depends on these homologous structural characteristics to provide value, meaning, and status to individuals (Bourdieu, 1978; 1984; 1986).

I recognize that my research position seems to fall towards the agency end of the structure-agency dynamic. At first, this seems irreconcilable with the somewhat structure-heavy arguments of Bourdieu (1984) and other cultural capital scholarship (e.g. Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). My ontological and epistemological positions appear to contradict the centrality and generalized nature of cultural capital; certainly, the conceptual nuances of the mainstream theorization of the cultural capital concept translate more readily into research with a hermeneutical or positivist sway. Yet, the subcultural theorisations of Thornton (1996), Kates (2002), Arsel and Thompson (2011) indicate that, while many consumers share consumption field compositions and capital profiles, many do not acknowledge or accept that they are even competing for status with others. Cultural capital's evolution from what consumers consume to how consumers consume in search of distinction justifies an interpretive approach as these ideational practices require an interpretive lens to legitimately comprehend (Holt ,1998; Gayo-Cal et al., 2006). Further, Prieur and Savage (2013) illustrate that the boundaries of social competition and stratification are constantly changing, therefore the cultural capital resources performing much of this stratification must also change. It is my contention, then, that with the modern fluidity of structure in field governance and consumption (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2017) a stronger element of agency in the consumer structure-agency dynamic encourages the inter-field behaviours explored in the literature (i.e. Holt, 1998; Kozinets, 2001; McAlexander et al., 2014). A natural fluidity of cultural capital resources and field governance thus renders a more positivist approach of little utility by default; narrow geographic, contextual, and chronological binding being the biggest pitfalls of the cultural capital concept when linearly translated out of Bourdieu's original context (Silva, 2006; Üstüner and Holt, 2010).

A phenomenological research tradition, as taken by this research, therefore permits a more natural and intricate exploration of cultural capital phenomena within individuals' lived experiences (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; Goulding, 2005). The interpretive phenomenological stance allows for a changing and fluid composition of social spaces and capital resources, given the importance of individual narrative and experience in consumption practices to this initial study of cultural capital transference; a deeper understanding of a one practice, rather than a shallow understanding of many (Thompson et al., 1989; Belk et al., 2013). This approach also adds a balance to the emic and etic dynamic of the research, explored later in the chapter.

4.3 Ethnographic Approach

4.3.1 Introduction to Ethnography

To examine how consumers acquire their cultural and subcultural capital resources, the role that field structure plays in the aggregation of those resources, and how cultural capital then transfers between fields, requires an approach designed to develop extended, rich insights into individual experiences and narratives. Additionally, taking note of my own status and extra-curricular (i.e. personal) devotion to the field, the research methods need to allow freedom for continued performance as a natural participant. This freedom for performance not only helps ensure some measure of contextual purity in the data collected, but facilitates continued development of my own native pursuits in the field. Extensive participation, observation, and recording are central and imperative to studies of this nature, thus this study employs the ethnographic approach (Pink, 2007; Belk et al., 2013). The ethnographic approach is defined as "primarily qualitative research on a particular group, community, subject, or organization using multiple methods and especially depth interviews and participant observation.

Note that ethnography is not a method or methodology in *itself*, but rather an approach that invests in experiencing, interpreting, and creating knowledge through 'multiple methods' by "getting close to the experience of people studied" (Ekström, 2006: 499). A defining characteristic of the ethnographic approach is 'exploring' social phenomena rather than testing hypotheses, and in doing so *producing* data that remains consistent with both the context and realities of participants in the study (Ekström, 2006; Denny, 2006). This consistency is critical in yielding 'valid' research—discussed in more detail in section 4.3.4—in this domain (Anzul et al., 2003; Pink, 2007). Ethnographic researchers emphasise interpretation of individual scenarios, settings, and reality; an eclectic choice "which privileges an engaged, contextually rich, nuanced type of qualitative research" (Falzon, 2009: 1). However, this approach encourages participants in the research to depict their own rich, complex sociocultural environments (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot, 2003; Goulding, 2005). Given that complex sociocultural environments structure the acquisition, development, and operationalization of cultural capital, ethnography is a natural fit for this study. More recent research investigating cultural capital, as it manifests in consumer research, employ ethnographic methods (e.g. Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Kozinets, 2001; Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2019); the opportunity for extended participant-observation and depth interviews, for example, permits a detailed exploration of subcultural and elitist consumption respectively.

Ethnographers' activities can be placed along a spectrum of participant observation, ranging from full participant (e.g. Beal, 1996; Thorpe. 2009) to full observer (e.g. Mazer, 1996), to anywhere in between (e.g. Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2019). However, it is essential that researchers operate naturally along this spectrum, i.e. in accordance with the sociocultural and subcultural positioning of the individual beyond their role as a researcher. Blending into the context of the research is essential to building trust between the researcher and their participants and generating further credibility and validity (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Belk et al., 2013; Moufahim, 2013). Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2019) in his seven months ethnography of elitist golf clubs in Mexico City, jeopardized this trust by attempting to participate at a level beyond his golfing capabilities; the researcher attempted to conduct candid research on the golf course, where his lack of corporeal dispositions to play the game even at a basic level exposed his role as a researcher and broke the immersion of the participants. Thus, the members relegated him to the clubhouse where they could interact with the researcher in an environment where his subcultural deficiencies were not as dramatic. However, his relegation to the bar and social areas of the club did not necessarily invalidate his study but it did prevent any meaningful data being gleaned from the actual golf course itself. This trust relates to richer, intimate, and more descriptive observational and participatory data that then encourages more meaningful and candid insights into the discipline (Krane and Baird, 2005; Smith and Sparkes, 2005).

4.3.2 Origins of Ethnography

Ethnography can be traced back to studies of 18th and 19th century curiosities of the customs, lifestyles, and habituations of imperial colonies and their people (Ellen, 1993; Elliot and Jankel-Elliot, 2003; Almagor and Skinner, 2013). Officials commissioned in-depth studies of new colonies, sending individuals to perform extended observations of culture and behavioural norms. The individual would live amongst the natives for months, or years, initially making efforts to learn the language and communicate; some individuals striving to be an accepted member of the community rather than strictly an outside researcher (Almagor and Skinner, 2013). Commissioned individuals would then return with intensely descriptive journals, diaries, and notes describing the day-to-day activities and rituals of the colonized people. Unfortunately, this data was often fraught with thinly-veiled white metropolitan interpretations of "savages" and "barbarians" and littered with prejudiced, judgmental language (Jones and Watt, 2010; Almagor and Skinner, 2013). Frequently, these early ethnographies amounted to various degrees of white colonialist performances of borrowed culture, acquisition of deterritorialised cultural capital, and mismatched habitus.

Bronislow Malinowski significantly developed the ethnographic approach with his work from 1914-1917. Malinoski embarked on a study of the Trobriand tribes of the Western Pacific in 1914; complications from his Polish background and the ongoing war in Europe forced his study to continue until 1917. This three-year immersion led to his seminal work *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), legitimizing the ethnographic approach in the social sciences (Messer-Davidow et al., 1993; Jones and Watt, 2010). Malinowski identified three main goals for effective ethnographic research: outlining native customs through empirical or statistical evidence, collecting 'imponderabilia' of life and behaviour, and achieving fluency in the native language so as to permit a native understanding of cultural and behaviour (Scott Jones and Watt, 2010). However, his work is laden with judgmental language regarding the natives as 'savage,' which is likely a product and language of the times. Malinowski also expresses a significant disdain for the efforts of 'amateur' ethnographic inquiry, but fails to recognise the domination of his own overriding presence in first-person narrative over the presentation of the data throughout the work. Malinoswki's (1922) study quickly became anthropological canon (Adler and Adler, 1987), paving the way for more modern implementations of the ethnographic approach across other disciplines. Before the end of the 20th century, ethnography had found uses particularly in sociology and marketing in addition to anthropology and Malinowksi is now regarded one of the "founders of the behavioural sciences approach to marketing" (Adler and Adler, 1987; Levy, 2006: 4).

4.3.3 Ethnography in Consumer Research

While early ethnographies observed many aspects of community life, modern ethnographies tend to focus on singular aspects of activities in an individual's life and how it shapes their consumption practices, perception of reality, and social complexion (Kates, 2002; Pink, 2007; Moufahim, 2013). Consumer researchers transported the approach into the discipline by focusing on singular, core cultural elements of consumers' lived experience. For example, Schouten and McAlexander (1995) examine how owning a Harley Davidson motorcycle affected consumption attitudes and preferences through adherence to the biker subculture, adopting various forms the subcultural habitus and differential status-dependent cultural capital resources. By purchasing a Harley, and participating in biker groups, events, and meet-ups, the researchers become 'bikers' (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). Though they enter the subculture as neophytes, their dress patterns, language, and consumption behaviours begin to change as they acquire status. The researchers become part of the subculture, buying into the activities and ethos governing it, only later

becoming reflexively aware of how involved they actually became in the biker culture. This relates substantially to the context of golf, with similar status hierarchies and their requisite taste profiles as individuals work their way deeper into the subculture.

My role as a researcher built upon my extant status as an elite golfer, legitimizing my position within the golf culture given that my status was already in place before the research began. I draw upon the methodological approach of other similarly 'native' ethnographic studies in consumer research wherein the term 'native' refers to individuals with ready access and extant ties to the cultural or subcultural field rather than the historical equivalent of 'savage' as used by Malinowski (1922). The studies of Kozinets (2001: 2002) at Burning Man, Kates (2002) with gay consumption, Coupland (2005) in invisible consumption, and Moufahim (2013) with religious gift-giving are examples which have informed this study in the specific research methods employed. In taking field notes, interviewing their participants, immersing themselves in the context of study as participants, and reflexively evaluating their role in the collection, interpretation, and illumination of data, these authors provided a useful set of data collection tools for the study. Most importantly, these authors explore consumption behaviours in subcultures and fields that are not generally accessible to others without the requisite forms of capital. Their 'native' status in these fields permits insights otherwise hidden and mysterious to others, confirming the notion of Schouten and McAlexander (1995) that full-time immersion into the field of study permits an understanding of the field as a native; however, it should be noted that Schouten and McAlexander *become* bikers, whereas Moufahim (2013), for example, was already Muslim and therefore a native from the outset. Where this research differs from the ethnographic studies of Schouten and McAlexander (1995), Kozinets (2001), and Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2018) is in the simple fact that I was *already* a golfer; seasoned, accomplished, and heavily involved in the field. Like Moufahim (2013), I had attained native status in the research field long ago. At the time of this writing, I have spent the last thirteen years deeply immersed in the broader subculture of golf, and the last five years completely immersed in the regional field pertaining to the study. I did not need to *become* anything more, nor increase my participation in the field, to perform the fieldwork or produce meaningful data. Furthermore, my advanced status in the field ensured I could participate as a native and conduct my research without betraying my researcher status and alerting others in the field to my presence. This study therefore uses my position as a native in the often-inaccessible field of golf to collect congruent and natural data.

4.3.4 Value, Validity, and Criticisms of the Native Participant Researcher

To foster the trustworthiness necessary for meaningful ethnography, the researcher should participate and have experience in the field. Again, Schouten and McAlexander (1995) had to actually *become* bikers to uncover the deeper practices and subcultural deviations of biker culture from the mainstream. The researchers lost their 'neutral' status in relation to their study, and while this enabled unfettered access to their research field and subculture it also necessarily highlights some of the criticisms of the ethnographic approach. These criticisms range from the appropriateness of the methodological paradigm in producing data, ethical considerations, validity, and reliability. LeCompte and-Goetz (1982) and Borman et al. (1986) provide an initial checklist of criticisms levied towards ensuring quality of ethnographic and qualitative research; studies must have internal and external reliability, internal and external validity, a value laden nature, no influence of personal bias, and replicability. Essentially, however, this is a poorly disguised attempt to force ethnographic research to conform to the same scientific constrictions of more positivist and empirically defined research. Borman et al. (1986) note these criticisms are unfair, illogical, and holding a method to quantitative aspirations it was never intended to realise. Enforcing quantitative measures of validity, replicability, and other scientific criteria, is contentious as it is seen to invalidate the purpose of the ethnographic approach. One of the great values of the ethnographic approach is in the ability of the researcher to experience reality in the same manner as their participants (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). Any ethnographic study attempting to maintain reliability and validity assumptions undermine the potential for particularistic, specific, and contextual depth. Furthermore, such quantitative reliability checks ignore the differences in capital composition and access between original and future researchers. Epistemological and ontological positions must also be considered, as certainly an objective neopositivist and an interpretive phenomenologist seek to understand and create knowledge satisfying two entirely separate understandings of reality.

A rebuttal to this challenge of quantitative aspiration is the notion of validity through qualitative ethnographic perspective by way of trustworthiness. The terms 'validity' and 'reliability' refer to positivist assumptions of replication and accuracy in description of the context under study (Krane and Baird, 2005). Trustworthiness, then, refers to the portrayal of the research context with accuracy in regard to the lived experience of the subjects (Anzul et al., 2003). In building trustworthiness, a researcher must also build rapport and sympathies with the participants in order to gain a conceptualization of their reality (Lofland et al., 2006). Furthermore, Clammer (1984) argues that the perspectives of both the insider and the outsider are necessary to conduct

effective ethnography—a need for insider empathy and outsider objectivity alike. Empathy of the insider promotes heightened fluency in the context, whereas detachment allows the researcher to return to objectivity and reflexivity to make sense of the context. Schouten and McAlexander's (1995) loss of neutrality should then be celebrated, because non-neutral researchers provide substantial value to ethnographic studies; one example evidenced in Goldring's (2010) doctoral research in support groups for gay married men. Jones and Watt (2010) build on this premise, re-framing the two identities as those of the participant and the observer. Sustained observation can help fill gaps left in the narratives provided by participation and interviews with subjects. This interplay between observation and participation stems from Gold's (1958) typology of participant roles: complete observer, observer-as-participant, participant-as-observer, and complete participant. For this research, adopted the role of a full-participant. Gold (1958) and Jones and Watt (2010) caution this approach can be fatally flawed if my own standpoint influences the outcomes of any participants' lives. To mitigate this risk, I ensured my participation in the field continued just as before; arranging and socializing the same way, playing the same amount and with the same groups, and behaving in accordance with my own status in the field rather than as a researcher. Adler and Adler (1994: 380) support this approach, recommending that any complete participant or participant-as-observer approach be taken as that of a member, rather than a researcher, "so as not to alter the flow of interaction unnaturally."

4.4 Research Questions

This particular ethnographic study then employs my pre-existing native status to investigate the processes and mechanisms through which consumers aggregate, transfer, and deploy cultural capital resources across field boundaries. The overarching research questions that guide the study are as follows.

1. How does the structure of a field, i.e. the subculture of golf, guide the elementary acquisition and aggregation of cultural capital resources in consumption practices?
2. How does the structure of the field, i.e. the subculture of golf, influence the characteristics of these cultural capital resources?
3. How do individuals take their aggregated cultural capital resources and use them across field boundaries?
4. What are these "mechanisms of transference?"

Given the exploratory nature of this study, the research has been designed to take full advantage of the ethnographic approach, allowing for the interpretive, experiential, and nuanced narratives of subcultural and context-specific consumption in the data to provide richness and depth into the primary insights to this phenomenon.

4.5 Methods in the Study

This research is based on two and a half years of focused fieldwork, augmented by my own autoethnographic experiences in the field (documented in Appendix 1); fifteen years of seasoned, immersive participation as a junior, collegiate, accomplished amateur, County, and professional golfer. The study borrows from those in consumer research discussed above, namely Schouten and McAlexander (1995), Kozinets (2001), Moufahim (2013), and Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2018), in the particular methods employed; participant observation, semi-structured and 'grand-tour' interviews (Hirschman, 1992), subjective personal introspection (Holbrook, 2006; Hart et al., 2016), reflexive journals (Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Davies, 2012), and participant diaries. These methods permit researchers to examine and explore vastly complex and nuanced elements of consumption practices in a subcultural setting, building an intricately layered body of data according to the experiences, narratives, and realities of the participants (Ceron-Anaya, 2017). Much like the biker culture explored by Schouten and McAlexander (1995), golf demands a fluency in the habitus—used to discriminate nuances in consumption practice and conduct meaningful interactions with other subcultural participants (Ceron-Anaya, 2017). Again, Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2018) explicitly notes that his failure to convince his research participants he was native to the field, betrayed by his lack of subcultural capital and inability to display a familiarity or mastery of the corporeal habitus, and resigns him to conducting his fieldwork away from the golf course itself. This inability to fluently enact the performative norms of golf habitus broke the immersion of his participants and alerted them to his research in-the-moment of data collection.

4.5.1 Complete Participation

This mixed ethnographic and autoethnographic study takes place predominantly in the northeast of England, with regular trips throughout England and Scotland for both personal development in the field and frequent experience of other subcultural sites. I spent a significant amount of time at two golf clubs close in proximity but distanced in spirit. I find these clubs attractive ethnographic sites for two significant reasons. Firstly, these clubs provide distinct examples of differing sites for the same consumption practices, playing directly to the calls of Trizzulla et al. (2016) for investigating different consumption practices of the same activity. Club A has an air of exclusivity,

undeserved, and is exceptionally out of touch with the modernization of the game of golf and its consumption. Club B is more outwardly and enthusiastically inclusive, more in tune with the evolution of the culture and game of golf, and seems to act upon constructive criticisms rather than enacting archaic gatekeeping practices. Both of these clubs are semi-private, offering both membership packages and public play, which provides an ideal mix of exposure to both central participants (i.e. members) at these locations and their attitudes and behaviours with and towards golfers not from their immediate community. Secondly, I was a member of both clubs before, during, and after the entire data collection process enabling my 'insider status' to bolster and naturalise my already native status in the broader field of golf.

Fieldwork began in December of 2016 with pilot interviews and participant observation, but the winter golf schedule in the Northeast of England is fairly light. Winter golf tends to be very social, with the occasional friendly game or bet on days when weather permits more competitive forms of play, though most winter golf is little more than a chance to "get out for a knock" (Fieldnotes, February 2017, Club B). Sometime in March, however, most clubs hold their first official competitions. From there, the competitive golf season in Northeast England runs at a blistering pace—midweek competitions, team matches and leagues, and either a summer medal or major club competition every weekend. At the time fieldwork began, I played for both Club A and Club B Scratch Teams[1], University A Performance 1st Team, and the County Golf Team in addition to my own personal and individual golf (the following chapter outlines the scope of this participation, which my autoethnography in Appendix 1 expands upon). From the beginning of April 2017 through July 2019, I play a substantial amount of golf—approximately 150 tournament rounds, 50 Scratch Team matches, and over 200 more social rounds. An overview of individual tournaments played, below, helps illustrate the depth of my participation in the field:

April-October 2017

- R&A Foundation Scholars (St. Andrews Links)
- BUCS Finals (Princes GC)
- Campeonato Aficionados Manuel Prado (Lima CC)
- Lytham Trophy (Royal Lytham and St. Annes GC)

[1] The Scratch Team is composed of the players who weekly represent golf clubs in their local or regional leagues and matches; for example, Club A play in the Northern League against other clubs, fielding a team of 7 players in a head-to-head singles format. Thus, the Scratch Team usually consists of the 7 best or lowest handicap members of the club.

- Irish Open Amateur (Royal County Down GC)
- Scottish Open Amateur (Western Gailes GC)
- The Amateur Championship (Royal St. George's GC and Princes GC)
- Seaton Carew Salver (Seaton Carew GC)
- Boyd Quaich Memorial (St. Andrews Links)
- Midlands Open Amateur (Notts GC and Coxmoor GC)
- Stirling International (Fairmont St. Andrews)
- Autumn Trophy (Blairgowrie GC)
- Northern Tournament (Silloth-on-Solway GC)

March-October 2018

- West of Scotland Trophy (Western Gailes GC)
- English and Welsh Championships (Southport and Ainsdale GC)
- R&A Foundation Scholars (St. Andrews Links)
- BUCS Finals (Woodhall Spa GC)
- Battle Trophy (Crail GC)
- Lytham Trophy (Royal Lytham and St. Annes GC)
- Keith Shivers Bowl (Heworth GC)
- Irish Open Amateur (Royal County Down GC)
- Brabazon Trophy (Frilford Heath GC)
- Rockliffe Northern Masters (Rockliffe Hall GC)
- Oakdale Acorn (Oakdale GC)
- Club B Club Championship (Club B)
- Moor Allerton Amateur Classic (Moor Allerton GC)
- Ravensworth Bowl (Ravensworth GC)
- Club A Bowl (Club A)
- Stirling International (Fairmont St. Andrews)
- Club B Bowl
- European Tour Qualifying 1st Stage (The Players Club)
- Northern Tournament (Sherwood Forest GC)
- Autumn Trophy (Alyth GC)
- Midlands Tournament (Little Aston GC)
- Fife Tournament (Fairmont St. Andrews)

February-July 2019

- Portuguese Open Amateur (Montado Golf Resort)
- Exeter Invitational (Trevose GC)
- PGA EuroPro Tour Qualifying 1st Stage (Studley Wood)
- PGA EuroPro Tour Qualifying Final Stage (Frilford Heath GC)
- The IFX Payments Championship (Brocket Hall GC)
- The Matchroom Sport Championship (Harleyford GC)
- The Jessie May World Snooker Championship (Donnington Grove GC)
- The Diamond X Open (Cumberwell Park GC)
- The Motocaddy Masters (Macdonald Linden Hall GC)
- Texas State Open Qualifying (Firewheel Golf Park)

An inordinate amount of time spent in the field is not unusual for ethnographic research (Coffey, 1999), as seen with Malinoswki's ethnographies on the Trobriand Islands and organisation studies. Researchers often spend years inside organisations to gain valuable insight into the daily chaos and order of human life (Watson, 2012).

4.5.2 Autoethnography and Subjective Personal Introspection

The research also adopts a reflexive autoethnographic method, noting the intimate and familiar knowledge required to first participate in the field of golf and subsequently to unpack the phenomenological nuances in behaviours, tastes, dispositions, and preferences; crucial to understanding how cultural capital manifests and consequently transfers into other fields. The added complexity of my native status in the field is not solely a benefit, as native researcher status can raise concerns with regards to distance and intimacy. Can a native researcher see what they need to, or does their own experiential baggage blind them to certain elements of the investigated phenomena? The reflexive autoethnography allows me to bracket out my own experiential baggage, to reflect on how my time in the field influences the phenomena investigated and how my own cultural capital transference may differ from others in the study (Humphreys, 2005). There is both evidence and support of this method in the literature. While not specifically designed to bracket out their own experiences, qualitative researchers sometimes employ a similar form of reflexive autoethnography known as Subjective Personal Introspection. Subjective Personal Introspection illuminates human aspects of consumption where, in documenting their own consumption of life experiences, researchers act as participant-observers in their own lives (Holbrook, 2006). The method acts as an autoethnography that privileges the author or researcher

with intimate access to the relevant phenomena in question, while further providing a 'holistic' view of that phenomena (Holbrook, 2005; Hart et al., 2016). Gaining this holistic, rather than partial, view is critical to addressing of the pitfalls in research around cultural capital; traditional qualitative methods may prevent individuals who are not fluent enough in the field and habitus in question from adequately discussing the phenomena at work (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Hart et al., 2016) and risk missing further subtleties of interaction and cultural capital.

Furthermore, despite my native status in the field of golf, my neophyte status as a researcher engendered some awkwardness, mostly imposed on myself, in the beginning. For example, it took several months to feel comfortable with how to conduct research and participate, fluently, in the field at the same time. Places, culture, and physical motions that once were so natural to me started to feel foreign and unfamiliar; an apprentice researcher and aspiring professional golfer, wanting so desperately to succeed at both became a crippling weight. The reflexive practice of documenting my experiences—bracketed out in my own autoethnography and taking frequent steps back and away from the field to consider how it has shaped my habitus and dispositions—proved an invaluable method of helping achieve scholarly distance from both my own data and the data from the field. Once I had found a balance between researching my natural environment, maintaining normality in my participation, and reflexively stepping back into my autoethnography, I was able to lean more effectively into my role as a native researcher.

4.5.3 Interviews

The study also employed interviews to produce data. Interviews present an opportunity for researchers to capture meanings, experience, and view a veiled framework of participants' worlds and realities (Kvale, 1996). Qualitative research uses interviews to explore and communicate the views and experiences of participants in a field, i.e. deepening the understanding of those living the reality of the research from their perspective (e.g. Hirschman, 1992; Holt and Thompson, 2004; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Üstüner and Holt, 2010; Branthwaite and Patterson, 2011). Ethnographic researchers use interviews, particularly depth interviews, to leverage informant and field participant knowledge in a topic to develop the emic perspective and deepen understanding (Belk et al., 2013). Consumer research particularly, such as Üstüner and Holt (2007; 2010) in non-western contexts and Turkish consumption patterns, Holt and Thompson (2004) investigating man-of-action identities, and McAlexander et al. (2014) researching limitations of religiously-based consumption resources, employs in-depth and qualitative interviews that permit their research participants to explore their own behaviours in their own words. Further, as interviews

allow the participants to communicate phenomena in their own words, and their own view, the researcher is able to construct the rich, thick descriptions predicated by ethnographic methods reflecting the emic point of view (Wallendorf and Brucks,1993). For example, Hirschman (1992) employs a grand-tour style open-form of interviewing to explore the lives of addicts, opening up the questioning to follow individual narratives that emerge and subsequently develop themes that reveal the nature of addiction. The method, therefore, fits the research questions and the nature of this research conducted given the importance of investigating individual lived experience (Spiggle, 1994).

Given my status in the field, and the relationships already built during my time in the Northeast with some of the participants prior to the fieldwork, depth interviews presented an opportunity to dig deeper into the phenomenon of capital transference in golf consumption; importantly allowing the individual participant voices to speak. The interview design revolved around a 'grand-tour' method, which sought to first explore the participants' history with golf, to explore their relationship with golf, reveal how they acquire and develop cultural capital, and discover how they transfer these resources into other consumptive endeavours and fields. My status in the field facilitated smooth language fluency and access to the field at a depth unavailable to someone unfamiliar with the language and culture of golf (Belk et al.,2013). However, while my status as an expert in golf is an advantage to a researcher in a field that requires intimate knowledge of the habitus and possession of embodied capital, it demanded introspection, reflexivity, and bracketing to understand how my knowledge could influence the interview. Great care was taken to ensure that participants did not lean on my knowledge and experience in golf to interpret their sentiments; responding to a question in a shallow manner, e.g. assuming I can translate and infer from "you know what I mean?" responses (Belk et al., 2013). I encourage them to dig down into their consumption activities and resources to truly explore *their own* experiences (Belk, 2007). Additionally, participants may attempt to satisfy the perception of what a golfer *should* say, especially given my reputation in the interviewer role—not dissimilar to sales and marketing executives in organisational interviews toeing the "party line" (Alvesson, 2003; Belk, 2007: 472). While reflexivity and researcher vulnerability may counter this desire for 'face,' a researcher adopting the role of "co-creator" of knowledge with the informant can help mitigate the stereotyped rhetoric (Roulston, 2010). I made concerted attempts to convey my interest and investment in these narratives and reliance on the truth of my participants to build a research study, offering my own vulnerabilities and shortcomings in the field during interviews to ease any

obvious discrepancies in status. Further, constant diligence in analysis helps identify responses that truly represent the individual's narrative (Belk, 2006).

Comprehensively, the research includes 33 interviews: 29 initial interviews, ranging from a length of 20 minutes to over 120 minutes; most settling between 45 and 75 minutes, and 4 follow-up or secondary interviews, ranging between 30-120 minutes. Interviewees were selected on the basis of availability and willingness, and a snowballing of participants resulted in a general clustering of mostly lower-handicap individuals. These interviews took place near the participation hub and residence of the individual, i.e. Club A, Club B, one of the University Clubs, near the University campus. I recorded the first several interviews on a small digital audio recorder, but later switched to using voice memos on my iPhone; the more inconspicuous presence of a phone sitting on the table likely contributed to the depth and richness of later interviews in combination with researcher competence. The participants knew and gave permission for the recording of the interviews, so this is an interesting element of the data collection. The follow-up interviews took place with individuals interested in deeper exploration of their relationship with golf, and unfortunately there were only four such participants, two from each Club A and Club B.

4.5.4 Reflexive Journals and Diaries

During my time in the field and the data collection, I kept a reflexive journal and a personal journal. Keeping the reflexive journal allowed me to bracket out my own experiences and reflect on the methodological issues I encountered during data collection, which helps satisfy the need to mitigate the influence of my status and own experiences in the field during the interview and broader data collection processes (Humphreys, 2005; Holbrook, 2006). The journal focuses on reviewing interviewing strategies, methods, and techniques that work to various degrees in eliciting the most in-depth responses from informants in addition to keeping note of the efficacy of my field notes and progress in mentally embracing the role of the researcher in such a native field (Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Davies, 2012). This reflexivity was doubly important given my ambitions and attachment to the field, as it's been a dream of mine for over a decade to one day make a career playing professional golf. The personal journal served as a data collection channel for my own thoughts and experiences with regards to capital resource acquisition, transference, and utilisation. Further, the personal journal helped keep track of the opportunities golf provided me during this time in the field that may have seemed invisible under the guise of participation and data collection.

Furthermore, four individuals kept research diaries in addition to participating in the research via interviews and playing golf. The number of diaries is smaller than the researcher would like, however, only these four individuals were willing and able to keep a diary for several weeks. Every interview participant was asked to keep a three-week diary but unfortunately only a small number were willing to do so; others expressed disinterest in the request or stated they simply "wouldn't know what to write." The results of this were mixed, despite the instruction where I asked individuals to reflect on events and instances in which they recognised using something learned from golf in a separate endeavour. For example, Hannah took to writing a golf-performance diary and Thomas wrote something akin to a memoir of his three weeks playing golf during July 2017, sprinkled with some housework. Theo managed, though in a lean format, to document how his conversational, communicational, and disciplinary resources were pivotal during his time interviewing for employment in the Nordic countries though he did not play any golf during that time. However, the various iterations of these diaries communicate other useful implications for the role of golf in these individuals' lives that draw on the theories in sports consumption motivations, such as self-actualisation and escape, that help later frame the role of capital resources for these individuals.

4.6 Phases of Fieldwork

4.6.1 Getting In (Access)

Negotiating access to the research field and its sites (Club A, Club B, University A, University B, and University C) was simple and straightforward. I was already a full member of both Club A and Club B, meaning that I had access to the golf club and its facilities for as long and as often as I wished. Furthermore, my presence at the clubs would often go relatively unnoticed, despite casual greetings and tongue-in-cheek references to my 'practicing,' given the amount of time I would spend at the clubs playing and working on my golf game during a typical season; members and other players were already accustomed to my frequent presence at the golf club. However, I did take care not to unnecessarily broadcast my position as a researcher at Club A or Club B as this would only add to the extant issues of socialisation in golf for the "scratch" golfer; middle-aged male members can be reluctant to willingly spend four hours of their life being "shown up" in a competitive game (Holt and Thompson, 2004). It should be known, then, that I did not at any point during the fieldwork ever conceal or hide my status as a researcher, and frequently engaged in curious conversation regarding my study during social and competitive golf. I navigated ethical concerns by keeping field notes entirely anonymous, only distinguishing specific individuals through pseudonyms for those who had agreed to participate in the research officially. Elsewhere,

I had already established cordial and friendly relationships with many of the players and, importantly, the program directors or coaches in the University sports association; access to University B and University C required only a polite, inquisitive email to the director of those programs who were enthusiastic and excited to help. The directors gave my permission to contact their players and ask them to participate, though they themselves would not actively encourage it.

In selecting the interview, or official research participants, I approached individuals on a one-to-one basis after a brief attempt to generate interest through Club A and B's official social media accounts. I received a singular, disinterested response; this was not surprising for a working-class area, given the research done into aspiration and educational interest (Allen, 2002; Henry, 2005). Going forward, I contacted potential participants with a FaceBook message, WhatsApp message, email, or phone call depending on our extant familiarity with each other or existing relationship. The selection process, and subsequent interviews, were discreet. I met the participants at either our mutual golf club or an alternate venue of their choosing—usually a pub or local café—at a time and date to their convenience, hoping to add a measure of relaxation to the fieldwork and interviews. Occasionally, I had playing partners ask to be part of the research, to which I would oblige with an impromptu interview after our round that day. However, extant personal relationships helped to facilitate some participants' willingness to be involved in my research, as they were already familiar with my demeanor and candor (e.g. some participants had been my teammates at Club A and University A for over a year when fieldwork began).

A snowballing approach guided the research participant selection sampling. The only necessary qualifications for inclusion is membership of Club A, Club B, UA, UB, or UC at the time of the research and playing golf at least semi-regularly. Almost all participants in this study had been playing golf for at least 3 years, and about half played to a Category 1 handicap[2], indicating as shown in Chapter 6 a satisfactory familiarity with golf, its culture, subcultural capital, and both cognitive and corporeal elements of the habitus. The participants also come from a mixture of sociocultural and economic backgrounds (e.g. working, middle, and upper-middle classes). I recognize this collection of individuals are, therefore, not representative of the *average* golfer

[2] Handicap Categories are as follows: 1 (5.4 and below), 2 (5.5-12.4), 3 (12.5-20.4), 4 (20.5-28.4), and 5 (28.5-36).

across the globe (the average handicap is significantly higher than 5.4), but these participants were willing to contribute their time, experiences, and narratives to the research.

4.6.2 Getting On

As mentioned before, the fieldwork for this study *unofficially* began more than 15 years ago, at age 16, when I decided to start playing golf more seriously. I was at the time, however, wholly and completely unaware that I would be embarking on the pursuit of Ph.D. ten years later. For the two and half years of fieldwork, I was a complete participant (Gold, 1958). I played 37 competitive amateur tournaments, eight professional tournaments, nine county matches, and over one hundred social rounds of golf at both Club A and Club B—approximately 350 rounds of golf in total. Most of the time, and especially in tournament play, I knew who I would be playing with. Playing partners are listed with you on the start sheet, where you reference your tee time[3] to ensure your arrival to the course in a timely manner.

For social rounds, I arrive at the club 20-45 minutes before our tee time, and meet my playing partners somewhere between the kitchen (where I would frequently order a bacon sandwich and a coffee from my friends on the catering staff), the on-site professional shop (where I would customarily spend 5-10 minutes engaging in small talk with the club's head golf professional), on the practice green or the practice area near the 1st Tee Box during a quick warm-up, or often times *on* the first tee box; inevitably, and for various reasons disguising simple tardiness, someone is always *almost* late for a social round. During the round, I endeavoured to first and foremost enjoy the golf and play my own game—this helped ensure some measure of organic conversation. I would pay particular attention to conversation topics, any discussion around habitus or technical elements of playing the game (i.e. swings, mechanics, etc.), and behavioural or etiquette similarities displayed. I also took note of responses to habitus infractions or displays of subcultural unfamiliarity, which helped illuminate both similarities and differences in levels of symbolic violence and discomfort in response to subcultural incongruity (Canniford and Shankar, 2013; Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018). Competitive rounds follow a near-identical routine, except for my arrival at the course. Before a competition, I prefer to arrive between 45-90 minutes early to allow ample time for a proper warm-up before play begins. My performance in competition rounds had a direct impact on my handicap, reputation, and thus my privileged status in the field.

[3] The time you are assigned to officially start play on the 1st Hole.

In either case, I wrote my fieldnotes as quickly as possible after completing the post-round socialisation ritual—it is customary to enjoy a beverage, either alcoholic or non, with your playing partners immediately following the round. The immediacy of this beverage is crucial to the ritual; one cannot simply go back an hour later to have a drink with your partners, as the opportunity to participate in the ritual will have passed. I initially write my fieldnotes initially in notebooks with pen, finding the process of handwriting the observations beneficial to the recall of the feeling and mood of the moments I documented. Every few weeks, I type the notes into a word processing document and use the opportunity to revisit prior observations in light of more recent experiences.

Interviews were carried out to explore the rich, personal narratives that golfers develop with the game and its sociocultural and subcultural framework. In-depth and semi-structured interviews, conducted in a "grand-tour" style (Hirschman, 1992) afforded participants an opportunity to reflect on the on the role golf played in the shaping of their life opportunities, habitus bundles (Cornelissen, 2016), and consumption (Hirschman, 1992; Kozinets, 2001; Moufahim, 2013). This type of reflexive, introspective pause is rarely afforded during a round of golf itself. I aimed to discover and explore these narratives in their purest form, as such the default location of the golf club itself aided in recollection and articulation of both my own and the participants' experiences and memories in the field with minimal distraction—a necessary window into the participants' own understanding of the phenomena investigated (Silverman, 1993; Belk at al., 2013). As such, the sample of participants offered a mixture of confident articulation, quiet reservation, reflexive self-awareness, and innocent or unintentional ignorance. As noted previously, my status in the field played a predominantly facilitating role, as interviewees were often keen to display their own subcultural fluency and understanding in the face of expertise and insight. They mostly engaged in enthusiastic discussions, relishing the chance to evidence ownership and understanding of their own experiences in golf and the role of these experiences in framing their relationship with the field. One on occasion, however, a combination of my position in the field and a shared extraneous hobby caused the interview to frequently deviate off-topic; Zach took every opportunity to equate or relate his experiences in golf to those learning guitar, playing in bands, and participating in the subcultures of metal, hard rock, and classic rock—not surprisingly, to a level vastly superior to my own. Perhaps, like members shying away from willingly engaging in experiences with better golfers in which they know they will be 'show-up,' Zach took the chance to assert his own dominance in a parallel, if unrelated in-the-moment, fashion.

The interviews were arranged through email, text message, FaceBook, or a phone call. I recorded these interviews and transcribed them verbatim. Initially, I utilised a sound recorded, but after only a handful of interviews recognised perhaps an intrusion on the intimacy of the data. I soon switched to recording the interviews on my iPhone, which proved useful in both helping myself and the participants settle into our conversations while also putting us all at ease. Yet, my first few interviews were rigid. I set out with the intention of conducting, as stated, semi-structured and grand-tour interviews, but my neophyte status as a researcher proved prohibitive at the start. In hindsight, I was reluctant to fully embrace the *semi* aspect of semi-structure in the interview design because I doubted my own ability to guide a more free-flowing conversation back on topic without altering the natural flow of the interview and conversation. Once I overcame this hesitancy, the interviews took on a tangible depth and richness exploring education, golf history, habitus, and cultural capital with a more pronounced back-and-forth rather than question-and-answer dynamic.

Situated somewhere in between the complete participation and interviews conducted were several unstructured, ethnographic conversations. These were not always transcribed verbatim—sometimes I was not in a position to write down notes in the immediate aftermath--but were documented similarly to other fieldnotes. There were, however, a few occasions in which I was able to write down certain phrases or statements verbatim; clear in the memory as either such egregious affronts to the golf habitus, exceptional displays of classist behaviour, or malicious provocations of social distinction (an example of which is provided in Chapter 6).

4.7 Data Analysis

4.7.1 Transcription and Readings

The interviews were conducted, recorded, and transcribed by myself. The process of self-transcription, while laborious and sometimes physically painful in the form of strain and aches in the hands and wrists, was an interpretive process with several advantages (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Johnson, 2011). For example, self-transcription permits researcher control over the sentence structure and punctuation of responses (Tilley, 2003), in addition to a closeness and familiarity to the data (Matheson, 2007; Johnson, 2011). I found, despite the physical discomfort at times, that I preferred this self-transcription; the participants' voices more clearly ring through their transcripts and situates the text more soundly within the broader scope of the data. Furthermore, any concerns with accuracy by hired or electronic transcription services are mitigated as the researcher directly controls the documentation of responses (Matheson, 2007).

In addition to transcription of interviews, all journal entries and field notes were transcribed. While less of an illuminating process as transcription of the interview audio, typing up all of the personal journal, reflexive journal, and fieldnote entries served to refresh the observations and situate them amongst the data gathered from participant interviews. The transcription process, and the initial readings happening simultaneously, began to germinate several potential themes and coding upon which the analysis would later build.

4.7.2 Thematic Analysis and Coding

During the initial readings, themes and coding became precociously apparent. Using NVivo to analyze this qualitative mass of data, I set about pouring over each interview and field note in efforts to find the common themes and codes that would unlock the research. Initially, themes manifested in rather rigid forms mirroring my understanding of embodied, objectified, and institutionalized cultural capital in golf, borrowing heavily from Bourdieu (1984), Holt (1997, 1998, 2002), and Warde (2006). Once again, at the outset, this process was mechanical and yielded little of note other than an absurdly long list of potential themes and codes. However, similarly to the interviewing process, as I grew into the thematic analysis I began to relax more and allow the data to breathe. Rather than forcing extra-contextual manifestations of traditional cultural capital into the context, thus making me guilty of the same thing for which I critique Halle (1992) and Erickson (1996), I allowed the data to illustrate the systems by which people consume and compete in the field; etiquette, communication, discipline, and patience began to show through almost every interview and journal. It became clear that these themes were the central tenets of not only participation in the field of golf, but that participants leaned on these pillars in other endeavors. These themes, the etiquette of golf in particular, served to illustrate a compositional habitus for these participants, and thus they became the foundation for the analysis chapters in this study.

Once identifying these emergent themes in the data (etiquette, communication, patience, discipline, and asceticism), I began to review interview transcripts and fieldnotes for thematic prevalence and frequency in the acquisition and structuring of cultural and subcultural resources. Over time, and as I endeavoured to lay and then describe the foundations for the structural framework of golf as a subculture (evident in Chapter 6), the nuanced relationship between the corporeal and cognitive distinctions in the golf habitus—the etiquette as a proxy—promoted the development of transferrable 'soft' skills (Weinberger et al., 2017). These 'soft' skills, manifest as verbal and bodily communication, patience, emotional and attitudinal discipline, and asceticism linked neatly with studies on middle-class habitus (e.g. Allatt, 1993; Zembylas, 2007; Cappellini,

2009), after these themes were grouped together for the most efficient presentation of findings in the thesis (i.e. Chapter 7, Chapter 8, and Chapter 9).

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Each participant in the study—interviews mainly, and then journals and diaries—consented verbally, at the beginning of each interview, to both the recording of the interview and the use of their interview data in the thesis. The consent was recorded at the beginning of the interview. The agreement assured them, given the candid nature of their interviews and responses, anonymity in the study. Anonymity has been maintained through the use of pseudonyms and either the removal or the editing of any identifying details or materials from the data. Consequently, the data set and analysis in this study omits real names and identifying information, replaced instead by pseudonyms where appropriate. Similarly, in my participant observation and field notes I omit any identifying information in addition to having gained permission from both Club A, Club B, and University Clubs A, B, and C to conduct this research.

4.9 Methodological Limitations

The limitations of this particular study are straightforward, dealing with access, habitus fluency, status, time, scope, and finances. These limitations should be taken into account for future research intending to examine mechanisms of capital transference embedded into a subcultural habitus. Firstly, this research necessitates access to meaningful cultural sites in the field of golf. Membership to a golf club can provide this basic access, yet it should be coupled with at least a foundational fluency in the golf habitus so as not to influence the natural participation and behaviours of others (i.e. the members in Mexico City becoming aware of Ceron-Anaya's neophyte status). Secondly, my status in the field helps both secure access to participants and research sites; more than simply paying for a membership, my presence at these sites is expected and commonplace. Thus, it requires a substantial investment of time and resources to reach this juncture, where 'hanging out' at the research site becomes normative (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot, 2003; Aggar, 1996). Additionally, participants in the research must devote their time to be interviewed and maintain diaries and journals; this time commitment likely to blame for the small number of participant diaries.

This study is, like other subcultural ethnographies by default, limited by its scope. The research is conducted predominantly in the United Kingdom, with a particular focus on Northeast of England; exceptions being autoethnographic data from Texas and South Carolina, along with the trip to

Lima, Peru. As a primary investigation into the social phenomena of cultural and subcultural capital transference, the research focused on depth and exploration of the relevant theoretical links rather than an attempt to shallowly generalise. However, this may only be seen as a limitation in light of more positivist traditions in the marketing sciences; nevertheless, it will be important for the development of the theoretical contributions of this research for future qualitative studies to investigate these mechanisms in subcultures of golf in other cultures and societal spaces (i.e. the United States, continental Europe, Asia, etc.). Finally, the financial costs of conducting regular research at additional sites outside of the U.K. would have been highly prohibitive at best—annual membership fees to Club A and Club B *combined* equate to only slightly more than a month's membership fees at many golf clubs in the United States and South America (Ceron-Anaya, 2017).

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the methodological approach of the research, ethnography, in addition to the autoethnographic and full-participant nuances inherent in the study. Ethnography, born of Bronislow Malinoskwi (1922), provides the methodological approach needed to investigate intricate, nuanced, culturally embedded consumption practices and phenomena. Consumer research developed this approach to focus on single consumption activities and fields rather than the earlier, more exploratory colonial studies capturing details of remote societies as a whole. This more singular focus more aptly suits the subcultural fragmentation of contemporary consumer phenomena (Belk et al., 2013). The chapter then justified my position as a non-neutral researcher, wherein the benefits from being native in the field provide undeniable benefits such as richer and more intimate data, gleaned from a heightened cultural fluency in the research context. Finally, the chapter reviewed the methods employed in the study; participant observation, autoethnography and subjective personal introspection, interviews, field notes, and journal entries. Notably, autoethnography serves to help mitigate dangers of full participation and native status in the research context; bracketing out my own experiential baggage to prevent influence over participants practices and responses (Holbrook, 2006). Interviews provide the opportunity for deep discussions with participants and encourage them to describe their consumption practices and lived experiences in their own words (Belk et al., 2013). Field notes and Journals likewise allowed for the bracketing of personal experience, and the recording of data and details that perhaps might become invisible to someone native in the research field. The following chapter reviews the data set and participants before beginning the analysis sections of this research.

Chapter 5: Data Set

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a synopsis of the data set for this research, aiming to provide a sense of familiarity with the individuals that partook and the events in which this study took place. The participants in the study belong and play most, if not all, of their golf at five clubs in the Northeast of England and Scotland. Two of the clubs are traditional semi-private golf clubs and attached to a course, meaning that the location of the course is central to the location of the membership. The other clubs are affiliated with universities, which entails utilizing a golf course but not necessarily an attachment to it—the golf clubs are linked with the athletics departments of the universities themselves. This mixture of clubs provides various participant backgrounds: working, middle, and upper classes, familial and individual cultural capital levels, network compositions, and involvements with golf. Interviews revealed the aforementioned participant characteristics, following the models Bourdieu (1984) and Holt (1998) outline in stratifying their individuals in the social space—level of education, employment, parental education and employment—though the research avoids using a quantitative scale to maintain the interpretive nature of the methods.

Beginning with an overview of the clubs and their respective participants, the chapter then works through events, clubs, and experiences upon which field notes, journal entries, and photography draw.

5.2 Semi-Private Clubs

5.2.1 Club A

5.2.1.1 The Club Summary

Club A was designed in the early 20th century by a renowned golf course architect—who, for anonymity sake, remains nameless—and is set amongst a former wildlife park. The golf course architect had a direct influence in the design and alteration of over 300 golf clubs around the world, notably some Open Championship and European Tour venues. The club prides itself on this architectural history and place in the English and British Isles course rankings, evident in the prominent display of various memorabilia of the architect, offers of "reciprocals" with other affiliated clubs (i.e. designed by the same architect), and course ranking awards plaques in prominent locations around the clubhouse. These rankings, however, provide an underlying irony in the self-purported reputation of the club— "2012 Top 40 under 40GBP"and "2013 Top 100 Under 80GBP"—as they are neither as prestigious as the club committee imagines nor currently relevant. These rankings, a great source of pride for the club as can be frequently overheard in the bar or when prominent members discuss Club A's place as 'best in the County,' are aging and

becoming increasingly irrelevant not unlike the average age of the membership; now somewhere around 61-62 years old.

Furthermore, the club thrives on the perception of the course being difficult, many members noting that the course is unfit for beginners with many ravines separating the tee boxes and fairways forcing a carry to avoid a lost ball. This notion surfaced during a strategic committee meeting, in early 2017, when a member urged Club A to build a 'beginners course' because Club A is "too hard for beginners to play" (Notes from Committee Meetings, February 2017). This sentiment echoed in interviews as well, with some stating directly:

> *Club A is a difficult course to start on…we don't get many beginners. Lots of forced carries o'er the ravine.*
> *(Female, 52, Category 2)*

Yet, many at the club embrace this perception of difficulty, often referencing one particular 'treacherous' Par 3 hole for its fabricated fame as one of "the most difficult Par 3 holes in the world." This reference is oft-repeated in the bar and clubhouse whenever the topic of Club A's place in the County and Northeast golf scene, particularly by past captains and committee members after a few alcoholic beverages on presentation evenings. Some, such as the Chairman of the Club and Strategic Committee Director, even state that Peter Aliss—a venerable BCC golf commentator—called this hole "one of the best…in the world" (redacted for anonymity). This claim has no reference, however, because it is entirely unsubstantiated and likely fabricated. Interestingly, during my first few years at Club A, one particular past captain mentioned this directly to myself and another Scratch Team player in the bar; last year during a social round away from Club A, however, this same individual recounted the story.

> *You know, I was invited to a Sportsperson's dinner at a club where a friend of mine was Captain at the time—it was a big deal, because Peter Aliss was the sportsperson! Oh, he was great. Such grace and class. I had the good fortune of sitting next to him, at the same table, so I asked him about Club A—surely, he would remember it if he had once claimed our Par 3 was one of the best in the world. He thought for a while…and said "Yeah, I think it was alright?" So, I asked him about the hole…He said it was nice to look at, but a bitch to play.*
> *(Fieldnotes, Conversations with Past Captains, August 2018)*

The obsession with difficulty also works to illustrate Club A's management; disconnected from reality and the changing landscape of golf. In late summer 2016, while playing a team match, I became so frustrated with the setup of the course that I began to pace off the width of each

fairway. While this seems trivial and childish, at the time the U.S. Open was on television—widely considered the most difficult tournament in the world as per narrow fairways, heinously thick rough, and lightning quick greens—so I took an opportunity to express my view.

> *JG: The fairways are too narrow here, Bob. It's a joke—the 6th is 17 yards wide!*
> *Bob: What do you mean? The pro's play on narrower fairways than here, surely you can manage…*
> *JG: The U.S. Open? (I point to the television in the bar showing the coverage of the tournament, often known for being the most brutally tough of all the Major Championships). Those fairways are 25 yards wide on SHORT Par 4s. How the HELL am I supposed to hit a fairway on a Par 5 that is narrower than a U.S. Open Par 4? Also paced off the 17th—19 yards wide.*
> *Bob: I say we make them narrower…too many low scores you guys shoot here.*
> *(Bar conversation, Summer 2016)*

This was a typical exchange between players, such as myself and other team members, and the committee during the initial phase of the research. These excerpts serve to illustrate the valuation of Club A's perception as a difficult course. Although the club has a membership ranging from working to middle-upper-class individuals, the committee is decidedly middle class. The next section provides an overview of participants from Club A, including their age, gender, handicap, occupation, education level, parental education, parental occupation, why they play golf and what they take from golf into other areas of their lives.

5.2.1.2 Club A Participants

The Club A contingent comprises a mix of individuals with varying backgrounds in golf history, golf ability, occupations, cultural capital, and social composition. There are schoolteachers, industrial metal-workers, retired business executives, and self-employed construction workers. Some learned to play golf through family at their local courses, with mixed esteem, while others learned to play through friends at driving ranges, county-affiliated introductory events, and the help of the local professional. The playing habits of these individuals varies from weekends only to everyday, whether year-round or seasonally, and the social composition of their playing groups differ significantly according to gender, age, and committee status. For a more descriptions of the participants, see Appendix B.

5.2.1.3 Club A Participants Summary Table 1

Name	Age	Gender	Education	Occupation	Golf Summary
Bradley	Mid 20s	Male	BSc	Schoolteacher	A Scratch Team member, Bradley started playing with his father only appreciating the difficulty of the game as he became competitive. Plays for the challenge and to achieve a low handicap.
Edward	Retired	Male	BSc	Senior Management	Keen sportsman as a youngster, began his golf at an Open Championship club. Plays most of his golf with the senior clique at Club A, for lifestyle and social enrichment.
Kevin	Mid 20s	Male	High School	Skilled Labour	Introduced to golf by his late grandfather, into the junior fold at Club A. Plays with a separate clique to Edward. Plays golf for the satisfaction and praise that comes from being adept at the game.
Monica	Mid 50s	Female	High School	Home Maker	Began playing with her husband, soon involved with the ladies section. Plays golf to feed the competitive fire of self-improvement.
Natalie	Retired	Female	BSc	School Teacher	Started playing golf in a field with a coworker, quickly joined Club A. Multiple Club Champion and Scratch Team golfer. Plays for the lessons golf teaches her.
Oscar	Mid 30s	Male	High School	Skilled Labour	Began playing at a nearby driving range, to help navigate a difficult stretch of his life. Introduced by a friend's father, playing mostly on weekends with a small group of friends. Plays for the personal benefits and help thinking positively.

5.2.2 Club B

5.2.2.1 The Club Summary

Club B is also a semi-private golf club, but located in the southern part of the County and is decidedly more working-class. This club provides a contrast to Club A, and evidence of that difference shows even in Its beginnings. Unlike Club A with its famous golf course architect, Theology students at a nearby castle began playing golf in the fields, as they found them, in the late 19th century. A golf club arose from an existing tennis pavilion and laid an early 9-hole course. The course extended to 18 holes in the early 20th century, and became a fairly exclusive club throughout much of the 20th century with a waiting list for membership and joining fees. In the

early 2000s, a financial circumstance led to the membership opening up to the larger community around the club in order to remain solvent; the relaxation of dress codes and attitudes, and providing an atmosphere in which working-class individuals felt comfortable, ensued. A former treasurer of the golf club had managed to embezzle over one hundred-thousand pounds from the golf club's construction budget for a new clubhouse, which the bank refused to reimburse; meaning the club was falling apart without enough financial income. The scandal forced the relaxation of membership restrictions, as without a substantial influx of dues-paying members the club would bankrupt. The club began to thrive, though at the expense, perhaps, of some of the more traditional and outdated customs associated with golf. The following interview excerpt summarises the effect of the scandal on the club.

> *It took the club I think, until the last 5 years to get over it…We couldn't get any machinery, couldn't get any investment. Members were drifting away. Now we've gotten over that, and the only way we could get over it was by opening the gates. Letting people in. We've sacrificed certain standards…and it was probably a price worth paying, because the alternative would have been closure, really. (Interview with Former Club B Captain, Summer of 2017)*

Another source of distinction between Club A and Club B is that Club B does not pride itself on recognition of history and praise of the course itself. The course itself is admittedly quirky but usually in fantastic condition throughout the playing season of March-October. Rather, Club B prides itself on the meritocratic achievements of its players and teams—League Cups and Titles, County Titles, and Individual successes. The club recently had the most successful season in its history, taking several individual and mixed County Titles, the League Trophy, and a Team County title in the summer of 2017. The following section will, similarly to above, outline the participants in this study from Club B.

5.2.2.2 Club B Participants

The Club B contingent comprises of a similarly diverse sociocultural group of individuals with varying backgrounds in golf, occupations, handicap, cultural capital, and social network composition. There are skilled labourers, construction workers, managers, law enforcement, and small business owners. Some learned to play golf with family, others with friends, while some learned to play at Club B and others took up the game in nearby fields with makeshift clubs and holes. The playing habits of these individuals also varies from weekends to everyday, year-round and seasonally, while the composition of their playing groups remain more closely knit and less diverse per se than those of Club A. For a more descriptions of the participants, see Appendix 2.

5.2.2.3 Club B Participants Summary Table 2

Name	Age	Gender	Education	Occupation	Golf Summary
Daniel	Mid 30s	Male	High School	Police Officer	Began playing at a nearby club, introduced by father's friend. Started, like others, in a field. Plays for Club B Scratch Team, as a hobby, to focus on outside of work and family.
Howard	Mid 60s	Male	Law Degree	Judge	Started playing after beginning law career, joined Club B shortly after. A love for practice and work led to rapid ascension for Howard, now plays for the spirit of the game and mutual respect.
Kyle	Early 40s	Male	High School	Skilled Labour	Started playing golf after a move back to the U.K. as a teenager. Winner of several Club Championships and County caps. Likes to play with his small group of friends, and golf is his life.
Kathryn	Early 20s	Female	University	Student	Promising young golfer, playing internationally. Plays most of her golf with friends from national tournament circuits, and plays golf for the challenge and it has, like others, become her life.
Norm	Mid 30s	Male	High School	Carpenter	Started as a kid in the Club B junior program, playing casually with his father. Plays with the same group Howard does, Norm plays for the camaraderie and self-actualising challenges.
Oliver	Mid 50s	Male	High School	Business Owner	Father and Grandfather introduced him to the game, bringing him to the course to follow along as they played. Played for the Club B Scratch Team for years and continues to play to stay competitive and spend time outdoors.
Thomas	Late 30s	Male	Professional Certification	Senior Management	Purchased his first club at a car boot sale, went and learned in a nearby field. Starting at 12, Thomas now plays for the Club B Scratch Team. He plays for the camaraderie and competition.
Zach	Late 40s	Male	High School	Skilled Labour	Like others, started playing as a teen in nearby fields. He joined Club B and quickly won a major club competition. Playing most of

Name	Age	Gender	Education	Occupation	Golf Summary
					his golf with the same group as Kyle, he plays for the intangible euphoria of perfectly-struck shots and the taste of success.

5.3 The University Clubs

5.3.1 The Clubs Summary

In addition to Club A and Club B, the semi-private Northeastern golf clubs, the research utilizes participants from three University golf clubs. This section provides an introduction to each of the university clubs in the study. For the sake of anonymity, again, the research refers to each club as UA, UB, and UC. All three Universities lie north of the prosperity of Southern England, maintaining at least a geographical connection with Club A and Club B. The typical undergraduate student at UA does, however, come from Southern affluence—this can often lead to discomfort and awkward social situations between residents of the area and the university itself. The typical postgraduate student at UA tends to be foreign, with a large Asian contingent that provides a healthy cultural mixture in the community. UA is a reputable academic institution, frequently ranked, and prides itself on both academic and sporting excellence. Unfortunately, golf is one sport for which the UA athletic department does not appear to care a great deal, and mismanagement of the program allows a social and drinking atmosphere to pervade the entire club; the distinctions between more socially-motivated members of the clubs' less competitive teams and the performance squad often blurs because of this.

UB, like UA, is a reputable academic institution with a focus on athletics. Similarly ranked to UA academically, there is rarely much to separate the two schools other than geographic location and particular courses of study. Ample golf courses surround the university, which permits a thriving university golf club scene. There is a large foreign contingent at UB, though unlike UA the foreign contingent makes up a large percentage of undergraduate students. The golf scene at UB also contains more socially motivated individuals and more athletically motivated individuals, however these two factions are distinct in a UB Golf Program and a UB Golf Club—the Program being a performance club striving for success and achievement on the course whereas the UB Golf Club searches for socialization and drinking partners.

> *Yeah, that's obviously an important distinction to make is that UB Golf is a little bit particular in that there is a division between UB [Performance} – which is sort*

of the performance aspect, or part of the golf—and UB {Club], which is a social club. Still has a team and matches and so on but has a slightly different approach to what we do.
(Interview with UB Golfer, M, 22)

UC is also a prominent university within the U.K. The prominence of UC though, unlike UA and UB, is in its athletics; though it is certainly a fine academic institution. The golf program at UC is a focal point of the University athletics program, and differs from the programs at UA and UB. There is no social division to the golf club at UC, as it is therefore entirely performance focused. The players do socialize, enjoying a party from time to time, but their weekly routines involve workouts at 6.30am and rigorous practice schedules (both of which I observed during fieldwork). The following section provides a table overview of the University participants in the study like Club A and Club B.

5.3.2 University Participants

The university contingent comprises of students, so the follow table omits their occupation because at the time of interviewing and field work all of these participants were actively engaged in studies and not engaged in employment. The background of these individuals is less diverse, on the whole, than the Club A and Club B cohorts. Many of these participants are from families with highly-educated parents in upper-management or cultural producing roles. They learned to play and were socialized into golf largely through a familial influence, with Brittany as a notable exception explored later in the analysis chapters. The playing habits of these individuals are more regular, and their social compositions within golf more tightly-knit than both Club A and Club B, due in large part to their membership of the university golf club and regularity of playing competitive golf with their teammates. For a more descriptions of the participants, see Appendix 2.

5.3.2.1 University Clubs Participant Summary Table 3

Name	**Age**	**Gender**	**Club**	**Education**	**Golf Summary**
Brittany	Early 20s	Female	UA	Elite BA	Pressured by her mother to get into golf, believed there was a gender gap to exploit. Golf is not important to her, and considers it little more than an opportunity to get outside, walk around, and be in nature.

Name	Age	Gender	Club	Education	Golf Summary
David	Mid 20s	Male	UA	Elite MSc	Taught by his mother, David learned to play at the course where his grandfather was a founding member. He plays for the individuality of the sport, never much caring for team sports. Golf provides friendship, enjoyment, and relaxation.
Denise	Early 20s	Female	UA	Elite BSc	Playing since early childhood, but preferred handball growing up. Plays golf for exercise, enjoyment, and a means to learn the rules of other fields.
Ken	Mid 20s	Male	UA	BBA	Started playing with his father, and represents his country at the amateur level. Plays for the joy of winning and camaraderie built with friends, using confidence from golf to pursue other ambitions.
Lloyd	Mid 20s	Male	UA	Elite MSc	Began playing at eight-years-old, but mainly interested in football. Worked his way into the County team as a teenager, and has won BUCS Team titles. He plays golf for the opportunity for self-improvement and life lessons.
Thad	Late 20s	Male	UA	Elite Msc	Started playing by caddying for his father in Yorkshire, but quickly developed aptitude in other sports such as rugby, skateboarding, and cricket that he later applied to golf. His group of friends structure everything around golf, and he plays for the intangible emotive reasons in addition to the challenge of self-improvement.
Theo	Mid 20s	Male	UA	Elite MSc	Started playing golf at junior clinics in his hometown, a quick learner who took advantage of the opportunity. He plays golf for the competitive drive and the feeling of playing well.
Todd	Early 20s	Male	UA	Elite BSc	Learned to play with his father as a child, but did not seriously embark in golf until his release from the local professional football academy; transforming from a weekend player into a 2 handicap. Plays mostly with his teammates and friends at home, and enjoys the responsibility of individual sports; being in total control of the outcome and reaching goals.
Victor	Early 20s	Male	UA	Elite BSc	Also began when he was a teenager, through junior lessons, clinics, and weekend rounds with his father. Believes golf is slightly addictive, and always believes that he can do better.
Chris	Early 20s	Male	UB	Elite BA	Chris began at a young age, picking up the game due to Tiger Woods' influence. He plays his golf with teammates at university and believes golf augments his social and networking skills.

Name	Age	Gender	Club	Education	Golf Summary
Harry	Early 20s	Male	UB	Elite BSc	Harry also began playing at three years-old when his family would holiday, remembering little more than he loved it. Plays most of his golf with his teammates and for the discipline and development of new relationships.
Dylan	Early 20s	Male	UC	BSc	Began playing as his father was a captain at their local club, and soon became an international player in his teenage years. Dylan plays golf for individual gratification and self-actualising opportunities, also as an escape from traditional cultural barriers to success.
Hannah	Early 20s	Female	UC	MSc	Began playing with her parents, initially not fond of the game. Discovered fun through junior coaching sessions. Golf has taught her patience and augmented her social skills, though she has lost some of her love for the game.
Xavier	Early 20s	Male	UC	BSc	Xavier also began as a teenager, but only started playing seriously when his football career ended from injury. Values the socialisation golf provides though limits his social network by (like others) always playing with the same group.

5.3.3 Participant Recruitment

The recruitment of participants in the study, as noted before in section 4.6.3, utilised a snowballing method that originates at the researcher's home clubs (Club A, Club B, and University A) and draws on the strengths of the researcher's social network in the field of golf. While the number of participants were not intentionally distributed as such, with a significant number of university students (exactly half of participants), the composition of this participant set resonates with extant literature on the reproduction of habitus and class in the field of education (e.g. Lehmann, 2013; Weinberger et al., 2017; DeKeere and Spruyt, 2019). This resonance with extant literature on cultural capital and habitus, and the link to consumption through sports, helps solidify the contribution of this research to the CCT literature; echoing the ways in which Holt (1998) transported salient theory originating in educational sociology into the consumer research. Furthermore, the composition of university students across three distinct universities provides variation in the socioeconomic backgrounds of the participants not unlike the contrast between Club A and Club B. The researcher did not make an effort to specifically compose the participant set in any particular manner other than attempting to ensure a measure of variety.

5.4 My Golf Experiences

This section will only provide a brief summary of the golf played during field work, as much of my experience with competitive golf both before and during the field work is in my later autoethnography chapters (See Appendix 1). My autoethnography does not include an exhaustive list of accounts of every tournament and every game played, at the risk of repetition and data saturation, but it does include reflections and observations from the major events played during the 2017 and 2018 seasons and typical events and rounds from which data was gathered and used in the analysis.

5.4.1 Social Golf

I consider social golf to be any golf that is played away from the pressures of serious competition. Therefore, social golf includes for example casual rounds, winter stableford[4] rounds, or practice rounds at tournaments. During these rounds, conversation may flow more easily and guards come down as players are not actively or formally competing against each other. Discussions during these rounds would include topics such as corporeal techniques, brands, other members, other players, recent purchases, social activities, gossip, and a wide range of other subjects. An example of these types of discussions takes place in the subsequent chapter, section 6.3.3. During the course of the field work, I estimate that I played over 100 social or casually competitive rounds at both Club A and Club B—my playing partners usually consisting of the individuals listed above in the data set along with other members of the clubs who were not interviewed nor significant sources of data.

5.4.2 Tournament Golf

Tournament golf can be tense, and interactions more limited due to the heightened focus and anxiety of players who are engaged for almost five hours continually. It is exhausting. Players concentrate, preparing for every shot and every swing, trying to pay exacting attention to the task at hand; the environment is not conducive to abundant, casual conversations but it can be a fertile research ground for behaviours and responses to habitus infractions. During the field work, I played in some high-profile amateur events and low-level professional events, frequently paired with high-profile and high-status players. Expectations of cognitive and corporeal habitus ownership and displays increase linearly with the prestige of the event.

[4] Stableford is a format similar to stroke play, where points are awarded for a score in relation to par (Double Bogey or worse = 0, Bogey = 1, Par = 2, Birdie = 3, Eagle = 4). Rather than recording the strokes taken a player records the points awarded every hole after handicapping.

5.5 Conclusion and Structure of Findings

This chapter works to outline the data set, mostly providing an introduction and summary of the participants and the clubs involved in the research. Again, more complete descriptions of the participants in addition to my observations and experiences in the field, detailed in my autoethnography, are available in the appendices.

The next four chapters present the findings and analysis of this research. Chapter 6 translates the broad sociocultural structure of the field of golf, illustrating the habitus, forms of subcultural capital (e.g. embodied, objectified, and institutionalized), and the vertical and horizontal means through which golfers distinguish themselves cognitively and bodily in the field. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 then work to explore mechanisms of capital transference, embedded into elements of habitus—soft skills, emotional capital, and critical consumption practices respectively. These chapters utilize both ethnographic and autoethnographic perspectives, where the voices of both the researcher and the golfer are used to make sense of ritualistic practice, corporeal and cognitive dispositions, and critical consumption within the field. The findings come together in Chapter 10, where a metaphor is employed to help assimilate these abstract notions of transference mechanisms into a coherent picture of consumption and participation before offering more in-depth theoretical discussion.

Chapter 6: Translating the Habitus and Forms of Cultural Capital in the Field of Golf

6.1 Introduction

This chapter serves to build on section 3.9 in the literature review with ethnographic and autoethnographic data from the study; outlining the field of golf and its structure, translating the habitus of the field, and providing an introduction to the various forms of cultural capital (embodied, objectified, and institutionalized) in golf. In doing so, this chapter addresses three research questions directly—providing a conceptualization of the *structure* of the field of golf, the cultural framework of its subculture, and a foundation from which to examine how the extant forms of cultural and subcultural capital in golf can be aggregated and subsequently transferred.

A necessary precedent to any further analysis of cultural capital in the field, the chapter also provides a foundational understanding of a field that is often shrouded in elitism, exclusivity, and snobbishness for the non-initiated. The chapter explores how individuals communicate in the field through consumption practices, internalized dispositions, and behaviours to provide another foundational familiarity with golf; the social rules which govern legitimate consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). The habitus of golf may function as meaningful secondary habitus to many golfers not born into privilege or the dominant class. As illustrated by Bourdieu (2000), Kates (2002), Desmond (2006), and Cornelissen (2016) in sections 2.3 and 2.4.3.2, secondary or multiple habitus are augmenting or complementary dispositions that form from extensive secondary (post-childhood) socialization in fields and subcultures. Critically, these secondary habitus do not replace the primary habitus, as studies of working-class students in higher education tend to display (i.e. Allen, 2002; Lehmann, 2013), but rather act as an additional set of dispositions that then augment their existing collection of internalized dispositions and behaviours from which individuals draw (Cornelissen,2016). The field of golf, and its due consideration, is significant to the body of consumer research as an example of cultural clustering in which those from divergent sociocultural backgrounds often interact on a regular basis (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006; Silva, 2006). Finally, the chapter provides introductions to the embodied, objectified, and institutionalized forms of cultural capital evident and manifest in the field of golf. This includes both its more generalized forms (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998) and its subcultural forms (e.g. Thornton, 1996; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011); drawing on field notes, interview data, and journal entries to articulate the various forms of these capital resources.

Thus, to explore what constitutes the habitus of the field and cultural capital within golf is a subjective endeavor, in which this chapter turns to both my own knowledge of the field and the extensive knowledge of the research participants. The chapter identifies the practices,

knowledge, skills, behaviours, and attitudes both culturally and institutionally valorized in golf, and to whom this valorization matters. Further, the chapter explores the field-specific ramifications for golfers who, like myself, possess and adhere to potentially differing forms of more generalized primary forms of cultural capital in acquiring secondary cultural or sub-cultural capital resources. Given that the transference of cultural capital resources occurs through homology of field structure and habitus (Desmond, 2006; Gayo-Cal, Savage, and Warde, 2006; Gemar, 2018), this chapter is critical to providing a foundational understanding of the systems through which individuals acquire and deploy cultural capital in the field of golf and then transfer their cultural capital to other fields.

6.2 Habitus of Golf

6.2.1 The Nature of Golf Habitus

The Rules of Golf, as written by the R&A and noted in section 3.9.1, provide a salient point of transition into a discussion of the habitus of golf given the influence those rules play in governing the formal structure of golf performance and therefore the acquisition of status and achievement in the field. Habitus refers to the inculcated and ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that structure and guide legitimate consumption practices in golf, therefore producing meaningful interactions between actors in the social space (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). These relationships and interactions carry meaning through the acquisition, communication, and maintenance of status; thus, the large majority of consumption practices require adherence to this habitus as agents look to satisfy their motivations for consumption in sports (e.g. McDonald et al., 2000). As the literature review notes, the habitus therefore serves as a language that helps structure field hierarchy through agents' ability to display a fluency (Cornelissen, 2016). As noted in section 2.4.3.3, subcultural capital coalesces along two axes, the cognitive and the corporeal, and in communicating possession of this capital the habitus or language of the field does the same (Thornton, 1996; Haenfler, 2014; Ceron-Anaya, 2017). As mentioned before, golf is a game that is *played,* and therefore performing the correct physical actions at a basic level is necessary to legitimately participate in consumption; evidence in Ceron-Anaya's denial to candid on-course research opportunities (discussed in Chapter 4). Likewise, these physical elements of habitus are accompanied by the cognitive, wherein an individual knows how, and when, to act, dress, and behave in a particular way. It is both these corporeal and cognitive elements of the habitus that this chapter explores.

The field of golf may be unique, however, amongst those studied in the cultural capital literature

because of the decidedly inclusive behaviours of individuals occupying dominant positions along the corporeal axis of the field; whereas in the arts and traditional cultural fields illegitimate consumption practices are met mostly with expressions of distaste (Bourdieu, 1984; Üstüner and Thompson, 2010), illegitimate consumption or breaches of habitus in golf may be met instead with corrective suggestions to elevate behaviours to those in-line with the accepted habitus. Evidence of this corrective behaviour, rather than simply aversion to the illegitimate practices of neophytes or dominated individuals, exists in the data for this study. Critically, the data from this study offers a rebuttal to much of the extant literature which regretfully seems to use golf only a vehicle to explore the exclusive and snobbish behaviours of the upper class or elite; Ceron-Anaya's (2017, 2018) studies, for example, employ golf as a lens for the behaviours of private country club members who are already members of a distinct and elitist class in Mexico. The Rules of Golf, on their own, privilege no one and neither does the habitus of golf (McGinnis et al., 2005). However, like the culture of the classroom, the habitus of golf may feel more natural to those already part of the upper classes as it mirrors the characteristics of their primary socialisations (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984). Furthermore, golf differs from the majority of traditional fields in that the social rules of golf are colloquially known. The 'etiquette' (Ceron-Anaya, 2010; Rankin et al, 2017) is not purposefully or implicitly withheld from dominated individuals.

6.2.2 Introduction to Etiquette

The cognitive elements of golf habitus are commonly referred to and known as 'golf etiquette,' which stems from the English appropriation of the game from the Scottish and reflects the general conduct of the English middle and upper classes of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Green, 1987; Ceron-Anaya, 2010; Ceron-Anaya, 2017). Though golf began as a raucous pub game in Scottish fields, over time the social rules of play became those of restraint and decorum as integral to playing the game as the more formal rules of play themselves – keeping quiet while opponents are playing their shot, not treading on an opponent's putting line, tending the flag on the green, removing headwear when entering the clubhouse, shaking hands after a match, etc. Etiquette has carried forward to the present day, where golfers from all backgrounds and with all levels of capital resources now uphold it as sacred (Belk et al., 1989). Many of these practices and their enforcement stemmed from a newly minted middle-class stuck in between the working and the upper classes searching for means to distinguish themselves (Green; 1987; Ceron-Anaya, 2010). It follows, then, that the etiquette of golf therefore reflects the etiquette of distinction; centred around restraint and asceticism, so much like the other sporting practices sought by high cultural capital individuals as they distinguish themselves in the social spaces (Thrane, 2001; Holt, 1998;

Kahma, 2012). I begin with a translation and exploration of the habitus of golf through a concise but comprehensive set of illustrative examples from the field. In doing so, the chapter discovers and interprets this 'language' of the field (Bourdieu, 1984); necessary in order to later explore the more particularized forms of capital golfers use to stratify and distinguish themselves.

> *I remember playing as a kid and...hitting bad shots and slamming my club off the ground and my dad said "if you do that again, I'll not be bringing you to the golf club. I'll stop bringing you if you carry on doing that." I was like...well I want to play golf, so I better stop doing that!*
> *(Bradley, Interview, April 2017)*

> *Ken walked/stormed off after losing to NP. [The Captain] asked me if Ken is ok, noting that it was very poor form of him to leave without shaking his opponent's hand or checking in on the other matches.*
> *(Fieldnotes, April 24th, 2017)*

The two examples above inversely illustrate some of what is 'golf etiquette.' Slamming or throwing golf clubs in frustration at less-than-satisfactory shots and walking off the course without shaking your opponent's hand both constitute improper behaviours not in line with this etiquette, and are met with an appropriate measure of distaste; similar to other sports subcultures, for example, like surfers not waiting for 'their' waves (Canniford and Shankar, 2013), and failure to participate in the boisterous, expected social drinking rituals of rugby clubs (Donnelly and Young, 1988). Breaches of golf etiquette constitute illegitimate consumption practices. Bradley's father threatening to stop bringing him to the course, and therefore preventing the play, participation, consumption, and socialization with likeminded others, represents the same denial of entry by those lacking the correct 'cultural ticket' to participate in other subcultures (Humphreys, 2011). Interestingly, however, these breaches in etiquette and illegitimate consumption practices may also be met with an expression of concern. The fieldnotes above specifically detail the Captain asking me if Ken 'was ok,' assuming and believing that, as a golfer, Ken's behaviour was out of character; outside the normative system of valorized behaviours outlined by the adherence to the etiquette of golf. This hints towards the corrective behaviours of those in dominant positions, referred to above. Little mention, if any, is ever made in the literature of a dominant individual in a field expressing concern, rather than simply distaste and aversion to, when confronted with illegitimate consumption practices.

6.2.3 Cognitive and Corporeal Dispositions

Many golfers will initially learn the game, whether it be both the cognitive etiquette or the more corporeal dispositions and skills of playing, through socialization in the field with the person who

introduces them to the game. For example, I learned golf etiquette from my father in a very similar fashion to Bradley; my father learned golf etiquette from my maternal uncles and grandfather, who introduced him to golf. Additionally, my father taught me the basics of the bodily dispositions and skills that facilitate performance of, consumption in, and status acquisition in golf – i.e. the physical motions needed to play the game. A parent frequently taking their child to play golf, or a friend taking another, provides a form of immersion in the field and enables individuals to learn the accepted modes and practices of consumption (Kates, 2002; McAlexander et al., 2014). The parent-child relationships forged through paternal and maternal introductions to the game, along with non-familial friendships built through regular play and frequent competition, form powerful socialization environments. In this sense, golf maintains significant characteristics of both traditional and modern interpretations of habitus and cultural capital where transmission from one generation to the next facilitates the reproduction of capital valorization (Lareau and Weininger, 2003; Prieur and Savage, 2011). The subsequent three sections (6.2.3.1-6.2.3.3) introduce examples of cognitive and corporeal dispositions in the field of golf, axes along which individuals' habitus display status and the implied cultural and subcultural capital.

6.2.3.1 Cognitive Elements of Habitus

To illustrate the cognitive axis of the habitus in more detail, with attention given to nuances that may be invisible to those who are not immersed in the field, I turn to three vignettes of recollection from a University match during the fieldwork. Understanding the habitus in a particular field requires focus on certain contextual exclusivities and the role they play in structuring consumption behaviours. The following three vignettes illustrates some of this etiquette or cognitive habitus in-context, along with the rules of the field, and the corporeal performance of habitus.

> ***Habitus Vignette 1***
>
> *We left in plenty of time, at least according to Google Maps. Naturally, sitting on the A1 at a standstill at 8:15am with only an hour fifteen until the first group tees off, we began to question the accuracy of Google Maps' traffic prediction algorithm. Planning to stop at Greggs at the [local] services for the infamously pseudo-affordable £2 breakfast deal, an adjustment had to be made – straight to {the golf club] and pray we don't need to empty any investment accounts for breakfast there… we arrived at [the golf club] with an hour to spare before tee off. I was off first anyways, so everyone else had even more time. On the walk from the car to the clubhouse, I subconsciously started planning when I would remove my hat; just before I open the door? Just after I walk through the open door? It wasn't a conscious thought, but reflecting back on the experience it certainly bounced around up there…– it was one of those oddly out-of-place automatic*

doors that opened inward as you walked towards it. Out of place just because it's brash and in-your-face and to me golf courses have doors that you can decide when you want to open. Once you've decided when to remove your hat, you know? What I do know, with absolute certainty, is that I kept my street shoes on until after breakfast. It seems pedantic, always having to take off your hat, watch your manners, yes ma'am this and yes sir that. Mind, I'm 29 in two days and I still say yes sir and yes ma'am, though, now I worry that people think I am just taking the piss. At what point do I become a peer rather than a young'un? Am I forever destined to be "junior" to anyone twenty plus years my senior? Maybe 30 is the magic number. Then again, you know, I kind of like it. Being polite, changing into "proper" shoes, and taking off the hats. It keeps me feeling as though I've snuck into something I don't quite belong in…
(February 18th, 2018)

The vignette begins with a scene in a car on the way to the golf course, which is a customary introduction to most days involving social or competitive golf. Questioning of Google Maps routing, foregoing the breakfast stop, and adjusting course to expedite the arrival at the golf club communicates a nervous, excited energy that often proceeds a competitive round of golf, tournament, or match. As a competitor, I find that this nervous vigour sharpens my focus on the social rules of the field and legitimate consumption behaviours; prior to arriving at the course or club this is most imperatively awareness and respect of your 'tee time.' The 'tee time,' which is simply your allocated time to play from the 1st hole and begin your round on the schedule of the day, warrants such awareness and respect due to the severe consequences of *missing* it or being late. The Rules of Golf allow 5 minutes of time beyond the official starting time, for which a player is penalised two shots, and beyond that a player is disqualified—no questions, excuses, or mitigating circumstances. Thus, having dealt with a missed tee time through no fault of my own before, myself and other golfers know that it is infinitely better to arrive far too early than even one minute late.

After arriving at the club, the focus shifts from internal deliberations onto the more corporeal aspects of etiquette and adhering to accepted physical behaviours. One such custom is the removal of headwear upon entering a clubhouse; a golfer can remove the headwear just before, at the moment of, or immediately following, entry into the clubhouse itself without any consequence between these options. However, failure to adhere to this practice (i.e. leaving a hat on while inside the clubhouse) signifies a critical delineation between a 'golfer' and someone who is, will be, or just finished playing golf—a distinction made explicitly by research participants such as Ian, stating "You do not simply play golf. You are either a golfer, or you are not" (Field Notes, January 2017). Likewise, concern over shoes and 'leaving the street shoes on' until after breakfast stems from the cognitive axis of habitus dictating that golf shoes are not to be worn

inside the clubhouse, aside from the professional shop or the walk between the locker room and the nearest door. Most clubs, including those in this study, expressly forbid golf shoes being worn in the carpeted areas of the clubhouse because of the damage done by spikes on the soles of the shoes and the discolouring from dirt or mud. It is preferred that individuals wear some form of 'street shoes' (i.e. Oxfords or Brogues or smart trainers if necessary), a colloquial reference from a recent ethnographic experience at a highly reputable golf club in Yorkshire. A player wearing golf shoes indoors for anything other than an apologetic jaunt to the restroom or a quick glass of water from the bar, communicates an absence of familiarity with the rules of the field and the cognitive dispositions of golf's habitus.

6.2.3.2 Blending Elements of Habitus

The second and third habitus vignettes now illustrate a blend of the corporeal and cognitive dispositions, wherein I depart from concern over hats, shoes, and breakfast and explore the warm-up routines, customs, and rituals.

> ***Habitus Vignette 2***
>
> *Normally, in the summer, I'll be warming up on the putting green 30 minutes before my tee time – having already warmed up on the range from 60-31 minutes before. Today, though, its freaking cold and I've got 4 layers on. No putting green for me, not until I've got 3 minutes and I just need to see the speed of them before we go… On to the tee. M* and I shake hands, as we always do. Haven't seen him since our last match at Club A back in early November, and we weren't playing against each other… I introduce myself to teammate's opponent as well. "How've you been? Oh hello mate, James." We talk a bit about the holidays and New Year's, but just the obligatory "Oh, yeah how was yours? Fine thanks. Yeah, just stayed here. Wife came over for a few weeks. Nah, she's back getting her VISA, should be here legally end of February." Then we abruptly moved on to golf – M began with a quip about having the same driver I did last year "What is this!? Same driver? Same irons?! James, what has happened to you mate?" "Fair enough, I'm an equipment-whore. You know it. I know it. I cannot resist new clubs and drivers, even though they've really gone the same distance since about 2014. They are just so much FUN to hit. Can I get 5 more yards? Hell yes, here's £300. Hah. Well, it's me to tee off first, yeah? I've got a Titleist 3 with a County shield and a purple – used to be pink! – dot. Alright buddy, play well. Let's try to stay warm out here." (I say as literal snow flurries begin to come down from the sky, riding the 35-40mph gusts).*
> *(February 18th, 2018)*

This vignette illustrates first the recognition of my pre-consumption and pre-performance rituals, a conscious dismissal of them, and then a typical exchange between two players prior to their game constituting an important social ritual in golf. As indicated in the vignette, during the

summer months most golfers perform a consistent warm-up and pre-game ritual; preparing the body for the expression of habitus and embodied capital to come. Certainly, these subtle but vitally important rituals are foundational to the expression of individuality in consumption and social positioning (Warde, 2005). These subtle expressions of individuality, are perhaps an unintentional nod to the "formulaic creativity" (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014: 137) of the middle-class habitus; these rituals do not stem from an aspiration to the middle social stratum, but from a pursuit of consistency in expressing distinguished forms of embodied capital in the field of golf. At near freezing temperatures and imminent snowfall, however, a conscious decision to forego the usual warmup routine was made to salvage warmth for the upcoming match. Extreme cold weather breaks the immersion of a pre-game ritual when the focus becomes more on staying warm than the warm-up itself, rendering the ritual mostly an exercise in futility. In fact, persistence in performing this ritual in such weather (when most professional or competitive amateur events would have been called off or postponed) indicates, like wearing a hat in the clubhouse or leaving golf shoes on in the bar, a disconnect and failure in familiarity with the habitus of golf.

Though warm-ups and pre-consumption practices may be altered or abandoned due to weather or other mitigating circumstances such as a delayed arrival to the course, golfers perform social rituals consistently. The pre-Game exchange, as illustrated a short way into the second vignette, includes an introduction and semi-formal handshake at the very least, with more familiar golfers then engaging in Tee-Box Talk[5]. Though there is little in the extant literature discussing the particularities of handshakes and introductions before and after a round of golf, these are a critical element of the golf etiquette and therefore belong to the corporeal and cognitive compositions of the habitus. I will speculate, then, that these introductory positions and hegemonic traditions relate back to when golf was a networking pastime for the bourgeois or elite (Green, 1987; Ceron-Anaya, 2010) and therefore knowing the names of your playing partners would be crucial to developing any potential relationships. For myself as a golfer, the pre-game handshake is either an entirely invisible element of the ritual or vivid, and in the moment all-consuming. When performing the ritual with players I know and am familiar with, it is an invisible trigger that then sets in motion Tee-Box Talk. Engaging the pre-game handshake with new, or unfamiliar players, causes a fixation on the performance of the handshake itself; I am so intensely determined to

[5] Tee-Box Talk is a phrase coined by the author to describe a very particular, cadenced form of small-talk between familiar golfers at the outset of a match.

perform this arbitrary, hegemonic tradition correctly that I often forget the name of the person who's hand I am shaking. This invisible-visible and familiar-unfamiliar dichotomy provides an interesting point of reflexivity. Wherein I would certainly say I have mastered *most* of both the corporeal and cognitive elements to golf's habitus, evidenced by the status I have attained in the field, I remain so fixated on performing a relatively arbitrary handshake that I undermine my own achievements in being unable to transition this ritualistic element from the conscious to subconscious—particularly when engaged at a high-profile event or tournament. Therefore, though these rituals are frequently performed subconsciously, making them congruent with assumptions about the operations of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Cornelissen, 2016), there are certainly lingering caveats for unfamiliar opponents and playing partners that illustrate points of contradiction to the traditional understanding of subconscious, ingrained dispositional behaviour.

A second aspect of the pre-game exchange, Tee-Box Talk, may be a unique phenomenon amongst familiar golfers networked in field-specific weak tie relationships (Granovetter, 1977). It entails a swift catching up with your playing partners on events outside of the field to then clear the air and bend the subsequent conversations towards the field. Tee-Box Talk has a particular cadence, neither rushed nor overtly superficial. For example, M and I quickly dispatch the topics of holiday plans, my wife's recent visit from Texas, and move instead onto golf equipment. With the air cleared, the proceeding four hours entailed rich and intimate conversations centred on issues in the field of golf; M discussed his waning love of the game, apathy towards formative and normative traditions in golf, and time constraints preventing practice and thus eroding his motivation for future competitive pursuits in the field.

6.2.3.3 Corporeal Elements of Habitus

The third habitus vignette moves away from Tee-Box Talk and Pre-Game Exchanges, detailing the pre-shot routine, teeing-off on the first hole, and the immediate aftermath of those events.

> ***Habitus Vignette 3***
>
> *I pull the ball from my front right pocket, sifting through a few tees to find an intact long one. Holding the ball in my fist, with a tee sticking from between my index and middle fingers, I push the tee into the ground – favouring the right side of the teeing ground, to play away from the trouble down the right side. The pressure from my thumb pad on the ball helps the tee through the frozen turf. I step back, taking a practice swing – feeling the width in my backswing I've been working on with Coach. Down, and turn through. Width. Stepping into the ball, I check that my feet, hips, shoulders, and clubface are all square (aimed correctly at my target). A few last thoughts about width in the right arm, and I pull the*

trigger. Close, but not quite. Ugh, thin and pulled left into the trees. At least it's in play. I pull my tee out of the ground, and turn to walk back towards my bag taking care to avoid M – now going through his preshot routine. Our routines, to an outsider, would look nearly identical. Tee the ball, check alignment, step back and take a practice swing or rehearsal, step into the ball, shuffle the feet, settle the club – swing. It's subtle. M's preshot routine is both quicker and more relaxed than mine. Technically, he is textbook – solid as it can get, mechanically, with his swing. He swings back, pause, and…and it's even farther left than mine. It's not his driver [to blame]. He got that from a local European Tour Pro. For all this mechanical prowess, he emanates a tangible apathy. Currently a man working on nothing in his golf, with no motivation to play any other than just to win this BUCS match, and no upcoming tournaments. He's a man who has fallen out of love with golf, and yet plays just to keep his scholarship. My routine is deliberate, almost too much so, but I am working and struggling to make a few changes. The cadence, tempo, and rhythm of our routines are as similar as dressage steps to an uneducated observer (myself, when watching Olympic Equestrian with my wife, an expert); yet, we are no more similar than an Arabian is to a Thoroughbred. The second match plays with us in a fourball, so we patiently wait and watch them tee off as well. Careful, always, to stay out of their way, out of their peripherals, and stand still during their routines. I walk down the fairway, talking to G about his foot – recently broken but making an attempt to play. "Hah, well, at least we missed it in the right spot! Nothing good right, here." I notice, after accidentally walking to wrong ball, that my shot is dead. Before describing this upcoming shot, I'll explain why I walked to the wrong ball. Narcissistic as it is, I'm rarely outdriven by anyone. Usually the longest player in any group, I naturally – and now subconsciously – start walking to the longest ball unless I've specifically hit a shorter club for strategy on some holes. Even then, sometimes, I'm longest. Anyways, the shot. In the trees, on a bare patch of dirt with a root behind my ball, and an awkward side-hill stance. The dogleg on the hole makes it tough to determine who is farther away, a critical element in match play. "I don't know man, maybe me? …Nah, I've got 151. … Okay, you go." This is one of those…hit it and hope shots? I've done it enough times I should be able – Whoops, M's hitting now. Hope I didn't bother him. Got a bit absorbed in my own shot there. I take my club, and sure this routine isn't as involved. It's a simple punch shot from under the trees. Keep the ball low, let it run up to the green and try to get yourself a putt for birdie.
(February 18th, 2018)

Following the introductions, handshakes, and Tee-Box Talk of the pre-game exchange, the players move into their own personalized rituals and routines that act as a precursor to the epitome of corporeal golf habitus in the consumption and performance of golf—the swing. These personalized, pre-swing, habitual behaviours are colloquially known as 'pre-shot routines,' and they serve to communicate the expected legitimacy of the subsequent habitus displayed by the swing. These routines are venerated and sacred amongst the best players (i.e. Tour Professionals and accomplished amateurs), executed with remarkable consistency and utilized as a powerful tool facilitating distinguished consumption and performance in the field (Patri, 2012). The pre-shot routine consists of the displays of nuanced, individualized physical behaviours in the 15-45

seconds before a golfer plays a shot. The nuances manifest in the cadence, deliberation, and composition; some players are quick, pulling the club and striking the ball without much delay, while other players engage in various forms of mechanical repetitions of the swing required to execute their desired shot. My pre-shot routine is very deliberate, while M's routine is noticeably more cavalier. I use my routine as physical cues to trigger muscular action, and at the time of this vignette it had a noticeable rigidity as I made a point to physically rehearse these cues. M's routine is fluid and traditional, in that he takes care to make a practice swing and correctly aim towards the target, but with an appropriately apathetic characteristic functioning as an apt preliminary indicator of his changing attitudes towards the game of golf and its field. Though our routines vary in cadence and deliberation, they both serve the purpose of displaying a fluent habitual disposition necessitated for a distinguished or exceptional performance of golf.

Thus, we see that the physical elements of golf habitus, such as the pre-game exchange rituals, the pre-shot routine, and the swing illustrated in the vignette, provide confirmation of a fluency in the corporeal axis of golf habitus. Allowing for a measure of individuality and personalization in these practices, given that bodies of golfers are not identical, the bodily elements of the habitus become a widely-accepted form of communication of status and positioning in the field; fitting, given the nature of sport to act as a "universal" language (Greyser, 2011). This 'universality' is evidenced explicitly in both interview data and field notes, below.

> *…struggled a bit with the language barrier as we moved while I didn't really know much English while, I guess, identified with friends through sport? Because that's like a very universal language.*
> *(Thad, Interview, December 2017)*

> *Golf has provided an environment where two people from literally opposite ends of the earth can compete, communicate, and build a relationship through the universal commonality inherent in playing and [performing] golf. Golf is played the same way – etiquette, rules remain constant (even here in Peru!) – so it essentially has given us a common language that is non-verbal, allowing fluid and uninhibited consumption of an activity (golf)…*
> *(Field Notes from R&A Trip to Lima – April 2017)*

Furthermore, it can be noted that these pre-game and pre-shot routines and rituals provide, as mentioned earlier, a significant nod to the habitus of the middle-class; striving for individuality and "creativity" in consumption while maintain elements of self-expression (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014; DeKeere and Spruyt, 2019). These rituals perhaps illustrating clear, still-extant similarities between the habitus of the middle-class and the habitus of golf. The transferability of golf habitus

and its communicative value is explored in the subsequent analysis chapter, therefore we end this section by noting more broadly the value in this commonality as the chapter provides a summary of golf etiquette and moves into the various forms of cultural capital in the field of golf.

6.2.4 Summary of Golf Etiquette

This section, placed in between the discussion of the habitus and various forms of embodied subcultural capital, provides a foundational understanding of the landscape of behaviours that constitute 'proper' etiquette while playing golf. These are not always necessarily rules, per se, but they are socially enforced and will elicit the expression of distaste noted in earlier sections. I walk you through the general playing etiquette, broken down by the various stages of the hole.

6.2.4.1 Tee Box and Fairway

The vignettes above touched on this notion but did not explicitly outline the spectrum of etiquette expected on the tee. On the first hole of the round, the players are to tee off in the order indicated on the tee sheet (where players would find their allotted time) when playing Stroke Play[6]; in Match Play[7], the away player would tee off first. On subsequent holes, in stroke play format the player with the lowest score on the previous hole has 'the honour' and tees off first, other players following in order of previous hole scores. In match play, the person who has won a hole most recently tees off first. In stroke play, this 'honour' is not enforced and is considered a courtesy, while in match play this honour is enforced in the Rules of Golf and a player who plays 'out of turn' must replay their shot at the discretion of their opponent; exceptions being a player plays out of turn and hits a bad shot, in which case the other player would likely allow that transgression to stand. Beyond determining who plays first, etiquette on the tee box dictates that other golfers not distract or encroach on the other players; i.e. not standing behind them, in their peripheral vision, moving around, talking, or other behaviour not included in simply standing still and waiting for them to play. After the tee shots are played, the players move down the hole into the fairway (hopefully) to play their next shots. On the fairway, used as a proxy to account for all subsequent shots played until the ball is on the the putting green, similar rules would apply. However, rather

---

[6] In Stroke Play Format the golfer counts their score against the par of the course and their relation to par dictates their position in the game or tournament; the lowest overall score winning. They play against the field of golfers in any given event.

[7] In Match Play Format two players compete head to head, each hole played on its own and relation to par irrelevant. A game is won, or lost, when the number of holes 'up' or 'down' is greater than the number of holes remaining (e.g. a player wins 3&2 when they are 3 holes up with only 2 left to play).

than previous score determining the order of play, it is customary for players to hit in order of far-to-near, wherein the player who is farthest away from the hole plays first, then the next farthest, etc. Again, in stroke play this is courtesy and not enforced, while in Match Play if a player hits a shot out of turn then their opponent, again, can ask them to replay it. Besides order and establishing the turn of play, it is customary for players to replace any turf taken up while striking a shot and rake any sand that has been played from. It is also customary for all golfers in a group, when any shot is struck waywardly, to make the effort when possible to watch the ball in case the offending player needs assistance finding it.

6.2.4.2 The Green

Many of the same procedures of etiquette apply on the putting green as anywhere else, though there are some that are different and thus require recognition. Like other shots, golfers play in order from far-to-near. When 'reading the green,' where a player studies the contours and slope of the putting surface to determine what path they believe the ball will take to get into the hole, care is taken not to step on other golfers' 'lines.' The line is the estimated track of the ball into the hole, where a footprint or pressure from standing or walking on the piece of the green might influence the direction taken by the golf ball and cause a putt otherwise made to miss. It is considered exceptionally poor form to casually walk around the green with no concern for other golfers' intended lines. Similarly, like players replacing turf taken up when playing shots (their 'divot'), golfers are expected to repair any 'pitch mark' made by their approach into the green. This is done for two reasons: first, to prevent other players from having to putt over or around an impression into the green, and secondly to maintain the putting surface and prevent unnecessary maintenance work. Similarly, to the tee and the fairway, players are expected to give the golfer who is putting space and remain calm and quiet while any stroke is made. Finally, the first player to hole out is usually tasked with replacing the flagstick into the hole before making their way to the following tee.

6.3 Cultural and Subcultural Capital in Golf

The discussion of the cognitive and corporeal elements of the golf habitus provides a natural foundation and transition into the dominant forms of cultural or subcultural capital in golf—dispositions through which individuals distinguish themselves in the field. At the outset of this section, it is necessary to note the duality of capital in the field of golf at times as both cultural and subcultural capital. Unlike other subcultures, such as Bikers, (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), Trekkies (Kozinets, 2001) and Indie (Arsel and Thompson, 2011) with mostly field-

dependent forms of subcultural capital, capital in the field of golf can frequently resemble forms of cultural capital extant in the more traditional, mainstream fields (i.e. Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; Gayo-Cal et al., 2006). Furthermore, some forms of subcultural capital are *directly* transferrable to other cultures and fields (i.e. the etiquette having utility in education); acting as a form of 'cultural import' to achieve social distinction despite being deployed outside of the field of golf (Haenfler, 2014). Subsequently, the remaining analysis explores when capital in the field of golf at times possesses both more traditional cultural and specific subcultural characteristics, clarified by the other cultural spaces in which it proves advantageous.

The literature closely relates the concepts of habitus and cultural capital, particularly embodied cultural capital, noting that these concepts are not separate but continuous with each other as instances of the same process (Moore, 2008); "two sides of the same socialization process: situated internalisation of cultural schema" (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014: 207). Some authors even suggest that the embodied manifestations of cultural capital in fact *form* the habitus (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986; Yaish and Ketz-Gerro, 2010). Further still, Reay (2004) notes the interlinkage of these concepts stating that habitus functions as underlying cultural capital, therefore providing a structure upon which the composition of cultural capital resources is then laid. In relation to the above sections, outlining examples of accepted behaviour in the field of golf, an individual is considered to have cultural capital when they own and wield the dispositions to "think and act…in ways advantageous to their pursuit of desired ends, and to their position or trajectory in a field" (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014: 208). The following sections, then, explore the dispositions through which golfers achieve and distinguish themselves in the field; dispositions which, as characteristics of the actors wielding them, extend beyond the boundaries of fields in which they operate as potentials for capital and 'legitimate' action in other fields (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014: 209).

6.3.1 Embodied Subcultural Capital

Literature posits that embodied forms of cultural and subcultural capital exist as "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986: 47) which at the most basic level become the tastes, knowledge, and skills that individuals engage in their pursuit of advantage and realization of desires in a field. In subcultures, Thornton (1996) and Haenfler (2104) position embodied forms of capital as specialised knowledge (i.e. being 'in the know'), body competence, and body performance. This section deals then with specialized knowledge and taste, or preference, to explore how this element of subcultural capital influences positioning and status in the field of golf. Does the oft-posited linear relationship between taste and status, perpetuated by the much

of the literature after the reconciliation of the core concepts with modern consumption (e.g. Holt, 1998; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012), translate into the field of golf? While this relationship is most definitively present in the field, however, it breaks down mostly into significant taste-profiles through which much of the distinction becomes horizontal rather than vertical (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006). Elements of the Omnivore Thesis (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996) also come into play, wherein golfers may distinguish themselves by displaying a wider variety of tastes in the field, also relying on Holt's (1998) binaries of distinctive consumption ideals in demarcating between material and ideational consumption preferences that define these profiles. Keeping these factors of distinction in mind, the section works through the preferences, skills, and knowledge of golfers in the research first from an emic perspective, reviewing the patterning of embodied capital in the field and how it relates to the literature from a more etic perspective at the end of each section.

6.3.1.1 Taste in Golf

Courses

Golf is often a subjective game strewn with idiosyncrasies and individualities; culturally valorized preferences and taste profiles contain a significant amount of lateral or horizontal variation. Preferences in golf, from the data set, mostly cluster around the main categories of golf courses, golf equipment, clothing, and playing partners. For example, as a golfer my own preferences include a set of favourite courses that, while very highly ranked, are also imminently *playable*[8] ; Notts Golf Club in Nottinghamshire, Kingsbarns Golf Club near St. Andrews, and Whispering Pines Golf Club in Trinity, Texas. These preferences are grounded in my intense belief that, above all, golf should be *fun.* My favourite courses are not the courses I play most often; in fact, I've only played Whispering Pines GC maybe five or six times in my life, and only through the fact that I worked as a caddy there for a few months in the summer of 2012. Kingsbarns is an extortionately-priced tourist trap in Fife, at 300GBP *per person,* that I have been fortunate enough to play occasionally, for free, with one of my best friends who caddies there. Notts Golf Club is a venerable, renowned 'heathland' golf venue that I have played in Open Championship Qualifying and the 2017 Midlands Amateur Championship. Certainly, these courses are exclusive, of which I am aware, but the commonality between them is that they are all tremendous fun to play. These

[8] By 'playable" I mean enjoyable and fair. Royal Lytham and St. Annes Golf Club, for example, is a battering and a bruising experience through a plethora of bunkers and unforgiving boundaries. It is an objectively fantastic venue, holding Open Championships frequently, but I do not play it volitionally.

courses are well-designed, immaculately manicured, interesting layouts that reward good shots and smart golf rather than punish anything less than perfect and they do not get boring or repetitive. I believe they require thought and sound strategy to play, rather than strength or obscure local knowledge (like the 8 fully blind tee shots at Royal County Down Golf Club).

Other golfers in the study, notably Kevin and Howard, are not quite as straightforward in revealing their taste for courses as myself. Kevin does not explicitly denounce or invalidate any enjoyment factor in his criteria, though he emphasizes the typical weather, conditions, and layout of the course; his favourite courses are, then, organized around the entire experience of playing golf rather than isolating—as I do—the architecture of the course.

K: Favourite golf course? Obviously, I can't have a favourite that I haven't played.

JG: Why do you say that?

K:…because you have no idea what a course is until you've played it… [and] not played it once, played it multiple times. Some people will come away from a course having played it the first time and they'll say it's their favourite course. You haven't been everywhere on that course! You don't know how it works, in and out. You've got to play a course four or five times before you even remotely know anything about it -- for the most part…I've played Club A enough to know...it's a good course. I wouldn't call it my favourite…I've played a lot of courses in Portugal. Erm, the Villa Mora Old Course is perfectly tree lined, which I love, and it's all cork trees -- really nice-looking cork trees. The fairways are always immaculate and the greens are always good. Erm, I've played it maybe 6-7 times now. It would definitely be very close to being number one, if not number one. The only other courses that would rival it would be Quinta de Lago South and Quinta de Lago North--also in Portugal. The courses I've played in this country have mainly been really bad.

JG: What makes them bad?

K: The seasons. We have seasons! Portugal doesn't have seasons, for the most part—their winter is like our spring. Their summer is a lot hotter than our summer. They don't have to deal with the whole..."hollow-tine" sort of dilemma that we have...their only problem is keeping the course watered!

JG: So what, for you, makes a course good?

K: I am a parkland fan, not a links fan. So, trees…links golf to me is boring to look at, and rewards a type of golf that I'm not comfortable playing…the problem with links courses for me is that they also afford a worse player a better score from poor shots.
(Kevin, 2nd Interview, July 2018)

Kevin's criteria for selecting his favourite courses are then initially the expected weather conditions, the use of trees, and manicuring of the course; disparate to my own where I value the enjoyment of actually playing the course itself in isolation from weather or aesthetic environmental characteristics. He makes this explicitly clear in his preference for parkland golf courses in Portugal, even believing that it is the weather that makes courses acceptable or not, and his subsequent dismissal of 'links' courses. His distaste for links golf originates in how those courses, and their design with more rolling features playing firm and fast rather than lush and soft, do not afford his corporeal habitus the advantages that parkland courses do. Perhaps, then, Kevin's has only partially internalised the horizontal corporeal elements golf habitus, and thus the indiscriminate preference for tree-lined parkland courses—and the distaste for the type of golf rolling, firm links courses demand—represents a dependence on his skill playing the shots required on these specific types of parkland course to maintain his position in the field. This particular expression of tastes in the field indicates and adherence to a more materialistic, autotelic, and univorous LCC profile (Holt, 1998; Peterson and Kern, 1996).

Conversely, Howard displays taste and preference for courses grounded in, like myself, enjoyment. In fact, his desire for satisfying the socialization and competitive elements of sport consumption through that enjoyment, evidenced below, dominates any material aesthetic concerns in his preferences for golfing venues.

> *I've seen Americans come over, and they get a caddy, and they play [Royal] Birkdale on their own. "Oh, that's another one I've played, and this afternoon I'm off to play Royal Liverpool so that's another one." I'd rather go to Crook and play with [two mates] than play Birkdale on my own. Why would you? …Tonight? We'll have a knock, forecast assuming. Me and [a friend] will go out and have a knock and play for a quid. A quid! I'd rather play [my friend] round here for a quid than go and play Birkdale on my own. Absolutely.*
> *(Howard, 1st Interview, June 2017)*

Howard, as a former Club B Captain, judge, long-time member of an exclusive golf society for litigators and solicitors, and member of one of the most prestigious clubs north of Nottingham, clearly states that he would rather play Crook Golf Club with friends than Royal Birkdale Golf Club by himself. Royal Birkdale is consistently ranked in the Top 25 courses in the world (Whitten, 2018), and plays host to the Open Championships every few years; the Open is one of the four professional major championships, the most prestigious global golf tournaments held annually. Conversely, Crook Golf Club does not even rank in the Top 20 golf courses in its own County; it is laid out on the side of a hill, with severe slopes on several holes and a prevalence of luck over skill.

However, the atmosphere in the clubhouse at Crook is always warm, friendly, and welcoming. Howard stating that he would rather play Crook with his friends than Royal Birkdale on his own, is akin to passing on an expensive glass of 35-year-old single malt, drunk by only himself, to instead share a bottle of cheap bourbon. This particular preference seems at odds with the typical taste profile of someone with higher levels of cultural capital (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006; Arsel and Bean, 2013), in this instance it works to actually reaffirm Howard's status in the field. In placing more value on the social and competitive characteristics of golf, Howard illustrates that he can in fact appreciate even a course like Crook or Club B when compared to Birkdale—affirming elements of Peterson's (1992) omnivore, and contradicting elements of Gayo-Cal et al. (2006) taste profile structuring, in the taste profiles of sports consumers.

Yet, for the most part these taste profiles in golf courses and their underlying structure do conform to the patterns illustrated in most mainstream fields (e.g. Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Gayo-Cal et al., 2006) with regards to individuals' traditional levels of cultural capital; an LCC individual prefers courses materialistically appealing, an MCC individual prefers a functional aesthetic necessitating elements of socialization, and an HCC individual prefers courses that are more ideationally difficult to consume. With regards to subcultural and field-specific capital, however, these consumers display a patterning of taste profiles somewhat inconsistent with their positioning (Holt, 1998; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Kevin, for example, an incredibly skilled golfer with a handicap fluctuating between +1 and 1 over the course of the fieldwork, displays decidedly LCC characteristics in his reliance on weather and ground conditions to determine if a course is "good." Howard shows a blend of mid-high range corporeal habitus, indicated by his maintenance of a handicap of between six and nine over the course of the fieldwork. Therefore, he displays much more ideational and functional aesthetic preferences and mimics, in-field, the patterning of high cultural capital taste profiles. Myself, and the criteria with which I as a golfer prefer courses (noted above), display a substantial blending of ideational and materialistic aesthetics (Holt, 1998). Though I am less concerned with how a course *looks*, like Kevin, I judge venues harshly on their putting surfaces—as a golfer with a very low handicap, I cannot abide playing on surfaces that replace skill with luck. Therefore, despite the fact that I have some of the highest amounts of corporeal skill and habitus in the field of golf, I tend to pattern my tastes with a distinct mix of LCC and HCC characteristics that is tough to place in a dominant, linear field hierarchy (Atkinson, 2010). In fact, I have never been confident or sure of my place in the hierarchy of golf and this is likely due to the mixing of LCC and HCC signals which not only blurs my position to the community but confuses my own identity as well.

Equipment and Clothing

Golfers also express their tastes in the field through their equipment and their clothing. Equipment in golf mostly refers to the clubs and accessories used to physically play the game, therefore being a critical area of consumption where golfers choose brands and clubs with which to pursue their achievements in the field. Today, more than in years' past, equipment in golf is not nearly as demarcated by corporeal habitus and subcultural capital requirements, i.e. body competence and performance (Thornton, 1996), and therefore we will see a blurring of taste profiles and patterning with regards to this equipment. From the 1970s through the early 2000s, golf clubs mostly fell into two distinct categories: "players" and "game-improvement." My preferences in golf equipment combine certain traditional aesthetic profiles with modern advances in technology (e.g. Mizuno MP-18 SC irons) and clothing that emphasizes comfort as well as style. My preference for equipment stems from the recognition as I have matured that, while I am quite fond of the visual lines and thin profile of the 'blade,' my scores are consistently better when playing clubs that require a small aesthetic compromise to utilize recent advances in equipment technology that help make the game less physically exacting. In my preferences for clothing, I wear clothes that are comfortable first and fashionable second; a more traditional look to the newer, athletic trend in the field, i.e. traditional length trousers, collared polo shirts, sweaters, and leather shoes. My taste for equipment and clothing are perhaps examples of the functional over the material aesthetic (Holt, 1998). These preferences of mine, laid out before, are certainly influenced by a degree of privilege, but privilege attained through an exceptional dedication to, passion for, and work-ethic in golf; maximizing the opportunities demanding countless hours working on the practice range, playing under pressure on the golf course, and performing in the classroom.

Kevin, however, bases his preferences on equipment and clothing on whether the brands and the styles break with golf traditions. He discusses his affinity for the Cobra brand below.

> *They are willing to go a little bit outside of what you traditionally see in golf. When sort of...when Rickie Fowler came along they started to sort of blend into, Rickie Fowler's style. He was into his dirtbikes, he was into his skating, he was into...that side of things. I was always into that as a kid, and when it started to blend into that style of stuff -- it's a little bit outside of what you traditionally see -- I really started to like it… I'm not keen on being the next one in a line of succession of a lot of people that's exactly the same as the person before it. To the point where I will go out of the way to be different to the rest. That's just me as a person.*

(Kevin, 2nd Interview, July 2018)

Kevin shapes his preferences on how well the brands relate to his self-image, having incorporated elements of the skateboarding and motocross subcultures into his identity during his youth. The draw for Kevin is that Cobra, and their clothing partner Puma, allow a 'blend' of both of these identities. Perhaps expressing these tastes provides some resolution to the identity crisis that may arise as a working-class individual heavily invested in golf, a field often characterised as 'middle-class' (Jarness, 2015). Furthermore, Kevin's preferences for equipment and clothing in golf signify a commitment to distinguishing his localized identity, which fits the narrative of the LCC consumption metaphor from Holt's (1998) seminal research.

6.3.2 Playing Skills in Golf

While tastes and preferences in the field contribute to the cognitive aspect of embodied subcultural capital, and help communicate 'specialised' or 'insider' knowledge (Thornton, 1996), the physical skills and knowledge used in playing the game constitute the corporeal element of embodied capital; communicating body competence and performance (Thornton, 1996; Haenfler, 2014). The physical skills needed to perform and play golf to high levels are particularized forms of embodied subcultural capital separate to the tastes, preferences, and behaviours making up the cognitive element of the habitus. Ceron-Anaya (2017) notes that playing skills represent a long-standing socialization, significant exposure to, and discipline by the field of golf; such that "one can follow [the field of golf's] regularities bodily" (2017: 288). There are three distinct, critical types of physical skills and regulated motions that coalesce into a golfer's collective set of corporeal skills needed to play: their swing, their 'short-game,' and their putting. This section begins with a look at how individuals acquire and develop their corporeal habitus and subcultural capital, starting with the golf swing.

6.3.2.1 The Golf Swing

Traditionally, these skills develop between two axes—one 'textbook' and the other idiosyncratic. The textbook axis involves a culturally valorized range and sequence of motions with a somewhat limited tolerance for variation, producing desired results with the highest frequency; PGA Tour Professionals Adam Scott and Louis Oosthuizen are standard examples of 'textbook' golf swings, frequently considered by their peers as having the best swings in professional golf (Rudy, 2016). In fact, the Professional Golf Association of America legitimizes these textbook or standard motions in their instruction and certification programs. The idiosyncratic axis, instead, involves sequences and a range of motions outside of what can be considered culturally valorized. These

movements tend to emphasise function over form, wherein a player has perhaps learned first to play golf rather than how to swing a club. Examples of successful idiosyncratic motions are those of PGA Tour Professionals Jim Furyk and Matthew Wolfe; a certified teaching professional or coach[9] would likely never instruct a beginner to swing like Jim Furyk, yet he is currently 4th In All-Time Career Earnings on the PGA Tour (PGA Tour, 2019). It is important to note, however, that Furyk and Wolfe are outliers. There are *significantly* more successful 'textbook' golfers than there are idiosyncratic.

Acquisition of these legitimate, textbook corporeal fundamentals requires an individual who can disseminate these skills in the *correct* manner; someone learning the game from an individual already long-socialised and disciplined by the regularities of the field, such as a PGA professional or even a parent or friend with a low handicap, is likely to adopt more textbook motions from the outset. This process would not be dissimilar from students learning the embodied cultural capital, cognitive, and corporeal habitus of the classroom through socialization in their home culture (Bourdieu, 1984; Dumais, 2002). Someone getting into golf on their own, however, may instinctively develop idiosyncratic moves that then need correction to fall into the legitimate range.

> *I wish I'd had the lesson [with the PGA Professional] before I started...by the time I'd had the lesson I had been a month in. I was just trying to hit it as hard as I could...I didn't have the technique. I didn't have what I needed. Swing and all that. If she had noticed me from the beginning...but by then I had learned bad habits. Now I wish I had done it before.*
> *(Oscar, Interview, December 2016)*

Oscar recognizes the failure of his own, individual efforts, in acquiring the necessary skills to play golf legitimately. This failure stems from a lack of technique and understanding of the technique, which beginners and neophytes rely on HCC, or *subcultural producers*, individuals to provide. Here it is important to emphasise, stated above, that culturally valorized motions and sequences of bodily movements operate within a legitimate range. No two human bodies are exactly the same, therefore there cannot be a single, absolute legitimate motion. As seen with taste profiles structured through habitus homologies (Gayo-Cal et al., 2006; Gemar, 2018), there are then acceptable levels of fluctuation in movements and bodily displays that serve to indicate one's

[9] A teaching professional, or 'PGA Professional,' is an individual certified by the Professional Golfers' Association to teach the game in all of its facets—akin to a Ph.D. for a professor.

position in the field. However, to define these levels of variation is an inherently arbitrary task, as one needs only to watch one afternoon of PGA Tour Television coverage to see a range of motions that all represent the most legitimate displays of the corporeal habitus required by the field of golf (Ceron-Anaya, 2017).

Furthermore, it is critical to note that slight or nuanced adjustments in corporeal displays for individual body types do not constitute idiosyncrasies. Idiosyncrasies are wildly outside the norm, and therefore fall outside the tolerances of legitimate embodied capital to allow for individualization.

6.3.2.2 The Function of the Swing

The previous discussion of how the various nuances and differences in golfers' swings demands, then, a brief discussion of what actually makes a swing or motion 'legitimate' in the field of golf. Despite the many subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, differences in the appearance of the swings of many top players they are all resoundingly similar at one critical point. Hannah, below, highlights this point referred to as 'impact.'

> *…it's unbelievable to think that we all swing the golf club so differently but we all manage to get that clubface square at impact -- it is the oddest thing in the world, but it works...but it works!*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

Firstly, in the statement "we all swing the club so differently" Hannah implicitly verifies the nuances in corporeal habitus between the textbook and the idiosyncratic axes discussed above in Section 6.4.2. However, these movements are all driven by the recognition of needing to get to the 'impact' position correctly, as Hannah explicitly mentions. 'Impact' refers to the position of a player's body at the moment immediately preceding, the moment of, and the moment immediately following the golf club physically striking the golf ball. Occurring within fractions of a second, this position ultimately provides legitimacy to a golf swing because the physical relationship of the club head, club path, and swing direction influence the flight and trajectory of the shot (i.e. where the golf ball goes). 'Impact' is then a critically important, singular instance of body performance in the display of embodied subcultural capital (Thorton, 1996). The importance of this position as a source of corporeal legitimacy is evidenced mainly in the physical similarity of distinguished players at this position (see Appendix 3.1). Further, many top coaches, PGA Teaching Professionals, and players such as Butch Harmon and Tiger Woods, repeatedly emphasise the importance of this position and base much of their instruction on achieving better impact

positions (e.g. GolfDigest, 2018; Golf-Monthly, 2017).

The impact position provides a salient transition to discuss one of the functional and formal versus material aesthetic binaries (Holt, 1998) in the field of golf. The function of the golf swing is ultimately to hit the ball consistently towards a target, and therefore consistently achieving a proper impact position facilitates consistent golf shots. A swing that follows textbook positions but breaks down at the position of impact loses much of its legitimacy; the ball flight will betray the rest of the swing, as a shot flying awry will not match whatever other legitimate positions a player attains. Conversely, a mostly idiosyncratic swing that gets the player into a legitimate impact position gains whatever legitimacy may have been lost through a ball that flies towards the target, evidenced most clearly by PGA Tour player Matt Wolfe. Wolfe's backswing is incredibly idiosyncratic but serves the purpose of getting the club into a repeatedly legitimate impact position. Thus, the impact position provides a lasting form of functional aesthetic in the field of golf, and therefore conforms to Holt's (1998) findings that HCC individuals are rarely swayed by trends and fashionable variation. Historically, the best ball-strikers on the PGA Tour have maintained similar impact positions from generation to generation; Sam Snead in the 1940s and 1950s, Ben Hogan in the 1950s and 1960s, Johnny Miller in the 1960s and 1970s, Tom Weiskopf in the 1970s and 1980s, Fred Couples in the 1980s and 1990s, to Adam Scott and Louis Oosthuizen today.

6.3.2.3 Putting

Swinging the golf club, and reaching a consistently legitimate impact position, is however only one of the physical skills that constitute the corporeal habitus in golf; putting is equally important, if not more so. *Putting* refers to the shots taken once a player reaches 'the green,' where the ball is no longer played through the air to a target but rather rolled along a smooth, closely mown surface towards (and hopefully into) the hole. The swing serves to get the ball onto the green and close to the hole, and the putting stroke then serves to get the ball *into* the hole. The putting motion is referred to as a 'stroke' rather than a swing, and is a smaller, more reserved motion where the club may only move a few inches at times. The motion itself, however, is only a portion of what constitutes a 'putt.' A player must read or observe the surface of the green, predict the way the ball will move along the surface, and judge the speed at which the ball must roll to go into the hole on that anticipated line. The importance of putting comes from equality in the value of golf shots, in that all shots taken count the same. A three-hundred-yard tee shot down the middle of the fairway and a one-foot-long putt both count for one shot. The disproportionate importance

of putting can be unduly frustrating, especially for distinguished competitive players, as it is the culmination of every hole and struggles with putting can negate even the most sublime golf swing. Struggles with putting, and therefore this particular aspect of corporeal habitus, can erode even the most talented and dedicated players' love of the game and their desire to continue to pursue achievement and self-actualisation in the field.

> *To go and do it to earn my living -- that's just not...my heart just isn't there. I play this game because I love it, I don't play it because it is going to be my living. I don't want it to be my living. Erm. Also, I think I struggle tremendously with my putting. The frustration when I come in off the golf course and I hit 15-16 greens and shot 3-4 over par is probably one of the hardest things. It's one of those things […] I can physically burst into tears -- because the golf gets me down. It gets me down so much. Whereas many come in and snap a club or launch something or whatever, I don't...it just gets me so upset. It really breaks me down.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

Hannah was, and may still be, a gifted player. At the time of the interview, she played for her University's 1st Team, her County, and her Country. She was a top women's amateur player on the European stage, and yet we see the effect struggling with putting has on her aspirations and ambitions in the field. Most players with her level of golf capital would seriously consider a career playing the game professionally, though she illustrates a clear distaste for pursuing golf beyond anything other than her 'love' for it. Hannah clearly associates her frustration with her putting, which from my experience as a golfer is understandable; any top player that routinely hits 15-16 greens[10] per round should score no worse than a few under par, and certainly not over par. My experiences in golf support her account, where my struggles on the course—with my putting in particular—led me to feel very similar to this. In fact, in the summer of 2018, I genuinely believe I was only another handful of overwhelmingly frustrating performances away from actually giving the game up. These feelings of frustration, and even *genuine* anguish at times, relate to our failure to perform and adhere to expectations; expectations that our identities as distinguished golfers and high levels of subcultural capital, embedded in a sporting subculture, bestow upon us (Coleman and Williams, 2013).

6.3.2.4 Knowledge and Course Management

A third major element of embodied subcultural capital in golf is knowledge. Rather than cognitive

[10] Referring to Greens in Regulation. Each hole has a "par," the number of shots a "scratch" golfer (handicap of 0) should take to get the ball into the hole. Par allows for two putts, meaning the player has hit the green in regulation with 1 stroke on a Par 3, 2 strokes on a Par 4, and 3 strokes on a Par 5. PGA Tour Professionals average between 13-15 greens in regulation per round.

habitus, such as broad knowledge of how to behave and navigate the social rules of the field, knowledge in golf as cultural capital involves particularized forms that work to stratify the field. Certainly, a large number of golfers may be aware of particular courses and their details, swing mechanics, and have a familiarity with the Rules of Golf. These forms of knowledge do work to stratify the field and reinforce social positioning, where for example an individual that can intimately discuss the gentle rolls and hidden bunkers amongst the fairways at St. Andrews' Old Course communicates the ownership of that capital through coveted consumption experiences at a sacred site—typical of a subculture typically *perceived* as "middle-class" (Kozinets, 2001; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). More importantly, however, cultural capital manifests as knowledge that directly translates to advantages in the field (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014). Thus, in golf this is known as 'course-management.' Course-management is the body of knowledge a player draws on to select and execute shots as they play; playing a significant role, with the more corporeal skills, in determining the score.

Course-management is one of the most significant examples of advanced knowledge in the field of golf. Course-management is the knowledge of how to *play* the game, rather than simply how to hit the ball. Furthermore, it is an appreciably underrated aspect of scoring and playing the game *well*—working, as shown in Chapter 9, to stratify individuals based on whether they try, or even know how, to actually play the game or if they simply hit the ball. Being underrated supports the argument for course-management as cultural capital, as it requires substantial discipline and consciously ascetic decisions at times that many individuals in the field either do not make or are not aware of; the relationship between discipline, ascetic practices, and cultural capital levels in sport is clear (Stempel, 2005; Kahma, 2012). The disciplined and ascetic practices of course-management stem first from a familiarity with all of the shots available to a golfer; e.g. fades, draws, punch shots, flop shots, bump-and-runs, variations of trajectories, etc. Then, a golfer must decide which shot, at which time, is the most appropriate with a critical appreciation of what the *most likely* outcome from that shot will be. For example, if a player consciously chooses a shot they have insufficient experience with or a shot that does not offer the best chance for the desired result, this indicates a critical failure in course-management and works to characterize their embodied performance as lower-status (Thornton, 1996; Moore, 2005). Hannah neatly summarises how course-management and shot-selection stratifies golfers in the field.

> *Now I can go out in 50 mile an hour, well not quite 50, but 30 mile an hour gusts -- 2 or 3 club winds -- and learn to play and adapt into that condition. Whereas, your average club golfer would not have done that. They would just go out and*

> *think "right, I'm going to hit this ball up into the air." Well, hang on a second. You've got a hundred yards, and you're trying to hit a pitching wedge the whole way there? Get a 7 iron out, get it off your back foot, and knock it down. That course management and that adaptation that I think elite golfers have. Even to this day now, you'll see 2 or 3 handicappers; they'll have 60 yards and try to play a lob wedge up into the air...well, no, that's not going to work! That is the difference I think when you get to that standard is you learn to play the game differently.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

In "elite" golfers, Hannah references high-status, accomplished, and distinguished participants in the field who are either professionals or in the upper echelon of amateurs. These types of players use this course-management and playing knowledge to discern how and when to best deploy which of their embodied skills; this is a direct nod back to the analogy of how individuals play the cards they have acquired depending on the rules of the 'game' (Lareau and Horvat, 1999; Tapp and Warren, 2010). Thus, every round of golf and every shot become a literal and physical exposition of opportunities for individuals to deploy their embodied capital resources and affirm, raise, or lower their status in the field. Significantly, course-management also reveals gendered differences in the acquired forms of corporeal skills and capital in the field.

> *Little things like "Oh I want to generate spin on my pitch shots -- last week [a boy] at junior coaching and he was getting spin with the ball...why can't I get spin with the ball?" She would say to me, she would say..."Hannah, you're not physically strong enough to generate clubhead speed which needs to rotate the ball to create the spin...you're [not a boy]..." She would explain it to me, which I found really helpful. "You're not strong enough to generate the spin on the ball which can stop the ball on the green and get it to come back to you. Let's teach you another way of getting the ball to stop..." She taught me how to play a chip shot with the toe of the [wedge], and I will never forget that. I now know how to play a chip shot with the toe of the [wedge] and it will literally travel as far as you want it to travel depending on how far you swing the club. I still use that shot to this day, and she taught me to play the game differently because I'm female.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

Hannah communicates an experience familiar with the gendered reality of physical skill acquisition. Her coach, the individual that socialized her into the field and provided the initial discipline necessary to become a distinguished field participant, recognizes that Hannah is not physically able to generate spin on short game shots near the green. Colloquially, this spin is called 'check,' and is a desirable form of capital displayed by top golfers that communicates mastery of the club through the impact position (noted above as critical). Hannah's candid excerpt and personal reflection reveal this "check" as a potentially gendered form of subcultural capital, so she learns to combat this by circumventing the rules of the field and redefining how the golf club

can be used. Ironically, in the field I found "check" such a desired form of capital that many golfers, attempting to cement their status in the field, attempt to display this form of embodied subcultural capital with no regard for whether it is the *correct* form of capital at the time.

6.3.3 Other Forms of Cultural Capital in Golf

6.3.3.1 Objectified Cultural Capital

Cultural capital manifests in more than just the embodied forms, however, and therefore the chapter now details any significant forms of objectified and institutionalized forms of cultural capital extant in the field. Given that objectified cultural capital refers to cultural aptitude inferred from the possession of cultural goods (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998), this section explores how various cultural objects in golf work to communicate this aptitude and status. It is, however, critical to note, at the outset of investigating objectified and institutionalized cultural capital in the field, a substantial absence of cultural goods or certificates that can guarantee any cognitive elements of the habitus or embodied capital. I reiterate the earlier argument of section 3.9, wherein I note that club membership does not in itself bestow any formal status on an individual in the field; even membership to the Royal & Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews would suggest little with regards to corporeal habitus or embodied cultural capital in the field, though it would imply a substantial development of social capital. The following recollection from a recent executive meeting of the University A Golf Club, discussing team selection, details this sentiment.

> *Executive: I mean, he's absolute garbage, but he IS a member of [Royal] St. George's…so we'll put him in the team. Could be useful for organizing summer tour.*
>
> *JG: He's garbage? Why?*
>
> *Executive: He uses clubs that are least 2 inches too short for him and he's got no idea what the f*ck he is doing. Absolute sh*t at everything. But again, member of [Royal St.] George's so he needs a few games in case we want to organize a game there over summer!*
> *(Notes from UA Exec Meeting, November 2019)*

Besides the obviously distasteful description of the abilities of the golfer in question, this recollection explicitly highlights the purpose that membership at such exclusive clubs serves; the development, and this instance exploitation, of social capital. The club executive rather vapidly select this player in order to hopefully capitalize on his social network for their own gains at some later date. The University A executives here interject their primary middle-class habitus into this exchange. A desire to 'collect' another experience at an exclusive cultural venue, Royal St.

George's Golf Club, leads to an explicit expression of distaste for the cultural elite; in this case, someone who has already attained membership and access to this coveted subcultural site and the accompanying elite social network (Jarness, 2015). This middle-class habitus is also evident in a communicated desire for another "summer tour" featuring *exclusive* cultural sites (Weinberger et al., 2017). However, the classist language of distaste notwithstanding, the committee confirm that membership to elite networks or subcultural sites bestows no measure of embodied capital; despite his membership to Royal St. George's, this anonymous member is still 'sh*t.' Likewise, branded memorabilia and goods from destination or exclusive venues such as Royal St. George's, St. Andrew's, or Royal County Down serve only to communicate that an individual has, potentially, visited the grounds; perhaps even played the course, but there is no indication to cognitive habitus or field status inherent in displaying any cultural good in golf.

The nature of the field, organized along both a cognitive and corporeal axis, along with a changing consumer landscape that focuses more on the *how* than the *what* renders many former cultural markers in golf irrelevant for the purposes of stratification; those that remain mostly involve trophies, prizes, and a very select few types of equipment. For example, even the best players today now purchase, play with, and utilize whatever clubs help maximize their performance on the course with their set of corporeal skills. Evidence of this requires only a comparison between the irons and equipment used by tour professionals from the 1970s and until the mid-2000s, to 2019; today, most demarcation occurs between someone using equipment from a "players" category or a "game-improvement" category. These products communicate only a general idea of handicap or playing ability (discussed in the following section), rather than any nuanced impressions of cognitive habitus and embodied capital. Trophies and prizes (e.g. a medal, commemorative crystal, or other token signifying victory in a competition) work as one of the few remaining forms of objectified cultural capital in the field of golf, because to attain one an individual must have, at some point, won a tournament; therefore, the trophy guarantees the existence of a measure of advantageous capital (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014) at some point. However, the temporal nature of repeating annual competition for these trophies means they can only communicate a level of capital and skill achieved and held at some point in the past.

6.3.3.2 Institutionalised Subcultural Capital

To find cultural objects and certificates that communicate possessed levels of subcultural capital, we turn to institutionalized forms. In many subcultures, however, institutionalized forms of capital do not exist as most subcultures lack *formal* leadership or organization (Haenfler, 2014). Thus,

institutionalized forms of subcultural capital often *cannot* exist; there is no formal body or organization to certify extant levels of capital. This institutionalized capital paradox is where golf differs from many other subcultures. Dominant forms of institutionalized subcultural capital in golf manifest as PGA Qualifications, Professional Tour-Status, and Handicap certificates. The PGA Qualification is necessary for anyone wishing to teach golf or take employment as the resident professional at a golf club (PGA.org, 2019). To earn the qualification requires three years of education, instruction, and seminars in a classroom setting, conferring similar status to the PGA Qualification as more traditional education degrees in functioning to guarantee cultural capital. Professional Tour-Status is held by individuals competing at the highest levels in the field: the PGA Tour, The European Tour, and any of their affiliated tours. One must play their way through grueling multi-stage qualification tournaments to earn the right to play on these tours, and if successful then possession of tour-status bestows the highest field status. The following excerpts from my blog posts leading up to, during, and after the 2018 European Tour Qualifying School illustrates the intense pressure of these tournaments.

> *[Leading Up]*
> *I've entered European Tour Qualifying School and I'm going for it. I've spent so long trying to make sure that I have the best possible plan B; getting my MSc in Marketing from Durham and then grinding for [several] more years towards a Ph.D. In fact, I'd started to worry that I'd never get the chance to go for Plan A. I'll be 30 in February…surely, the window was closing? I reached out, asked for some help. I put myself out there and laid it all bare. It's not much, but I've gotten enough help to at least start this journey. There's no doubt I'm excited, but to be perfectly honest I'm a little scared…Professional golf is something I wanted, and still desperately want, because golf is my life.*
> *(Finally Going For It, September 3rd, 2018)*
>
> *[During]*
> *Tomorrow I take a step on this journey I've thought about, wished for, and dreamt of for over a decade. I'm ready, I'm prepared, and I just need to stay on top of the nerves this week… Can I get up and down from everywhere? No, but I also shouldn't be hitting it everywhere. Can I make every putt from inside 20 feet? No, because no-one on the planet does that. This course is long. It is tight in places. The fairways are burned up, cracked, and bouncy. The greens are tricky to read and like to bobble. None of those, however, I can control. I can only control my target, my swing, and my attitude. Once I let it go, that's it. Let it go. Smart decisions, work the ball towards the flag, and keep it in play. Let's go get 'em.*
> *(Week 1, First Stage. September 10th, 2018)*
>
> *[After]*
> *I'll be brutally honest with this one — I didn't think I would, nor did I want to, be writing this particular entry so soon. After battling through a crap draw on Tuesday, a stellar but disappointing 69 on Wednesday, and another oddly bad day*

> *yesterday, I was left standing on the 10th tee box this morning — at the beginning of my final round at European Tour First Stage Qualifying — needing somewhere around 68-69 to get through. Not where I wanted to be, certainly, but after dealing with a golf course that was set up by maniacs and designed by the insane… Standing on 18 tee, I hit a 'toey' 2iron that managed to get down the middle and rolled out to 162 flag.* ***Here's where my dream, this year, died****…. So, I signed for an 81 and got out of The Players Club as quickly as I could. I'm disappointed, I'm fragile right now, and I'm a little broken. Not by the golf, which if I am being realistic I actually played OK this week (14 over on just 4 holes). I hit a lot of fairways, a lot of greens, and rolled the ball nicely. But, I wasn't good enough this week. Thank God for that — If I'd have said I played my best and still missed it by 11 then I'd be in a bad way. I need some time to process this and figure out where I want to go from here. I know that deep down I am more than good enough to still try this professionally, but now I have a fun and interesting task in figuring out how to make that happen. I'll be 30 next time I get to try European Q School…but to be fair, maybe I deserve it. I didn't perform when I needed to, and that's where pressure and tournament experience come in. I need a season on the satellite tour to cut my teeth and get used to the joyous monotony of tour golf.*
> *(Crushed, September 14th, 2018)*

I recognise these excerpts are lengthy, but they do convey the emotions, stress, and pressure of preparing for these testing events that determine whether or not an individual can pursue their dream; working for a lifetime towards a goal in sport to be determined not by whether or not they are good enough—specifically, whether they are good enough *that week.* For the vast majority of golfers, however, institutionalized cultural capital does not manifest as tour status and tour 'cards,' rather it manifests in golf as 'handicaps.' The handicap is a direct proxy for embodied cultural capital and corporeal ability, guaranteeing at any particular time the level of familiarity and status of an individual according to the field's structural axis of playing ability. Handicaps work as an adjustment to a golfer's score, i.e. if someone with a handicap of 5 plays someone with a handicap of 0, then they receive 5 shots to even the match. Handicaps change in real time as players record scores and either succeed or falter in their pursuit of achievement and status in the field. References to handicaps from research participants, and frequent expression of the desire to improve the handicap, validate this institutionalized form of subcultural capital. Oliver and Thomas provide an introduction to the concept of handicaps and the relationship of handicaps to corporeal habitus, bodily dispositions, and pursuit of field status below.

> *Shot 127 in my first round, and shot 91 in my second round. The handicap came tumbling down pretty quickly! That was 1980. in 1984, I got GolfWorld's most improved golfer…So came down to 9 handicap in 1984, then went down to category 1, the following year in 1985. Stayed as a Category 1 golfer ever since…My dad was a very good golfer, he played to a very good standard and got down to a 3 handicap in the old system that they had…even now at 75 he still plays off 10.*

(Oliver, Interview, September 2017)

I got to Cat[egory] 1 probably around 2005? I think I dipped back up into 6 for one weekend? Played a mid-week medal off 5.5, then played in a board comp at 5.6 and shot 71 -- net 65 -- and won a major comp. That was the only time we've dipped into 6 in 10-
12 years? Now I maintain my 3 handicap. That's where I'm comfortable. I dip into 2 a lot! But I don't say there long! (Chuckles). I stay there for maybe a month or so and then back up to 3. I'm comfortable, that's where I'm comfortable. I feel comfortable. I can play better than 3...many times during the year I can play better than 3, but that's where I'm comfortable James. Comfortable off 3.
(Thomas, Interview, June 2017)

Both Oliver and Thomas introduce the concept of handicap as an indication of physical dispositions, skill, and playing ability; a clear linear relationship wherein a lower handicap intimates a higher amount of embodied capital and skill. The importance both participants place on getting to 'Category 1' indicates that handicaps do indeed provide a form of status in the field, and these golfers want it known that they have these handicaps. They both make a point of associating their handicaps with a "good standard" and winning competitions, and furthermore that they have been able to maintain their prestigious handicaps. Neither Oliver nor Thomas, however, indicate a drive to continue to lower their handicaps or any desire to have a lower handicap. Bradley expands this notion, also confirming that handicaps are indeed a direct measure of a golfer's skill and status in the field, but clearly illustrates a drive to keep improving his own.

B: [I]t is about shooting scores and scoring, and getting my handicap down. That's where my golf is at the minute, that's...has been the only focus this year, to try and get my handicap down.

JG: Why do you want your handicap to come down?

B: Because that's how you judge how good you are in it? That's the judge of how good you are at golf really. You can win nothing all year in terms of competitions but if you are the lowest handicap player in the club then in my eyes you are the best player in the club. Or, if you...so, it's that really. I want to be the best I can be at it, and my personal judgment of what that means is that your handicap is the barometer for the quality of golfer you are.
(Bradley, Interview, April 2017)

In clearly illustrating and emphasizing the relationship between handicaps and skill, Bradley, Oliver and Thomas offer a basic blueprint for the structuring of the field along the corporeal axis; through their handicap, and its category, golfers assert their position in the field. There are five handicap categories along through which golfers are stratified by playing ability, with Category 5 being the

highest (36-28.5) and Category 1 being the lowest (5.4-0 or better) (CONGU, 2018). Significantly, Thomas also provides an illustration of how broader cultural capital resources and consumption practices blend across the subcultural construction of realities (Holt and Schor, 2011; Gabriel and Lang, 2006). Thomas has achieved a remarkable handicap in the game, where being off 3 places him in the top 7.5% of golfers (USGA, 2015); however, he makes a concerted, deliberate point to emphasise that he is *comfortable* at 3 rather than indicating a drive to push onwards, achieving an ever-lower handicap and acquiring a greater composition of corporeal skills and subcultural capital. Contrast Bradley's clear drive to continue improving and acquiring more embodied capital and skills is an indication of the aspirational nature of his predominantly middle-class influences and dispositions (Holt and Thompson, 2004; Moisio et al., 2013). Therefore, Thomas' seems to cognitively override his behaviours in the field, and subsequently quells the self-actualising endeavours exhibited by many golfers in favour of comfortable, i.e. localized, autotelic socialization (Holt, 1998). Ultimately, though, the ways in which these individuals engage and revere these forms of capital as a means to stratify and place them within the field. Whether individuals engage with their handicaps as a means to self-actualisation or autotelic participation, the handicap clearly serves as a powerful manifestation of cultural capital in the institutionalized form and as a reminder of the similarities golf shares with the habitus of the bygone elite and the middle-class.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter works to translate the concepts of habitus and cultural capital into the field of golf, providing a critical foundation to later analysis that investigates more nuanced elements of the habitus to uncover mechanisms of cultural capital transference. Within the field boundaries of golf, the structure of the field and its hierarchy coalesces along two interrelated elements of habitus; a cognitive axis and a corporeal axis. The cognitive axis in golf's habitus involves the ingrained behaviours, attitudes, and rituals that constitute golf etiquette; knowing how, and when, to act and behave in a manner consistent with the etiquette (Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2019). The corporeal axis, then, involves physically enacting these cognitive dispositions and communicating one's knowledge of and familiarity with the habitus to the field. Tastes, preferences, and behaviours then work to affirm actors' status in the field, wherein a familiarity with the cognitive habitus permits a type of subconscious fluidity in consumption in line with an individual's capital resources (Cornelissen, 2016; Ceron-Anaya, 2017). These axes provide a strong link to positioning golf as a subculture and its embodied capital as subcultural, as they align with the body competency, body performance, and specialized knowledge of subcultures (Thornton,

1996; Haenfler, 2014).

Embodied cultural capital in golf also, importantly, includes the physical skills, dispositions, and knowledge necessary to play the game; the golf swing, putting, and course management. Acquisition of these forms of capital serve as evidence to a golfer's socialization in the field, just as familiarity with the arts evidenced a student's socialization into bourgeois culture in Bourdieu's seminal studies (1984). Displays of these skills and knowledge are then appropriately reflected in a golfer's handicap. The handicap is a powerful form of institutionalized cultural capital in the field, and is in fact the only institutionalized form relevant to the vast majority of golfers. As golfers express their desire to lower or improve their handicap, or conversely indicate no concern for it whatsoever, the broader cultural socialisations of sociodemographic backgrounds become evident. Critically, the ways in which golfers engage with their handicaps reflects the larger structuring of individual reality and indicates that subcultural and broader cultural field boundaries are blurred (Holt and Schor, 2011; Humphreys, 2011).

Chapter 7: Communication in Golf

7.1 Introduction

The next three chapters introduce the mechanisms of transference for cultural and subcultural capital, acquired from golf, into other fields. These mechanisms often manifest as 'soft skills,' more intangible forms of distinction characterized by "creativity, communication, flexibility, proactiveness, and life-long learning" (Weinberger at al., 2017: 332). The dispositions outlined in these three chapters, then, are distinctive forms of embodied capital "closely connected with attitudes" (Balcar et al., 2011: 9); more difficult to define, but increasingly valuable, than the more readily distinguishable cognitive and corporeal forms of habitus and cultural capital in Chapter 6. Where the previous chapter outlined the field and habitus of golf, these chapters dig deeper into the cognitive and corporeal elements of habitus and embodied cultural and subcultural capital to uncover these mechanisms and explore how they operate. The data, experiences, and narratives unearthed in the ethnographic and autoethnographic research suggests that several points of transference for cultural and subcultural capital exist; socialization, communication, discipline, performance anxiety, and familiarity with competitive pressure, all of which are embedded in the habitus of golf.

> *Respect for other people…you learn so much. Patience? Hard work? Timekeeping? [Those] are things that I have learned from golf. I think a lot of the stuff I have learned from golf, I don't use it **in** golf.*
> *(Dylan, Interview, March 2017)*

There is potential, then, for distinctly transferrable and aggregated characteristics to the cultural and subcultural capital resources and habitus of golf. Communicative structures, whether in sport as an expression of physical fitness (Stempel 2005) and identity (Jones, 2017) or in general cultural consumption fields (Askegaard and Heilbrunn 2018), already work as basic mechanisms for social positioning and status. This chapter thus explores the communicative structures extant in the field of golf and the cognitive dispositions of the habitus; through several aspects of communication, such as conversational skills and emotional intelligence, that individuals credit to golf and indicate utility in other fields. Communication in the field, as explored in this chapter, provides a fundamental mechanism for the aggregation of cultural capital resources—through nuanced communication practices in the field of golf, participants understand how to orient their existing habitus and capital into useful resources in other endeavours.

7.2 Communication in Golf

7.2.1 Setting the Stage

Individuals transmit, share, and convey knowledge, experiences, and behaviours through a variety

of active and passive practices in consumption fields (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Kates, 2002). These practices occur in more general consumption fields (e.g. Holt, 1998), and subcultural consumption fields (e.g. Thornton, 1996; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011), where consumers enact their tastes, preferences, and dispositions; communicating, through their consumption, levels of cultural and subcultural capital and asserting their position in the structural hierarchy (Prieur and Savage, 2011). Thus, consumption practice is at its core a form of communication; one only need reference the notion of conspicuous consumption for confirmation of this sentiment (Veblen, 1899). Therefore, viewing consumption as a form of communication, these communicative practices are particularly salient in sport and sports subculture; e.g. fans purposefully engage in practices and behaviours that cement their identities, to others as well as themselves, as fans (Zhou et al., 2014; Hewer et al., 2015). Drawing on the previous chapter, particularly section 6.3, I note that the cognitive axis of habitus, and its dispositions, are predominantly evident in the etiquette and communications between agents in the field. The ways in which golfers communicate, then, signal habitus familiarity, both through verbal discourse and physical cues noted by the research participants.

> *I like somebody who is going to talk to me for four hours. I think if you don't have any conversation for four hours it can get long winded. It can get awkward. If you've got someone who you can talk to about both golf and things outside of golf; both someone who is chatty and personable.*
> *(Victor, Interview, March 2017)*

Golf serves as a dominant site of socialization, if not *the* dominant site, for a majority of the research participants. The habitus of golf and its etiquette pervade and influence the everyday behaviours, attitudes, and experiences of these consumers which I explore later in these analysis chapters. As such, it is fitting that when asked what they have learned from golf, and if they apply those skills elsewhere, communication becomes a common theme; it is through communication whether verbal or physical that consumers project and assert their field status (Bourdieu, 1984; Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Discourse then, whether cognitive through habitus and specialised knowledge, or corporeal through body competence and performance, is critical in the field of golf.

7.2.2 Verbal and Cultural Discourse

One way in which individuals communicate their identities, status, and capital resources is through verbal and cultural discourse embedded in social interactions occurring both inside and outside the boundaries of a consumption field (Prieur and Savage, 2011; Askegaard and Heilbrunn, 2018). Through this verbal and cultural dialogue, the generational transmission and acquisition of cultural

and subcultural capital occurs; facilitating the reproduction of consumption and social hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1984; Prieur and Savage, 2011). There is a distinctly dyadic transmission dynamic in golf, where through these dialogues individuals in socializing roles disseminate knowledge to aspirational individuals; i.e. father to son, teaching professional to students, etc. This, then, confirms one of the tenets of cultural capital transmission between generations, where parents bestow their cultural and subcultural endowments onto their children (Lareau and Weininger, 2003). Individuals that can acquire, or at least mirror, a particular habitus can then effectively possess cultural 'entry tickets' associated with that habitus (Back et al., 2001; Cornelissen, 2016); given that much of golf habitus and etiquette still resembles that of the 20th century bourgeois, this cultural ticket may lead to opportunities for individuals beyond their sociodemographic trajectory.

> *I think it helps you socially in terms of...you need to be able to interact with, as we've talked about before, the various demographic amongst the golf club. You know, you can play golf one week with your mates -- there's a certain level of conversation you can have there -- then you can get drawn to play with somebody else, and you need to have those social skills to deal with that. I think being around other people -- being in a clubhouse environment where there's expectations, where there's rules -- I guess they are rules? Clubhouse etiquette, clubhouse guidelines...being able to adhere to them and follow them helps you socially, as a person, I think.*
> *(Bradley, Interview, September 2017)*

Bradley describes his understanding of normative interactions in the clubhouse between golfers from different general sociodemographic backgrounds and different social clusters. He does not specify who 'someone else' is, but he distinctly positions them away from his 'mates' and in doing so by default implies a level of formality and a less familiar relationship. He recognizes that there are various 'levels' of conversation, i.e. formal versus informal, that can be had depending on the company he finds himself in; furthermore, he posits that recognition of this delineation and adhering to it requires certain social skills. Bradley notes that the social environment of golf, along with the cognitive habitus and etiquette in golf, helps a consumer acquire these skills. Bradley's observation is buoyed by those of Chris and Harry, who play a substantial amount of golf with their international university teammates and others in the community.

> *In terms of, you know, life skills I'd say that...that are connecting with people from very different backgrounds is certainly one thing. You may say that that's maybe false or kind of twisted in the sense that most people who do play golf are from a similar background and have something in common because they do play golf -- I don't think that's necessarily true, because you can have very differing opinions on things. I think that purely spending 4-5 hours with someone in such a close way*

teaches you to interact and speak with and understand…errr...a, wide variety of people that you might not otherwise have engaged with.
(Chris, Interview, March 2017)

More social situations, or whenever you are meeting a new person or being introduced to someone that's what happens every time you tee it up on a golf course -- you meet someone new and you spend 4 hours with them and you learn to kind of, hold conversations with people and like find some common ground. Being able to do that with someone new, or someone you might want to keep in contact with in the future is quite a good thing to be able to do. Which, just, obviously going to occur in whatever you do in life.
(Harry, Interview, March 2017)

Harry and Chris dig deeper into the importance of verbal and cultural dialogue in the golf habitus, distinctly referencing the tendency and drive to find 'common ground' with playing partners. The expected conversational and dialogic elements of the cognitive golf habitus dictate that during a typical round of golf players should engage with each other; this leads to the likely discovery or establishment of some common ground. It is this common ground, or mutuality, driven by a deeply rooted human need for connection, that leads to a sense of community so central to sports consumption (e.g. Crawford, 2004; Hewer et al., 2015) and sports subcultures (Green, 2001; Guschwan, 2012). A key element to these discourses, highlighted by Chris and Harry, is that golf itself is not the common ground that golfers discover during their socialization. Unlike, specifically, brand communities and subcultures of consumption (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007), golf is *only* the de facto common ground; it further encourages and facilitates the cultural and social discourses necessary to discover and then explore other mutuality and communalities between consumers. However, already having the established common ground of being a golfer can afford opportunities in networking that having such a valuable cultural 'entry ticket' provide (Back et al., 2001; Humphreys, 2011). A conversation during Harry and Chris' joint interview illustrates this below.

I think that you do play a fair amount of golf with, erm, and this is where I think that the Martyrs Golf and Bishops University Golf part comes in... you do play a certain amount of golf with [very prestigious club] members -- or I do at least. I do at least. I think that is something that exclusively, or at least a connection is established exclusively, because of my membership of [Performance] Golf…
(Chris)

You wouldn't have that anywhere else [other than University B].
(Harry)

No, certainly not. You wouldn't have that interest in you, yeah so...so I would say sort of out with the strict context of competitive golf within that framework of

[Performance] Golf I would say that most of the rounds are with -- social...well, social rounds, with people of some...well you'd say pedigree.
(Chris)

They take an interest in us.
(Harry)

Mmhmm. We, obviously, I mean…we take an interest in them because…history of the [Prestigious] Club and the exclusivity of it.
(Chris)
(Joint Interview with Chris and Harry, March 2017)

The networking opportunities that Harry and Chris detail do not arise from any pre-existing conditions for these golfers, but because they are members of the University B performance team; the conversational skills and dispositions acquired from golf allowed them to fairly seamlessly integrate into the consumption and participation community of what is one of the most famous and prestigious clubs in the world. Despite the exclusivity and status of the prestigious club, the members' willingness to play golf and socialize with these two university golfers illustrates a more inclusive practice than Green (1987), Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2018), and Humphreys (2011) would have us believe. Victor adds to the narrative of networking and opportunity, detailing his own opportunities that have arisen from his consumption of golf; building on the contributions of Harry and Chris by adding the element of trust into relationships formed on the golf course.

…socially speaking to people, when you gain that trust with people you learn a lot more from them. That's a much better way to live your life. Also I would argue some of the connections I've made from golf would be helpful in life. One of the guys up at my golf club from home that I went and did work experience with, things like that. That's definitely something that has benefitted me, because I have spoken to people, gotten to know them and he's given me that opportunity.
(Victor, Interview, February 2017)

Victor posits building trust, then, as instrumental in 'getting to know' someone and materializing opportunities from the networking practices in golf. Golfers share information and anecdotes, sometimes in my experience these are deeply personal experiences, mixed in with the typical masculine joke-telling and Golf-Talk. These personal exchanges encourage and permit players to personalize their consumption experiences in golf, wherein players feel substantially involved and invested in creating and modifying the experience of playing and consuming golf for both themselves and others (Holt, 1995). The habitus of golf demands these types of exchanges. In my own experience, these conversational skills can translate into other fields through the ability to engage in dialogue with unfamiliar individuals in often unfamiliar settings; years of playing golf at

a vast number of clubs, with different clubhouses, memberships, course layouts, and customs taught me to navigate these structures to find common ground with my playing partners. These personal exchanges and opportunities to creatively modify experiences in the field of golf, both as players and consumers, provides meaningful links to the aforementioned habitus of the middle-class—notably this exhibition and manifestation of desire for creativity, individualization of experience, and communication (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014; Weinberger et al.,2017).

The cognitive habitus of golf, then, does not rely on the recognition of brands or objects but rather reaching out and taking interest in other golfers. I would note salute or engage with somebody because we use the same clubs, or wear the same shoes; the objects and goods themselves serve only to provide a loose approximation of embodied cultural capital. Rather, for example, older or senior members at a golf club making the effort to include others, particularly younger or less experienced players, contributes more to the community and cohesion of the golf subculture. Denise, herself noting that regular interaction with individuals from other demographics nurtures 'maturity,' which works as a proxy for the 'social skills' Bradley details earlier in handling situations with various levels of formality.

> *…it's like when I was young I like started interacting with older people quite early just because at the club there are quite many elderly people. I think it made me quite mature when I was younger, as I was quite independent when I was younger. I think the main part of that was golf...to make me self-confident. To know what I was doing."*
> *(Denise, Interview, February 2017)*

These interactions confirmed Denise's belief in her mastery of the cognitive habitus its dispositions, proven by her stating that she was 'self-confident' in knowing what she 'was doing.' This self-confidence translates later into expedience in recognition of the social rules and structures of other fields, which the chapter explores in the subsequent section 7.3. More importantly at this juncture, however, Denise's self-confidence implies a level of comfort in enacting the consumption practices in the field of golf; relating back to certain consumers' tastes, and the desire to remain in comfortable cultural environments, acting as a hindrance to taking advantage of opportunities requiring different taste profiles (Allen, 2002). Significantly, then, the habitus of golf may provide measures of 'self-confidence' and comfort to a number of consumers and enable them to take advantage of opportunities that fall outside of their sociodemographic trajectory. This self-confidence and comfort in consumption may work, then, as an antidote to the oscillatory discomfort experienced as individuals increase opportunities outside of their

traditional sociodemographic space as they invest more in a habitus that is frequently conceptualized as middle-class (Lahire, 2011; Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2019).

7.3 Transference into Other Fields

7.3.1 Extraction

Though many golfers in the research do explore how the cognitive habitus of golf influences, develops, and structures their verbal and cultural discourses, it was difficult to discern how they apply these dispositions in other fields. For myself and a substantial number of the participants, golf is such a significant part of our lives and our identities that we struggle to dissociate and achieve the necessary distance facilitating this reflection; contemplating how the cultural capital, subcultural capital, and cognitive dispositions we've learned from golf translate elsewhere. Many participants, including myself at times, have a distinctly troublesome experience recognizing golf as a separate field of consumption for themselves. Zach's struggles to articulate the ways in which golf has influenced and affected his life summarises this notion; though he credits golf with enhancing and enriching his life, he admits that he cannot find the words to express how golf has done so.

> *It's hard to articulate it, but it's...for me, it's hard to explain. It just makes you appreciate things better. Like we've spoken about, the social side of it. Meeting other people. Etiquette. It's all, it all spans out and spills out into everyday life. (Zach, Interview, June 2017)*

Identities in sport subcultures are grounded in powerful emotional and experiential connections (O'Reilly et al., 2013; Obiegbu et al., 2019). Thus, the meaning and symbolic power that golfers' identities possess, often means that efforts to communicate these identities emanates out beyond the boundaries of golf—as Zach says, it 'spans out and spills out into everyday life.' Fields are neither entirely self-contained or entirely autonomous and modern consumers participate in a number of subcultures; there will be boundary overlap (Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Solomon, 2004). There will be times then, simply by the nature of broader cultural structures, where golfers participate in other fields with skills and preferences gleaned from golf. For example, as I mention in section 1.3 involving my employment with Ferguson Enterprises, Inc., I succeeded at an accelerated level following my employment—employment that stemmed from the field of golf, where I caddied for an individual who secured an interview through the human resources department after inquiring why I didn't have "a real job." That interaction speaks to the aggregate utility of golf habitus and capital, wherein that particular individual, after only a single round of golf with me as his caddy, felt I could fulfil the requirements of an entirely disparate cultural field.

The dispositions and cognitive habitus learned from golf facilitated a natural adaptation to the roles of Counter and Inside Sales; quickly building rapport with plumbers, builders, carpenters, installers, warehouse staff, and managerial superiors alike. Golf indirectly taught me how to channel my own natural scientific and intellectual dispositions into a rapid aptitude in a novel field; within six months at Ferguson, I was comfortable enough with my knowledge of the form and function of the entire inner workings of a bathroom and kitchen to serve as inside sales support for five outside sales staff.

Much of this fluidity in my experience translating dispositions and habitus across field boundaries stems from the broader experience of being an NCAA student-athlete; managing athletic, nutritional, physical, psychological, and educational commitments in unison where the overlap between studies, practices, tournaments, and workouts became blurred much like subcultural boundaries in the broader cultural space (Solomon, 2004) and furthermore, the boundaries of consumption and production (Graeber, 2011; Andrews and Ritzer, 2018). One particular research participant, Howard, adds to this narrative of fluidity and commonality not only within golf but across the similarly disparate field boundaries of law and golf. His response provides a significant amount of insight into the extraction and aggregation process for cognitive dispositions and embodied subcultural and cultural capital.

> *People used to ask me "what is the best thing you can do as a solicitor?" I can talk to the guy who has been dragged off the street for beating someone up when he was pissed or on loads of drugs and I can talk to him and find out his story. In the afternoon, I'll maybe go and see the Bishop of Durham to deal with an allegation of discrimination within the priesthood or something like that and I've got to be able to sit and talk to them on exactly the same level; on the basis that I can associate with you, even if you are right up here [lifts hand above head, indicating social position] and the other guy is right down here [lowers hand below table, again indicating social position]. That was what I always thought was my biggest gift because I came from that background. I can appear before a Court of Appeal judge and talk to him as an equal really. Same with playing golf, you look at getting drawn in the Cup someone off 17 you still have to treat them with respect. You police yourself. If you see them doing something they shouldn't be doing, through ignorance, then you have a polite word with them. You don't say "Hey you f*cking cheat! What are you doing?!" You say "You know, you need to be a bit careful when you are addressing the ball...you cannot really press it down like that. Be careful, because soon someone may say something to you."*
> *(Howard, Interview, April 2017)*

Howard has middling levels of traditional cultural capital, the intersection of a working-class background (miners and butchers) and an upper-middle-class career (solicitor and judge). He turns

this to his distinct advantage in the field of law, manifest in an ability to relate to a wide spectrum of individuals. He invokes the concept of handicaps, linking the fields of law and golf, to make a point about the importance of equality. Referenced throughout the earlier chapters, and discussed in Section 6.4.3.2, handicaps work to stratify golfers by corporeal habitus, ability, and skill. Howard makes a point that not only golfers can socialize with others from a wide range of sociocultural backgrounds, they also socialize and play with individuals across a spectrum of ability and in various stages of corporeal development; thus, a form of equality in the field of golf is respect given to all. Howard's account even details his hypothetical efforts to educate, rather than admonish, the anonymous 17-handicapper; a stark contrast to some subcultures, particularly in sport, as a higher-status member offering to help a lower-status member rather than simply express distaste. Critically, it stands against the findings of Ceron-Anaya (2017;2018) with golf in Mexico City, where the author was most assuredly not treated with 'respect' on the course or with regards to his golfing ability. Also, for example, where older surfers may resort to physical violence in asserting their position (Canniford and Shankar, 2013), Howard makes a conscious effort to mute any form of violence, though he does assert his status by offering the correction—a correction that will serve to elevate the offender rather than marginalize. This action illustrates a significant departure in the habitus of golf from that of the middle-class; rather than stunting the trajectory of individuals yet to internalize this habitus (DeKeere and Spruyt, 2019), 'respect' in golf can help accelerate this internalization of habitus in lower-status or less familiar individuals.

7.3.1.1 The Universal Language

The de facto commonality among all golfers, then, is that we all play golf; variations in ability, ambitions, and motivations for playing aside. Participatory subcultures in sport, like rugby for example (Donnelly and Young, 1988), share many of the structural elements of golf in that sport (at least at the amateur level) mainly serves as a means to bring people together. The normative social environments of golf and rugby, however, can mean that the playing of golf or rugby can themselves be secondary to the socialization, providing another source of contradiction to certain sports communities such as certain fans and communities of consumption (Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007). This emphasis on socialization, highlighted by the responses of Bradley, Harry, Chris, Zach and Victor already, leads to a concept mostly reserved in studies of sport and diplomacy (Murray, 2016) or sport in society (Beutler, 2008). Thad introduces the concept explicitly in the following exchange during his interview.

> *Erm, struggled a bit with the language barrier as we moved while I didn't really know much English while, I guess, identified with friends through sport? Because*

that's like a very universal language. Played football and cricket and all that growing up when we moved to England, but went with my dad on Saturdays to play golf -- but, I caddied for him. I didn't actually play myself…So we went to an English school for 2 years, but because it being South Africa it's not 100% English. A lot of Afrikaans people are still in those schools so I was never forced to learn it that well. So, we came to England, and because I was the new kid I would get targeted by the teachers to come up and say and ask questions -- but my English wasn't good enough so I would not know how to respond correctly, or appropriately. I felt alienated because of the language. However, through sport I started skateboarding and playing in the football team -- played squash, liked cricket -- and all these sports, I didn't have to worry about my language. I could just focus on the sport and just excel in a way that I couldn't through the language. What was the question again?
(Thad)

Just to tell me a bit more about what you mean by sport being a universal language.
(Researcher)

Okay, yeah, so okay that was my thing. I felt freed playing sport, which I didn't feel anywhere else. A lot of that has to do with the language, but also I think I was able to, erm...play those sports at quite a high level so people liked me for it
(Thad, Interview, December 2017)

The organization of socialization around sport often brings and bonds together heterogeneous individuals and communities, leaning on the commonality and mutual love for the sport (Beutler, 2008). In Thad's case, sport helped mitigate his subpar proficiency in English and still allowed him to develop an identity that he could use to achieve social and emotional connections. The rules, customs, and corporeal dispositions in sports still permit consumption and communication amongst individuals and participants when verbal discourse fails. Thad's account does not, however, credit golf at all for being the bridge between South African and North Yorkshire; the universal language was sport itself, particularly football and cricket. My experience in Peru, documented below, supplements Thad's account and illustrates that golf also performs this function.

Yesterday I played with one of the local Golf Club teams – both lovely lads, despite the language barrier…My caddy, Walter, is an absolute legend. His professionalism and mannerisms have caught me by surprise – golf shaped this budding relationship, [as we] maintain our caddies for the week. He's been playing golf for a while, and loves his caddying work. Married, with two kids. We celebrate together, and agonize together. His green-reading skills are (specialised knowledge/subcultural capita) second to none! ...Golf has provided an environment where two people from literally opposite ends of the earth can compete, communicate, and build a relationship through the universal commonality inherent in playing and "conducting" golf. Golf is played the same

way – etiquette, rules remain constant (even here in Peru!) – so it essentially has given us a common language that is non-verbal, allowing fluid and uninhibited consumption of an activity (golf) and building emotional ties across a spectrum of cultures…today we are paired with another South American country – one of them speaks good English, the other none at all…but we are able to communicate through golf etiquette. "Bueno!" or "Good Shot!" always seems to generate a smile.
(Field Notes from Lima, April 2017)

Firstly, this recollection from my trip to Peru illustrates the "universal" language of sport in the golf context. Speaking very little Spanish, the commonality of the habitus in golf and its cognitive and corporeal dispositions native to golf provided a relatively familiar consumption environment in Peru. However, that being said, the broader cultural habitus around golf in Peru meant that it resembled more of Ceron-Anaya's studies in Mexico City (2017; 2018) rather than golf in the Northeast of England; far more exclusive, elitist, and emphasizing the dominant positions of members in the broader social space over others (i.e. limiting the areas where caddies are allowed). Thus, despite the bridging and bonding elements of sport between heterogeneous individuals (Beutler, 2008), the broader cultures in which sports fields embed leads to shifts in characteristics and nuances in field structure. Effectively, then, each club can take on its own unique structural nuances, in a sense creating 'micro-fields.' The micro-field element of golf can significantly contribute to the understanding of mechanisms of transference, as it may alter the composition and expansion of 'bundles' of dispositions individuals develop to employ in the various fields constituting their consumption existence (Cornelissen, 2016).

7.3.2 Application

Respondents collectively mention a number of fields in which they deploy their subcultural capital and habitus dispositions. Each respondent individually, however, mentions only one or two; work, education, and socialization in other cultural fields being the most popular. A few individuals also note that golf influences and curbs less desirable behaviours prevalent in other sports subculture (Stempel, 2006), evidenced by Xavier below.

What would you say that you have learned from golf?
(Researcher)

What I've learned? Wow, what a big question. Um...I've learned...I literally keep going back to behaviour every time. I think a lot of people, especially in the U.K....I don't know if it is, but I definitely felt like it was a bit different in the States. There's a lot of people that....seems to be like a lot of angrier kids in the U.K. If...so...when I started golf, I was obviously football background, so it was all...not big and brash, but quite loud. A bit boisterous, potentially. Went to go...sort of learned a lot of

> *like social skills. I found it helped big time with interviews and things like that. I sort of knew what to say a bit more, and in the right way, rather than...it's hard to explain. It just relates back to etiquette and things like that. Knowing how to...I just seemed to like, develop a bit quicker. Communication skills.*
> *(Xavier, Interview, March 2017)*

Xavier juxtaposes his background in football to his present participation in golf. Golf has taught him "a lot of social skills," later clarifying as communication skills specifically, that we assume the culture and habitus of football did not satisfactorily ascribe to him. He contrasts feelings of differentiations between the U.K. sport culture and the United States, where he played one year of collegiate golf at the NCAA Division I level. However, he is unsure of his own assertion and looks to me for confirmation. Golf helped Xavier combat and mute the more masculine, boisterous, and loud culture of football in which he grew up; immediately, Xavier makes the point that these communication skills from golf help him in interviews by "knowing what to say" and "in the right way," confirming that sports which mute the brash hegemonic masculinity of broader sports cultures bestow advantages upon their participants. Furthermore, Xavier provides an example of this advantage that may not immediate arise from the quantitative research proving this (Stempel, 2006). Interviews are usually pressurized situations in which definitive power structures exist between the interviewer and interviewee; therefore, the regular consumption of golf helps Xavier navigate these power structures to his advantage.

Thad similarly illustrates the ways in which golf help him navigate extant power structures in other fields, namely in education and hospitality. Golf taught Thad how to approach his professors at University in order to maximize the educational opportunities he had, in addition to how to settle in to a job as a waiter; becoming comfortable and confident, not unlike the ways in which Denise utilizes her golf habitus to grasp the social rules and customs of new fields at an accelerated rate.

> *My discipline, my punctuality, being able to speak to people. In the hospitality field that was massive, because my first shift as a waiter I was nervous to go to a table and take an order -- I was very [shakes his hands] -- whereas in golf I learned...what is so hard [about speaking] to speak to someone new? That made me become more approachable to my [table]...and, if I mentioned golf to any of them, they loved it. It's hard how people like you being good at something. Punctuality -- yeah, in all my fields is important. A job interview, actual work, all this and that. My etiquette -- the way I carried myself in golf -- was very important in class going to speak to teachers and professors. The way I conducted myself after potentially a bad seminar or lecture...that, yeah...taught me how to go speak to them and get the most out of my grade. Yeah. Being a server in hospitality...*
> *(Thad, Interview, December 2017)*

Specifically, Thad indicates that the forcible socialization of golf helped him overcome some underlying social anxiety. In golf, you may not have any idea who you're playing partners are on the first tee of a tournament; golfers quickly become adept at the process and performance of social introductions, as discussed in Chapter 6. Therefore, Thad communicates a significant transferability of elements of golf habitus into other fields, notably conversational cognitive and bodily corporeal aspects. Thad also broaches an idea that few others in the research do; pride. He refers to etiquette as "my etiquette," which works to communicate ownership of the habitus and the extent to which golf has truly been integrated into his identity (Belk, 1988; Holt, 1995). However, both Thad and Xavier only discuss how the habitus of golf may help individuals on the receiving end of extant power structures like interviews and work; Natalie offers a view from the other side. Natalie, a schoolteacher, explains how golf helps those in positions of power in certain cultural fields maneuver these structures with empathy and efficiency.

> *.. I think it helped me a lot with teaching? I could understand different little personalities that I was working with -- how they learnt better. I didn't just tell them a definite way to do things, as some of these pro[fessionals] tried to tell me, I tried to let them experiment and explore a little bit more with their ways of thinking. So I think it did help me with the kids, to think "well, that's how I learned better myself" -- made more sense to me by having little awareness practices to think...good contact on the club, which part of the club am I hitting the ball with...then I would say to the kids as they were playing hockey, you know...feel, where is the best place to hit the ball? How to swing the stick. I do definitely think it helped with the kids...I think it helped me be patient with the kids as well, to think they are not all just going to pick it up immediately...erm...and to push the better ones to, you know, to push them a little bit harder and be a little bit slower with some of the less abled-ones. So I do think a lot of the things in golf did help me with the kids.*
> *(Natalie, 1st Interview, July 2017)*

As a schoolteacher, Natalie carried the responsibility of dispensing embodied cultural capital and knowledge to her students. As a Physical Education teacher, this knowledge and cultural capital would often be in the form of sport, albeit a different form than golf. Her empathy, gleaned from her experience developing the more corporeal aspects of golf habitus and embodied capital, helps her understand nuances of teaching students that are not all equally physically capable; alluding to the perpetuation of the failure to recognize that not all students are gifted a home environment rich in traditional cultural capital (e.g. Hieronymous, 1951). Her experience learning to the game taught her the best communication methods for her students, particularly a resolute frustration with the failures of many teaching professionals in golf. These teaching professionals mostly insisted on a narrow corporeal understanding of golf, unwilling or unable to teach more than a

singular method—a method that did not work for Natalie. Thus, her empathy allows her to avoid the same pitfalls of the traditional depiction of a classroom (P.E. being different already, of course) in treating all students the same, which perpetuates the disadvantages of LCC students. Rather, Natalie is able to provide equal measures of physical education capital to her students.

Much in the same way that traditional cultural capital and educational rules are imperative to success in valorized academic pursuits, other cultural fields have their own rules. Denise explains that not only has she gained a feeling of self-confidence from golf, as mentioned earlier in Section 7.2.2, but that one mechanism in particular that facilitates consumption in other fields.

> *If you know those rules then kind of apply them and you know you are safe. I like it whenever I am on a golf course I know what I am doing -- that's my ground, let's play. Takes you time, to get to know the place and learn those rules. I think every group has those social rules. Here at uni, [you've got] the dress code, and you are always trying to be part of that group somehow...but you can only be a part of it if you understand the rules. Golf helped me try to spot those rules really quickly so that I can learn them and apply them.*
> *(Denise, Interview, February 2017)*

Denise shows a direct translation of her mastery of the rules and habitus of golf in the ability to quickly and efficiently determine the rules and customs of a new field (i.e. university). She now learns to identify and adopt the preferences, dispositions, and behaviours that dominant consumers and individuals use to stratify themselves in other fields (De Graaf and Kalmijn, 2001), by drawing on her social skills in golf. While she only references her university social life as an example, she would be able to glean the requisite rules and customs of other fields and similarly apply them to achieve status and access transcendent consumption practices.

7.3.3 Fields and Exhaustion

The chapter now offers a quick note to explain, perhaps, why individuals are not reporting participation in significant numbers of various consumption fields; not only into which they transfer their subcultural and cultural capital and habitus from golf, but in which they engage in consumption at all. The number of fields individuals transfer skills and habitus into is limited, likely from the significant demands of the field of golf. Golf is a time-intensive sport, and the amount of 'free' time in society today is dwindling (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2014) and people tend to shy away from sports that require substantial time commitments (Hoeber and Kerwin, 2013). Golf is also much more physically demanding than it seems, with the average round of golf (walking) burning more calories than playing a 90-minute football match (Harvard Health Publishing,

2018)[11].

In perspective, I played golf at an elite level and at the time of this writing (December 2019). I was attempting to pursue a career in professional golf in the near future, playing University Golf on scholarship to help pay my tuition fees, and writing this Ph.D. thesis; any time that I did not spend playing golf, practicing some physical aspect of my golf game, travelling to and from tournaments, reading journal articles and books, writing and rewriting elements of this thesis, or meeting with my supervisors, was spent with my wife. I was fully exhausted, competing in but two fields. While others in the study, save Chris, Dylan, Harry, Kathryn, Hannah, and until recently Thad, do not play golf to the same level that I do they were at least equally invested in their employment as I am in golf and this Ph.D. Golf is a demanding field that affords little time elsewhere for anyone with serious status aspirations and therefore developing these transferrable skills, habitus, and disposition 'bundles' (Cornelissen, 2016) becomes even more important to maintain our social positions as our opportunities to communicate our capital resources dwindle.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter first explores how learning and applying conversational skills facilitates legitimate golf consumption. The verbal and cultural dialogue engaged by golfers in their consumption practices begin to transfer into other endeavours, grounded predominantly the necessitation and tendency for golfers to find something *other than golf* that they share with their playing partners; playing partners which, in fact, can come from an exceptional diversity of backgrounds. Exposure to such variation in sociocultural and demographic backgrounds renders finding "common ground" with your playing partners and other golfers vitally important, both to a successful consumptive experience both in the field and in efforts to transfer capital resources. This exploration of common ground, facilitated by golf consumption, generates the sense of community and emotional sought by many sports consumers (O'Reilly et al., 2013). It is partly through this sense of community, then, and the cultural 'entry ticket' (Back et al., 2001) that legitimate golf consumption provides, where consumers begin to transfer their dispositions and capital into other fields. By finding commonalities with others in the field, golfers learn to identify and isolate where these commonalities exist in the field structure or the ways in which they speak, act, and hold themselves as they become more and more universally acceptable in the field. Thus,

[11] The Harvard study observes calories burned in 30 minute periods, with golf at 205 kcal/30mins and soccer at 260. Average rounds of golf last approximately 3.5 hours whereas soccer games are at most 90-minutes, meaning that per average performance golf burns 1,435 kcal where a soccer game burns 780 kcal.

they begin to discover how to speak and behave *legitimately* with an incredible range of individuals, perhaps making capital transference more osmotic and, in a way, passively radiating out into the various fields in which they consume.

Furthermore, as individuals become more accustomed and familiar with the habitus and cultural scaffolding of golf they by default become more familiar and accustomed to the habitus and cultural preferences of the elite. Indeed, this chapter explores what some consider to be 'soft skills' (e.g. Balcar et al., 2011; Morrison, 2014; Weinberger et al., 2017), revealing similarities and linkages between the habitus of golf and the consumption practices of the middle-class and elite (Burke, 2015). These linkages manifest in the following duality. Firstly, frequent exposure to others from significantly variant sociodemographic backgrounds, and the practice of finding 'common-ground,' functions at times as an antidote to the customary oscillatory discomfort of middle-class habitus (Lahire, 2011) and the discordance of status-assertive consumption practices in middle-class social spaces (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014). Denise specifically mentioned that familiarity with golf gave her a sense of 'comfort' elsewhere, and the significance of this admission lies in the framing of how consumers and individuals—particularly LCC individuals—follow trajectories that are 'comfortable' (Allen, 2002). If LCC consumers can access and participate in legitimate golf consumption, as they do in the context of this research, then these LCC individuals can acquire at least a measure of comfort engaging in other consumption practices associated with the elite; perhaps no longer forfeiting opportunities for social mobility (Allen, 2002), and instead taking advantage of them with the 'cultural entry ticket' golf provides (Back et al., 2009). Secondly, it seems fitting for a chapter on communication skills in the field of golf to link to the increasingly important 'soft skills' of middle-class social spaces, becoming established as embodied forms of cultural capital (Weinberger et al., 2017). Moreover, Thad and Xavier credit these "soft" communication skills learned from golf as explicitly beneficial in navigating extant power structures in other traditionally 'middle-class' social spaces—namely education and job interviews. Perhaps not coincidentally, the soft skills explored in this chapter are becoming increasingly valued in the social spaces and work spaces of the elite (Burke, 2015). The habitus of golf has the power to shape an individual's consumption preferences, dispositions, and behaviours into a cultural master-key of sorts; permission to access some arenas formerly inaccessible given that golf's habitus is grounded in the culture of the bygone elite and bourgeois.

This chapter also outlines one significant departure in the habitus of golf from that of the middle-class; the response to neophytes or lower-status individuals breaching normative behaviours.

Whereas middle-class social and consumption spaces are littered with practices that work to marginalise those both below and above (Gripsrud et al., 2011; Jarness, 2015), golf tends towards the genteel. In offering corrections to misbehaviours, rather than admonition or outward expressions of distaste, golfers can often help to accelerate rather than blunt others' internalisation of the golf habitus. However, there are exceptions to these findings where golf remains an exclusive reservation for the elite and *only* the elite. A first-hand witness to the relative inaccessibility of golf in Peru, a painful dichotomy laid at my feet. I found golf and its habitus to indeed be an aggregated 'universal' language (Beutler, 2008) for all of the competitors at a touranment in Lima, making communication and participation with others fairly seamless. Yet, I could not help but feel as though it was still a language designed to supress those lacking the social or economic capital to play. My caddy was kept at arms-length, though certainly not by myself, from the more intimate aspects of the game at Lima GC. I struggle describing it in any other way; I felt as though he was supposed to be my servant, and the prospect of that haunted me throughout what was otherwise an incredible week in South America.

Chapter 8: Discipline, Patience, and Asceticism

8.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous chapter, continuing to explore how the more nuanced cognitive and corporeal elements of golf habitus reveal mechanisms of transference embedded in subcultural and cultural capital. Further to the 'soft' skills of Chapter 7 (i.e. communication and creative modification), of the verbal, cultural, and bodily types, this chapter focuses on themes of discipline, patience, and asceticism in golfers' consumption narratives. These emergent themes encourage more immersive participation and consumption in the field of golf and thus a stronger access to the various mechanisms of transference embedded within. The findings in this chapter link neatly to the research questions, specifically in how the framework of subcultures influence the characteristics of the capital resources acquired, developed, and employed therein. Themes in this chapter are commonly associated with higher levels of traditional cultural capital in the sociological (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Prieur and Savage, 2011), consumer research (e.g. Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Thompson, 2010; Carfagna et al., 2014) and sport consumption (e.g. Warde, 2006; Kahma, 2012; Gemar, 2018) literature; as individuals' class and social status ride, their general and sports consumption practices become more ascetic and disciplined as they seek and gain access to more exclusive pursuits (Warde, 2005). These characteristics provide another meaningful link between the habitus of golf and the middle-class; central dispositions of discipline, patience, and asceticism relating to a broader notion of sacrifice (Cappellini and Parsons, 2013) and manifestations of emotional capital (Allatt, 1993; Zembylas, 2007). Despite a great variation of traditional cultural capital resources in this study (evident in the occupation and education of participants in the Data Set, Section 5.2.), participants all speak to the values and characteristics required to elevate achievement in the field of golf and to which discipline, patience, and asceticism (and therefore various forms of sacrifice) are given a great credit.

> *On a research note, I've had a lot of time lately to think about and consider my own position in this research and what I bring to the table both autoethnographically and within the ethnography and interviews. My position is still, and has always been, as a complete participant at the highest levels of the non-professional (read: Amateur) game. I recognise that I was afforded several experiences this year through and within golf that most people will never get. That is privilege, but not undeserved. I have worked unbelievably hard to get where I am in golf, and I'm damn proud of that. It is going to take a substantial amount of reflection, distance that only time can provide, to help illustrate my contribution. Measurably, this year? There has been no noticeable change in either the levels of capital I have (other than a constantly expanding social capital) or the ways through which they are transferred.*
> *(Personal Journal, December 15th, 2017)*

This vignette sets the stage for a chapter devoted to reflection on the demands the field of golf

places on its consumers; demands that validate and legitimize consumption practices and achievements. I understand, now, an extant relationship between my success in golf and my success in pursuits in other fields. My struggles to categorically identify transference of and changes in my cultural and subcultural capital resources are not only mirrored in the responses given during interviews, but reiterate the observation from the previous chapter (Section 7.3.1) of the relative symbolic domination of golf consumption in the lives of most golfers. As golfers, we immerse ourselves in the field and thus golf resolutely takes over our lives, dictating where and how free time is spent, our social networks and socialization habits, behavioural dispositions that spill out into everyday life, and adherence to routines. Recognising my own opportunities and privileges in the field of golf required a discordant amount of reflection on my own life, despite resulting *only* from a substantial amount of work in achieving the necessary foundational and subsequently advanced corporeal proficiency to manifest these opportunities. For example, while I maintain that my trip to Peru in April of 2017 was truly once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, I had worked for over a decade on my golf (not least of which that season) and my academic studies to find myself in such a position—a Ph.D. candidate leading the British Universities and Colleges Sport Order of Merit. Thus, my credentials warranted selection by the R&A to represent their Student Foundation in that tournament; credentials earned through no lack of discipline, patience, and ascetic self-denial. In the 2017-2018 season the R&A altered the selection criteria to the winner of a particular event rather than the overall Order of Merit; a tournament in which I fell short, despite winning the overall BUCS Order of Merit. A brief moment of clarity during writing and reflection of this journal entry led me to pen the following statement.

> *A golfer in solace on the practice ground, working out the ailments to his swing, is similar to the academic locked in the library, searching for theory to unlock his ideas. The knowledge of which mechanic to doctor is no different to the knowledge of which discipline to scour—they are problem solver, searching for their own purpose.*
> *(Personal Journal, December 15th, 2017)*

The Distinction awarded in my MSc in Marketing and the trophies acquired in the field of golf required much of the same type of work. It is arduous, tedious at times, and thankless work; time spent in the library often feeling as fruitless as time spent digging the dirt at a practice range and vice versa. However, it is through a tremendous amount of experience in both education and athletics (detailed throughout my autoethnography in Appendix 1) that permits recognition of these similarities; as such I maintain that I am uniquely qualified to explore these phenomena of capital transference. The nature of this chapter and the subsequent analysis chapter are

incredibly nuanced, demanding a wealth of experience from which to draw meaning in the data; a wealth acquired only by nativity in the field.

8.2 Patience in Golf

8.2.1. Patience, Needed

To understand and explore the role that patience plays as how patience as a mechanism of transference, the chapter draws on interview data, supplemented with autoethnographic notes and experiences. At some point, most interviewees were asked that they believe a person needs to have in order to *learn* to play golf, not excel, to ascertain what necessary characteristics or dispositions permit foundational or basic consumption in the golf subculture. Certainly, one would assume that golf demands a plethora of embodied and cognitive behaviours and skills given the nature of the physical motion (see Ceron-Anaya's failure to master these). However, one prerequisite that popular culture (e.g. Gladwell, 2017) and academic literature (e.g. Bourdieu, 1978; 1984; Stempel, 2006) seems to consistently propose is the financial capacity to consume and participate in golf; though some respondents do mention the economic capital required, these participants are less invested in the game.

> *Obviously to be able to learn to play golf you've got to have the opportunities, so yeah it takes a lot of money unfortunately. Also, because of the reputation it has, the background you're [from] generally [helps] -- lesser for guys, because it is generally a male thing -- so I think it is becoming more open across various backgrounds. Classic after-business chats sort of seem [like you're] supposed to be more affluent.*
> *(Brittany, Interview, February 2017)*

Brittany, a casual golfer and higher handicap player, mentions at the outset the financial capital and opportunity, and gender, one needs to learn to play golf. Her observation of a stark gendered disadvantage confirms the findings of sports literature dealing with gendered practice in the field of golf (McGinnis et al., 2005; Humphreys, 2011; Ceron-Anaya, 2018). A focus on the financial demands and gendered discrepancies reflects the fairly stale popular and social understanding of the game of golf; Gladwell (2017) argues that golf is reserved for rich, old, white men. Gladwell weaponises golf in a stirring argument against privilege and California Tax Prop 13, while conveniently ignoring that his argument is based on cherry-picked data from the most exclusive clubs in America and Los Angeles. Thus, Gladwell (2017) and general popular sentiment falls into the same trap as Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2018), using golf as a proxy for contentious social and political issues in consumption disparities between the elite and the masses rather than simply arguing against the exclusive practices of the elite in general. However, with regards to the golf

context of the Northeastern U.K., Brittany's experience is attributed to her decidedly minimalist, casual, and unsocial practices in golf. She admits that she places golf low on her priorities, rarely making an effort to play with others besides her coach—effort Lloyd and Monica both indicate as necessary to accessing the social benefits of golf. Thus, Brittany's narrow exposure to the field frames her experiences in a tangibly more limited context than others more invested in the field. For example, David, who first responds to the question of dispositions and capital necessary to learn golf with an answer more reflective of the structure of the golf subculture; self-actualisation motives aligning with general HCC consumption practices.

> *Patience. Like, first of all.*
> *(David)*
>
> *Anything else? Keep going on patience, if you want.*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *You have to understand that this is not like another sport. If you play soccer you can go out, and everyone can kick a soccer ball within an hour. That's not the thing in golf. First couple of times, you probably won't even hit the ball. So, it takes a lot of time and a lot of effort. You have to be in the right mind-set, to be able to enjoy it. The first couple of times, people who haven't grown up with it probably won't enjoy it if they aren't in the right mind-set...*
> *(David)*
>
> *Can you tell me more about what you think that "mind-set" is?*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *You must try. You have to have to have a plan, like "yeah - I want to learn to play golf." You have to stick to that plan 100% otherwise it's just not gonna happen.*
> *(David, Interview, February 2017)*

Rather than any financial opportunities or economic capital, David first lists *patience* as the necessary prerequisite to learning the game of golf. He references a crucial difference other sports, i.e. the heightened learning curve of golf, juxtaposing a frustration of not being able to hit the golf ball immediately to the ease with which most individuals could learn to kick a soccer ball. One must therefore be in the 'right' frame of mind, David notes; a significant investment of time is required in order to overcome this learning curve in acquisition of corporeal skills, where David later communicates this in a direct reference to Gladwell's (2008) ten thousand-hours theory in *Outliers* (though he does not attribute the theory to Gladwell). The patience David communicates mirrors the self-actualising consumption practices of both HCC individuals (Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Thompson, 2010) and consumers with socially aspirational motives (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2010); a dedicated mindset towards long-term goals also stands directly in opposition

to the modern culture of immediate gratification (Bauman, 2005). Notably, this contrast between responses from Brittany and David is not grounded in variant levels of traditional or background cultural capital levels as some literature might predict (e.g. Allen, 2002; Stempel, 2005; Üstüner and Thompson, 2010); background levels of cultural capital are almost equal between David and Brittany, and more importantly, other respondents from a range of background cultural capital levels similarly mention patience as the preeminent requirement for learning to play golf. Dylan explicitly mentions patience first, before justifying it with work ethic.

> *Patience. Huge. Definitely… I remember not being very patient as a young guy. Getting bored very quickly. Willing to work hard? I think my coach now says, "It doesn't matter how much you practice you are still going to have more bad days than good days on the golf course." More often than not, you have to be willing to work hard and be patient. I think those are the two main things? I don't think you can really say anything else. I think if you've got both of them, and you have the knowledge of where to go and get the right help. A lot of people can use magazines and the internet, but I don't think that really helps people in the long run. Go along to a golf club. Get a pro. Get the right help. Work hard. Be patient, and you'll definitely.... that'll allow you to play golf.*
> *(Dylan, Interview, March 2017)*

Dylan, like David, believes that an aspiring golfer needs patience most of all. He returns to his experience as a young, aspirational golfer; reflecting on his earlier failures to be patient and the hard work achieving that cognitive disposition required. Dylan reiterates "more often than not, you have to be willing to work hard and be patient" in an effort to assert his own mastery of this particular element of the golf habitus while tying into the wisdom of his coach. There is a distinct reference to the materialistic versus idealistic dynamic (Holt, 1998) in these references to patience; patience representing the idealistic nature of preferences and dispositions evident in golfers that achieve in the field. This type of patience, furthermore, requires a constant vigilance indicated by his coach—there *will* be more bad days than good on the course, as is the nature of golf. An unexpectedly critical departure follows, where Dylan expresses a concern for the ways in which many golfers in the field attempt to acquire embodied skills; popular golf publications, periodicals, and increasingly-unreliable internet sources. This method of learning the golf habitus and corporeal skills to accompany it mirrors a traditional neophyte effort to acquire and socialize into subcultural habitus, wherein they particularly "adopt mannerisms and attitudes" amongst other things, of established members of the subculture (Donnelly and Young, 1988: 224). However, golf is unique in that an almost infinite number of teaching styles and coaching methods exist, varying from 'method' (a coach teaches one technique) to individualistic (coaches teach based on physical and natural dispositions of each individual player). Dylan does not believe these

sources will “help people in the long run,” expressing a concern for the fact that attempts to acquire corporeal techniques in search for embodied capital, at least from magazines and other questionable sources, indicate likewise an attempt to subvert the work and patience required to attain these forms of knowledge and dispositions legitimately. Therefore, these consumers might be destined fail eventually because the embodied cultural ‘entry ticket’ they find will not belong to them—much the same way that borrowed culture and de-territorialised cultural capital (Üstüner and Holt, 2010) betray consumers in pursuit of legitimate consumption in the field.

Thus, in golf, patience can also manifest in simple forms of self-restraint, i.e. resisting the urge to find a quick-fix from a source that is likely wholly unfamiliar with and insulated from the player. There also appears a necessary characteristic of independence, which may superficially contradict Dylan’s rhetoric. Hannah illustrates that while we are patient, and “wait for it to happen,” we must also spend hours in practice alone.

> *Patience! A lot of patience. Yeah, I think as I said before you have to accept the fact that you're not going to hit good shots all the time. You have to be patient and wait for it to happen. I think independence is a big thing. You have to be able to go and stand on that range for two hours and go and ingrain your swing and know that you're going to be stood there for two hours. On your own … somebody can't swing the golf club for you.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

Hannah’s depiction of patience adds, then, to those of David and Dylan, positioning this crucial cognitive disposition of golf habitus against the modern social desires of instant gratification (Bauman, 2010) and materialistic satisfaction, a decidedly LCC characteristic (Holt, 1998). All three depictions and referencing of patience affirm a need to “wait” and invest time to reap future rewards. Hannah references a similar sentiment to Dylan’s concern for the ‘borrowed’ culture or embodied capital one might attain from impersonal and extraneous sources (magazines, internet, etc.), stating “somebody can’t swing the club for you.” This notion of independence and standing “on that range for two hours” both echoes the mind-set that David refers to earlier and the nature with which high-status individuals view the world; a “high degree of individuality, detachment, and role distance” (Stempel, 2005; 418). Furthermore, the responses of Hannah, Dylan, and David intimate some measure of meritocracy in which consumers and participants in the subculture of golf must *earn* their status and legitimacy, reflecting the ‘ideology of meritocracy’ typically illustrated by HCC consumption practices (Holt, 1998).

8.2.2 Patience, Learned

Moving from what a golfer needs to be able to learn the game, Kevin adds to the previous narratives of Hannah, Dylan, and David by discussing what he has gained from his experience in the field.

> *Patience. I have learned to not always assume that you're not as good at something as you think you are. Sometimes you'll do something in life and you'll think "Jesus, I'm not very good at this. Maybe I should stop." Golf taught me that's not always the case. Sometimes there's a little snippet of information that if you had, it would change your entire outlook and entire performance on something. In golf, it can be something as simple as a grip change can create a massive difference. That's the same with most things. Just little bits. That's the main thing, definitely. Just be patient and let it happen.*
> *(Kevin, 1st Interview, April 2017)*

Once more, a golfer lists patience as a primary disposition and resource in the field; this time gained from golf consumption rather than a prerequisite to participation. Kevin mechanizes patience in similar ways to other respondents, using almost the identical phrase to Hannah in "be patient and let it happen." He makes a case patience in the perseverance searching for information, knowledge, and being open to wider interpretations of one's own ability; all reflective of the more general idealistic meritocratic dispositions of HCC consumers (Holt, 1998; Stempel, 2006). In doing so, Kevin fights against undercurrents of localized cultural tradition that belittles individuals' achievements and aspirations (e.g. Allen, 2002; Henry, 2005) in refusing to accept his performances on the golf course as anything more than a superficial judgment on his corporeal ability; instead remaining optimistic and engaging in more idealistic and self-actualising consumption practices. Kevin's satisfaction from golf lies in his constant search for information to further develop his corporeal competency and achievements within his golf club. He digs beyond the materialistic superficiality of the golf score or his performance on any one particular day, recognizing that neither may be an accurate reflection of his skill and consumption status in the field. Kevin holds to a deep-rooted belief that he is better that he sometimes allows himself to think.

Kevin's response resonated on a deeply personal level with myself during my time in the field, where I leaned on his interview immediately following a traumatic experience at the 2018 Lytham Trophy. I completely lost my game, battered and bruised by the course's difficulty which rendered my own perception of my game to be flawed—I genuinely believed I had lost the ability to play golf.

> *The truth though, is that a few months ago I was broken. I'd just flamed out of the Lytham Trophy, yet again, in spectacular fashion. I was being crushed under the weight of a Ph.D. that, admittedly going well, I could see no end of. Sure, I'd managed to win the BUCS Order of Merit but we all know that's mostly because Laird couldn't play a full season… I was miserable. I felt like my swing was in shambles, my putting was horrific (I'd just bought a putter off the shelf at American Golf in Preston because mine was capital TOAST after getting bent in the mail), and I had NO IDEA where the golf ball was going…. I took some time, put myself back together, and righted the ship. Addressed the underlying flaw that caused that fade/slice. Started hitting it solid again.*
> *(Finally Going For It, September 3rd, 2018)*

This dramatic and emotional reaction was exacerbated by the pressure and lofty expectations of the national amateur stage on which I was so desperate to succeed and validate my consumption of golf. In reflection, however, I had not lost my game; Royal Lytham and St. Anne's Golf Club is so difficult that a golfer need only be *fractionally* off to be in significant trouble—shots that would be absolutely fine on other courses are inordinately punished. I remembered Kevin's mantra with one 'snippet' of information, and subsequently made only one small change to my swing after shooting a horrific 36-hole score in a prestigious international amateur event; leaving Lytham rejuvenated but with my tail firmly between my legs. The next day, I broke the course record in the morning round of the Keith Shivers Bowl at Heworth Golf Club, though the temptation to reconstruct my swing or abandon the game altogether was strong.

> *9 hours later I shot 64 and broke the course record, then managed a 71 in the afternoon with a triple on the Par 5 11th. A win. Wait…what?! I've just finished basically DFL (Dead *Freaking Last) at Lytham with 86-81 and now this? What is going on. See? Golf is stupid. The next weekend I ripped it at the County match vs Cheshire and we got the biggest win we can remember at 12.5-5.5.*
> *(Finally Going For It, September 3rd, 2018)*

I had to draw on every bit of patience that golf taught me and the lesson I learned from Kevin above. Similarly, I find myself drawing on the same patience from golf in my academic pursuits—notably in the resounding failure of my pilot interviews in gleaning any meaningful data for my MSc dissertation. A change in how I structured the interviews, away from a more objective and quantitative methodology into a mixed method approach to account for individual narrative allowed me to not only write a successful MSc dissertation but achieve a Distinction.

8.2.3 Circumventing Patience? The Natural or the Neophyte

In addition to the stratifying practices in the implementation of patience in golf, David, Dylan, and

Hannah all touch on the frustrating elements of learning to play golf. There is an *incredibly* steep learning curve facing the neophyte in the field of golf, particularly with regards to the corporeal habitus and embodied dispositions necessary to play the game. David makes a passing reference to this corporeal learning curve in the juxtaposition of golf and soccer, whereas Lloyd offers both his own experience with patience and his own layman explanation for these phenomena below.

> *Everything came to you quickly (referencing other sports).*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Everything came to me quickly, and in golf obviously it's a sport that cannot come to you quickly. You have to practice and you have to...okay, some people are classed as natural, but I don't believe that. I think its hard work and practice and patience. It's very difficult, especially when you are playing other sports and you know that the other sports come to you a lot quicker. Spending a lot more time on golf is very tough. Technically wise? I didn't find it too difficult, as in just trying to hit the ball far or straight. I found it very quick to adapt to. The patience-wise, because it doesn't go your way -- it is an unfair game. The environment, the land...*
> *(Lloyd)*
>
> *And the weather. The ball isn't even perfectly round.*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Yeah! Yeah. Socially-wise, the influence of friends made it hard to fully concentrate on becoming a better golfer and learning quickly. That made it take a lot longer than it could have done. The practical side of learning was the ability to be patient and not get angry -- that was tough. Anger I think was a big attribute of mine as a young child. Learning, I'm not saying on the course I was throwing clubs. I mean I'd get angry if I made a bogey or missed a putt, I'd be very angry. Or annoyed, which is probably a better word than angry.*
> *(Lloyd, Interview, April 2017)*

Lloyd, like David, frames the performance-delay golfers experience against other sports. He illustrates patience as a necessity to participate in golf at basic levels, but also significantly dismisses the idea of someone being 'a natural'—i.e. circumventing learning difficulties by possessing some innate embodied capital for golf. In doing so, Lloyd therefore makes "hard work and patience and practice" a form of subcultural capital recognized apart from the mainstream and a means through which to distinguish achievements in the field from any endowed or un-earned capital (Chadborn et al., 2017). There is then some evidence of the need for all neophytes in the field of golf, regardless of natural athletic ability or endowed capital resources, to begin their endeavours in the field on equal footing; a tendency seen in sport subcultures, such as fandom, to cast-off whatever advantages or disadvantages one acquired from being born into the right or wrong class (Fiske, 1989).

Interestingly, Zach and Thomas provide a counter narrative to Lloyd's dismissal of the 'natural,' believing that some people are innately gifted or endowed with the basic corporeal dispositions and embodied subcultural capital to play golf. This would mean that some people are, in fact, 'born' into advantage and runs contrarian to the creation of subcultural systems of capital (Fiske, 1989; Chadborn et al., 2017) to mitigate advantages unearned. Zach recounts a recent performance of Kyle, Club B's resident tour-de-force and who he believes to be a natural, contrasting it to the more disciplined practices of his coach and local touring pro below.

> *There's some people are natural. Kyle's a natural golfer. You're probably a natural golfer. You maybe had to work a little bit harder, but Kyle sits out here and has a fag and then goes down and shoots 63 last week…Honestly, he could have been -- if he got anything...59. And that's like, "Ah Zach, you're talking rubbish." But honestly...he missed a 10 foot putt for birdie on the last, that would have been 62. He lipped out on a chip-in on 9 for eagle, lipped out -- so if that had dropped...61. He missed two putts, shortish putts, from inside 4 feet or something like that. So if he had got everything -- if everything had gone and it had just been that day that everything had dropped -- that's 59. The kid is class. But he's natural. He can naturally do it, it's just a shame that he never put the...if he had Alex's work ethic... now Alex probably didn't have the talent, but Alex really studied golf. He worked for the Leadbetter Academy, and I don't know if you'll know the guy but he learned a lot. He learned a lot off Nico -- you know Nico don't you? He was understudy to him really, and he studied it, and studied it, and studied it. Just practice, and practice, and practice -- he'd be coaching, and say he starts at 9.00? He'd be on the range three hours before, or whatever -- his hands are bleeding. You know this weather, imagine being out there for a couple hours before! Then he'd be in the gym on a night and he'd be doing everything golf specific. He just worked and worked and worked -- now it's paying off. It can be done. He had some talent, but he wasn't gifted with.*
> *(Zach, 2nd Interview, July 2018)*

> *I always thought I would be able to play the game, James, because I was always a natural. Most sports I can pick up and be OK at. Used to throw Javelin for the county, was County Athletics. 57 meters was my longest throw -- used to be on the County Team, that was when I was 15. I was also very good at long jump, high jump, running...not so keen on long distance running, wasn't my fortitude. Sprinting was ok. Shotput, discus, so I could probably have went down the road of decathlon if ya like...*
> *(Thomas)*

> *Natural athlete.*
> *(Researcher)*

> *Yeah, so I just thought I had what it takes to be a golfer.*
> *(Thomas, Interview, July 2017)*

These narratives illustrate a contradiction then, to Lloyd, at least on the surface. Being a natural, as Zach posits and Thomas implies, involves some endowment of talent for golf; talent broadly being the display of a higher comparative ability in sport (Bailey and Morley, 2006). Kyle's 'talent' allows him to play exceptional golf without, apparently, much work or discipline; Alex works tremendously hard to overcome his apparent lack of comparable talent, able to perform to the same level as Kyle from Zach's account. Similarly, Thomas believes he's always been a 'natural athlete' and could therefore had the requisite skills and dispositions to play the game. Therefore, we may see that talent in sport participation and performance serves the same stratifying role as *endowed* cultural capital in educational performance (e.g. Havighurst and Janke, 1944; Hieronymous, 1951; Lamont and Weininger, 2003). Critically, however, these narratives are not resolute dismissals of Lloyd's assertion that golf has no 'naturals.' Zach compares Kyle, one of the best amateur golfer at Club B, to Alex who is a touring professional; the comparison is not even. Someone familiar with the field of golf *would expect a touring professional to invest substantially more work than an amateur;* just one season on the PGA EuroPro Tour (third tier professional golf, equivalent to League 1 in English Football) confirmed that it is discipline and cognitive dispositions that separate winners and losers in the professional game—talent can only *get* you there.

8.3 Discipline in Golf

8.3.1 Emotional and Physical Control

Illustrating the prevalence of patience as a necessary form of cognitive habitus and embodied cultural capital in the golf habitus, the chapter now explores the notion of discipline and its various manifestations in the field, nuanced as they are. Discipline, though referenced in the sports consumption literature as a marker for class and participation in certain sports, is actually ill-defined; though Stempel (2005; 2006; 2018) uses 'discipline' and 'self-discipline' to delineate between the preferred sports of the masses and the elite, he never defines the term. We are left to draw on the work of Foucault (1979) and Bourdieu (1978; 1984) to tease out a definition of discipline—the power of exerting normative field structures upon the body to achieve as a means to physically express social status. However, this definition is fairly abstract in the application to many sports, particularly golf, where discipline is referred to in a more cognitive sense, i.e. the adherence to certain practices that facilitate efficiency and achievement in the field. Thus, discipline may manifest as both the corporeal and cognitive adherence to normative power structures (Stempel, 2006; 2018), where for example efficiency in golf involves control over one's own emotions and physical actions. Oscar, Thad, and Todd provide references to discipline and self-discipline in their interviews that help clarify 'discipline' with regards to the field of golf.

[From Oscar's Interview, December 2016]
Can you tell me what you have learned from golf?
(Researcher)

It has really helped me on self-discipline. It has really helped me. I used to have a very bad temper. I would...if something went wrong, I would straight away snap and "why me!" and "Goddammit! Why is this going on!" type of thing. In golf, you can't do that. It'll bring another one, and another one, and another one...it'll destroy you. So that helped me. It really helped me a lot, on self-discipline. It helped me get to know myself quite a bit.
(Oscar)

[From Thad's Interview, December 2017]
Well, I think a big one is discipline? There's many things...I think the most important lesson I learned at a young age was...erm...what's the word, to be on time?
(Thad)

Punctuality?
(Researcher)

Punctuality. Yeah. Because golf is very...erm...harsh when you are not punctual. You show up 5 minutes late, or on time -- but it's not 5 minutes early -- you are disqualified from tournaments. It taught me punctuality in my life, […] through golf, and the harshness of being judged by that, has taught me to be punctual with everything.
(Thad)

[From Todd's Interview, February 2017]
From golf? I've learned a lot of fair play. In sport its, you know its a massive part of the game. You've got to learn to sort of lose and win in the same fashion. So I think it's provided me with that skill. Maybe self-discipline? Time management. Yeah, just being able to organise your time more. Be independent. Focus on what you're trying to do. What else...
(Todd)

Oscar, Thad, and Todd all indicate that a primary element of their golf habitus is discipline. This discipline manifests in both cognitive and corporeal manners, whether it be control over emotions or punctuality and adherence to schedules. Both of these manifestations possess an ascetic characteristic, with emotional discipline leaning more towards the spectrum of HCC behaviours; the denial of indulging in physical displays of frustration to release tension and stress from the body, as noted by Oscar. Todd references a similar form of discipline, however rather than a denial of the corporeal expression of frustration it is the maintenance of an even emotional keel. The narratives of Oscar and Todd reflect, in golf, the potential social advantages of sports that mute masculinity and expressions of violence (Stempel, 2006). Thad's narrative of discipline refers more

to the physical adherence to normative power structures in the field, control over where one's body is and how it is presented, where he explains that the consequences for a lack of discipline in golf—the disqualification punishment for missing a tee time—creates a manifestation of discipline in every other part of his life. Likely, this is another reason why Stempel (2006; 2018) finds that individuals who consume and participate in sports like golf are privileged certain advantages in other fields such as employment. Natalie offers an explanation as to why these traits may be desirable in other fields; comparing the emotional demands of golf with other, perhaps more popular, sports she played before.

> *Patience. Patience...yeah definitely. Controlling emotions, I think. Definitely. I think all the other sports I played, were very much upbeat -- basketball, badminton...you've got adrenaline that's flowing and you're aggressive. I've had to learn to step back and think...you can't necessarily go around a golf course thinking you're going to thrash the living daylights out of every shot! You can't be on a high all the time.*
> *(Natalie, 1st Interview, September 2017)*

Natalie explains the importance of controlling emotions in golf. Unlike other sports, where adrenaline and emotional highs can boost the performance and work ethic of the player, a golfer needs to remain calm to succeed and perform efficiently. Natalie also notes these emotional necessities with an element of self-restraint, in having to 'learn to step back and think,' which reflects a significant HCC characteristic of sport consumption (Kahma, 2012). The habitus of golf demands a calm demeanor for the player to assess the complexities of each situation on the course and their respective nuances; appreciation of which signals a formal aesthetic and self-reflexivity (Holt, 1998).

My own experiences validate the need for emotional and physical self-control. These act as both a sail and anchor; supporting pursuits in other fields when practiced but dragging me down when forgotten. Prior to Natalie's interview in September of 2017, I found myself struggling with my stress levels and emotional well-being; playing poor golf, felt I was conducting poor research, suffering from writers' block, and acting miserably in general. If I played golf to a standard below my own expectations, I found myself in a downward spiral of negativity and became increasingly obsessed with the material aesthetics of my golf. The following excerpt from my journal illustrates both an internal struggle to find that emotional keel and the benefits of self-discipline of legitimate golf consumption to an individual. I wrote this entry immediately following a failure to secure funding for European Tour Qualifying, from individuals I believed would help me when the time came.

> *Trying to play golf at a competitive national level while writing/studying for a Ph.D. is utter nonsense. Not only can it NOT be done, BOTH endeavours fall by the wayside as I am dragged into some quagmire of procrastination and inefficiency. This goes directly against what some interviewees have said in their scripts, but there may be an interesting paradox here. By studying, dissecting, and incessantly focusing on golf, I have begun to negate all myriad passive benefits of being a golfer. My communication skills are waning, my time management is sh*t, and my discipline non-existent because I now have nothing left to play for. I find myself struggling for words to convey what used to come so easily*
> *(Reflexive Journal, August 2017)*

I exhibit some strikingly materialistic and vain tendencies in this entry, particularly in mentioning that I "have nothing left to play for." Several members had indicated over the past season that there would be financial support when I decided to turn professional; as the deadline came and went to enter European Tour Qualifying, I was left with empty well-wishes and cursory handshakes. The week prior, I had lost the 2017 Midlands Amateur in grand fashion after shooting 68-69 in the opening 36-holes for a three-shot lead only to falter to 73-73 and lose by 8. Days later, I failed to capture Club A's Scratch Trophy on the final hole; needing a 3 on a hole I score 3 more often than not when playing the course otherwise. These losses *on* the course, coupled with losses *off* the course in my personal and academic life (death of my maternal grandfather and a thoroughly disappointing conference experience), combined to cripple my spirit and my usually optimistic, disciplined drive in all of my consumption pursuits.

8.4 If You Don't Win, You Learn—Asceticism in Golf

Patience and discipline, in their various forms, take on ascetic characteristics as they manifest in the habitus of golf. It is in these ascetic characteristics that patience and discipline become mechanisms of transference, promoting self-denial, self-restraint, and self-control in the behaviours of successful and invested golfers; getting to the course early, making time to hone corporeal skills through habitual consumption practice, and learning to deal with frustration that accompanies the human existence; thus, I reflect on the nature of golf in a journal entry in the winter of 2017.

> *It is a jealous mistress. Hours spent away from the golf course, or the practice ground, are paid for dearly in disappointment and frustration — the likes of which almost nothing else can replicate. Ben Hogan once said for every day he spent without practicing it took him two days to get back. He wasn't wrong. This season I became intimately familiar with that frustrating desperation; cruel not because of what is to be expected rust from time away, but from knowing that the harder I tried the worse I became. Golf punished me… golf requires selfishness. It's a*

> *point of contest for me because there are so many things in this world that I love I really struggle to give golf the time it necessitates to do what I know I can. As you know, I love music. I love my dog, Beethoven. I love a crisp spring evening with a pint outside. I love my friends and my family. I love a good joke. I could go on for a while, but more than all — I love my wife. I do not know if golf can tolerate a heart full of so much love for so many other things. I've sacrificed a lot for golf up to now — but has golf sacrificed anything for me? It is unrequited love at its purest, and I am forever a hopeless romantic.*
> *(Reflexive Journal, December 2017)*

As a golfer, I adopt those habitual practices mentioned above to avoid this "frustrating desperation." It is the asceticism, and the self-denial, and the discipline then that not only facilitate success but prevent failure. Other respondents echo these narratives of heartbreak, sacrifice, emotional and financial struggle in their golf consumption; illustrated in vignettes, observation, and journal data. To consume, compete, and participate in the highest levels of golf one must navigate these trials of failure and desperation; in doing so satisfying hedonic, emotional, and experiential needs in golf. In navigating these trials, however, we learn to navigate life and thus perhaps break away from our sociodemographic trajectories (Allen, 2002). Hannah introduces the narrative of heartbreak, struggling against her own changing affections towards the game; embodied in her descriptions of the corporeal and cognitive elements of the emotional reactions to performance. She intimately explores the emotional keel earlier referenced by Natalie, and is candid in how the expectations of her performances in the field influence her cognitive dispositions.

> *I don't get angry. I've never thrown a golf club at all in my entire life. I've never thrown a golf club. I've never NR'd. I will never give up on the golf course. Never NR. […] I think the hardest thing for me, and the thing that I don't have and possess is...that pick-me-up spirit. I had a conversation with [a touring professional] on the way back from Fairmont yesterday -- I gave him a lift back -- and he was like "you just almost need to act like you just don't care. You just need to stand over a putt and think 'if it goes in it goes in, if it doesn't it doesn't'" I am stood over every putt at the minute and all I can think of is "please go in... please go in..." Well it's not going to go in, is it? If you are stood there telling yourself to go in! For me, the putting aspect -- the mental side of the putting game -- I can hit every single fairway on the golf course, and Dean uses me as an example of, like, fairways hit all the time; females [are] usually pretty straight off the tee. But with regards to my putting, it is the one thing that keeps me from getting to the next level.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

Hannah offers an intimate account of why she feels her performances are substandard, alluding to similar reasons in the past. She has hit an emotional plateau, neither willing nor able to take

the next typical step for a player with her mastery of the cognitive and corporeal dispositions of the habitus and embodied cultural capital; turning professional. She emanates frustration with her experiences in golf lately, experiences that I have been witness to as we've competed at the same BUCS events and University tournaments. However, embedded in the frustration of recollecting her experiences, she reveals a term that carries tremendous weight in how golfers perceive themselves and others—NR. NR stands for 'No Record,' where in a competitive round of golf a player decides to forfeit their round and disqualifies them from the competition. The NR is a unique type of disqualification as the player themselves must decide to, for lack of a better term, quit. It is crucial to note that in order to NR a player *must* decide to quit; for whatever reason, the golfer decides that the shame of the NR is less than whatever score they may turn in.

> *At that point, it was over. I drug myself through the next three holes, finishing double-quad-par (with a hilarious adventure in the forest on the 8th hole which is without a doubt the most absurd golf hole I have EVER played). Dad joked around while I was taking chips from the trees (after 2iron, 2iron, 2iron again) that if I'd hurt my wrist I could WD. Maybe I should have. Saved myself the embarassment of shooting 81 when I needed a 70. Knowing all the people who would be watching get to find out I cratered at the wrong time. Then again, I didn't really crater. I pressed knowing that level par would not get me through and it didn't work out. One thing I will not do, however, is WD when I am healthy. I know my dad was kidding and meant nothing by it other than to try and lift my spirits while I was crouched underneath the 4th tree figuring out how to get that damn ball out of those damn trees. Yet, it remains, that I will never quit. I might shoot 90 but I will not…quit. I took a 9, after being in the middle of the fairway off the tee and with my layup. Golf, right?*
> *(Crushed, September 14th 2018)*

Personally, as indicated by my experience on the 71st hole of 2018 European Tour Qualifying, I find any score to be more respectable than an NR. It takes resolve, discipline, acceptance, and respect for yourself to turn in a horrible score rather than simply quit. Hannah shares this, stating later that "I've never NR'd, I will never *give up* on the course." In a nod back to Bourdieu (1984) and classical cultural capital theory, the ability to tolerate a terrible score illustrates a visceral and emotional distance from necessity in consumption; the NR illustrates only a desire to post scores that align with whatever expectations a player has for themselves or believes their localized social structure has for them, and thus a dependence on validation through material necessity and inadequate proxies for subcultural capital and ability.

Not all players share this view of the NR, however. Zach, for example, says "I could practice all week and still NR on the weekend," and Kyle frequently NR's in competitions when the frustration

of poor performance overcomes his levels of discipline. Some field notes from this past summer illustrate this behaviour, when asked how he fared in a prominent county tournament.

> *I asked him how he get on at the weekend, because I hadn't seen the scores. "Terrible mate, NR in the morning so didn't bother in the afternoon." Why? "Ah, hit two drives right (Out of Bounds) on 2 and that was my day done." I can never understand why a player of his caliber can just decide enough is enough and quit. Or, why he isn't aiming left on that 2nd tee? Perhaps, because he still finishes the round, he doesn't consider it quitting?*
> *(Field Notes following County Tournament, July 2019)*

Clearly, the NR does not carry the same weight for LCC individuals which confirms that the more general deeply-rooted material necessity in their consumption practices extends into the field of golf (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). Zach treats the NR 'on the weekend' casually, like Kyle, and more in terms of a wasted opportunity rather than a reflection of their mastery of the disciplinary elements of cognitive habitus and their subsequent ability to utilize this mechanism of transference. Withstanding the urge to quit, or NR, is a significant display of asceticism through the golf habitus; self-denial of immediate relief from the *grind* of continuing to practice and develop control over emotions, attitudes, and corporeal dispositions. Furthermore, denying the urge to quit is represents an appreciation of the self-actualising motives in golf consumption, where the player accepts they can still improve when the going is tough—emotional and cognitive elements, perhaps, rather than corporeal. Hannah speaks to this resolve, that every round is an opportunity to improve herself, achieve, and find enjoyment; she uncovers some of these self-actualising and idealistic consumption motives when asked what golf *means* to her.

> *The R&A asked me this and I said "Golf is my life." Now every time I hear or speak to someone they are like "golf is my life!" So I am not going to say that...So golf to me is enjoyment, and it is fun. This is what I need to find – [My coach] and I have had a chat over the last couple of weeks. I'm almost prematurely falling out of love with the game...which is scary. It's little things like Trevose at the weekend -- I hated every minute of it. I don't...*
> *(Hannah)*
>
> *You're not alone.*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Exactly. But that for me? Is not why I play this game. It is not for coming in and shooting 87 and wanting to cry your eyes out when you know there was nothing you could do out there because you were physically struggling to stand up (wind). It is little things like that, and it's not the days like that that I play this game for. It's days where you meet people like yourself, you meet some of the friends that are going to be friends for life -- it is the enjoyment, it is the fun, it's the social*

aspect. That's the reason I play this game -- no doubt.
(Hannah)

Hannah, firstly, resolutely confirms the notion that the social element of golf is the most important to her, affirming the findings of Robinson et al. (2004) and Rankin et al. (2017). In fact, this social element is where her love for the game develops and she makes that clear while also providing an opportunity to show where she potentially could have NR'd but did not. I was at Trevose, that same tournament. It was unplayable, veritably miserable, and a complete waste of time. Yet, no matter how terrible the playing conditions or how terrible the scores (Hannah's 87, for example) we did not even entertain the notion of quitting. Building on this, Thad adds his own experiences of heartbreak into his narrative.

It teaches you heartbreak. It teaches you to kind of accept that nothing is all...life isn't always good. You have to...you go through struggles. If you only win when you play golf? Well, that's impossible -- you lose 95% of the time and win 5%. Even the best players in the world do that, so you have to learn that. It's not perfect, right? Life isn't perfect. Whatever you do isn't perfect; it's more about the journey, and the, the creativity of it...enduring the hardship which makes the success all that much better. Erm...what else does it teach you...If you don't win, you learn. That's a good one.
(Thad)

Oh, that is a great phrase.
(Researcher)

[…] You don't learn when you are winning; because it's easy… When something is really easy to do... A golf round can be really easy, you know, you are just in the groove -- hitting every fairway, hitting every green, making all the putts. It's easy. But, it's also...where you handle yourself when it is easy, because then people... are attracted to you, to everything. Everyone wants to be your friend when you are winning tournaments, when you are playing good golf...it's...it's easy. Life is easy. When you are playing bad, people aren't as attracted to you -- they're this, they're that. It really...shows, like, character. It is character building […] That in life is the same way, I think. A lot of lessons taught in golf carries through to life, to corporate life especially.
(Thad, Interview, December 2017)

If you don't win, you learn; the struggles and fruitlessness golfers mostly endure are opportunities for improvement and knowledge. This is a decidedly HCC, self-actualising approach to consumption, viewing rounds of golf or tournaments as means to some greater end rather than ends in themselves (Holt, 1998). Golf teaches players, like Hannah and Thad, that the proverbial journey is more important than the proverbial destination. Golf is relentlessly punishing, as is life, and dealing with hardships in golf prepares individuals to deal with similar hardships in life;

success in golf demands a focus on the process of improvement, and the process of playing, rather than the end results. The process represents a formal aesthetic towards consumption, appreciating the purpose that practices and dispositions serve in the field (Holt, 1998). A focus on the result, evidenced by Zach, prevents the golfer from recognizing improvement perhaps not grounded in immediately evident in the physical performance—wherein they simply "NR on the weekend" believing their practice and time to have been wasted. Like Thad, and unlike Zach, I believe most days on the course whether good or bad are opportunities to learn. My reflection after a defeat in Malaga captures this sentiment.

> *Today I lost to the #2 amateur golfer in Spain. He beat me 3&2 with another deft par save on the 16th. What I'm going to say next is one of the strangest things I think I'll ever say. Losing to Victor was the best way today could have gone. But, hear me out. I started like a bat out of hell, birdieing my first 4 holes to put me 4 under through 4 – and I was 1 up. Jesus. They told me this guy was good but…damn. I stood over a 5-footer on the 7th to go 2up and 5 under – and missed it. Then I missed the comeback. All square, and my "zone" was broken. Shattered like a glass dropped on a cool Malaga floor. I struggled and fought my way to the 16th after failing to match Victor's birdies, conceding the match after my putt did what they have been doing lately – staying above ground. What I did do, however, was prove to myself that even without my "A Game," I can compete with the best players in the world. That, and my wedge game is "en fuego ahora." The putts will start to fall once I am able to practice more (and I go back to my Odyssey No.7), but that felt good. I wasn't intimidated. I made him beat me. I loved playing again.*
> *(Personal Journal, January 2018)*

Intending this reflection to be a melancholy lamentation of a loss on the golf course that I felt I should have won, instead as I wrote it became wholly positive that not only had I learned from the experience but that a love for golf—which I believed well and truly lost—had returned with a vengeance. I begin to understand the necessary process to reach my dreams in golf, playing professionally, and recognize that winning on that day would have done nothing for my discipline, patience, and drive. Though I engage with the asceticism in a more positive manner than both Thad and Hannah, they too engage with the emotional asceticism required by and rewarded by the field of golf though in distinctly different ways. Hannah reveals a crushing frustration with the game of golf eroding her love of it, and desire to consume it, while Thad notes the need to be able to deal with disappointment but from an aloof and guarded manner. Myself, at a turning point in my golf career during that journal entry, make a deliberate choice to view my consumption and performance of golf in Malaga in a positive light—attempting to exorcise my self-deprecating tendencies and actively embrace this foreign habitus in order to realise other opportunities, rather than remaining comfortable in my own spiral of negativity (Hill and Lai, 2016).

8.4.1 Sacrifice in Golf Consumption

Ascetic characteristics in consumption practices in golf also manifest in the form of sacrifice, not only with regards to time management and self-denial as expressed in discipline and emotional control, but with a view towards managing social, communal, and familial relationships. Particularly, golfers in the study the present the issue of interpersonal guilt (Dahl et al., 2003), and how they organized their consumption practices around the mitigation of the feeling of interpersonal guilt involving those to which they are closely related; often through sacrifice of their own achievements and consumption. Lloyd engages with this narrative below.

> *I haven't been deprived, at all, but....as in, I've only realised this within the last 4 years when seeing a few friends of mine who come from a very affluent family. They have sort of the ability to go to a coach one day and say "look I'll pay you £50 for a lesson right now," and then ongoing £50/week. As growing up, being me and my brother. That's two people to fund playing golf. It's not a cheap sport. Equipment, lessons, clothing. Golf club membership. The 4 main things you need to pay for to be able to play. I find that lessons wise, I didn't have...I was always someone who didn't really have many lessons. Not for the want of it, but for the pure...I did not want my parents to fork out money for lessons all the time. I felt guilty. I have been lucky enough recently within the last 6 years now, the pro at my golf club, Hillingdon, he basically sees me and my brother as his friends -- the only two good golfers left with him now. Smithy. Not his protégés, but -- well my older brother is probably his protégé, investing in him -- been lucky enough to not pay for a lesson in a while. When I was growing up and learning, lessons they can be expensive. If you've having one every week or every two weeks...every month even! That's a lot. As a young kid, you don't know or realise because your parents are paying it. I never really wanted that—my parents to spend too much. Originally, I thought, "oh it's never a sport that I'm going to be Tiger Woods at."… I never thought that it was worth it, until a few years later and you think "oh, ok." Even then, I was sort of a person that was quite stubborn. Socially I never really wanted people to see my having a lesson. I wanted to just go out and improve on my own. For a period of time that's what I did. I went years having a lesson maybe once every 3 months? I played. I just got better by playing. Yeah. I say that affected my learning because I could have learned a lot quicker if I was less stubborn and more willing to let people help me rather than just wanting to do it by myself.*
> *(Lloyd, Interview, March 2017)*

Lloyd's account of sacrifice for the perception of his familial obligation and determination to avoid close, interpersonal guilt (Dahl et al., 2003), stemmed from asking him what may have held him back in his golf participation. Beyond an immediate comparison of his family's economic capital to those of his friends, Lloyd transitions into a vivid and candid admission of how he used self-sacrifice and ascetic consumption practices in golf to mitigate a deep feeling of guilt from pursuit

of golf. Lloyd deliberately avoided taking lessons as often as he may have liked because he did not want to be a burden on his family, also believing golf was "never a sport [he] was going to be Tiger Woods at;" his self-deprecation and dismissal of his own abilities and potential—a cultural undercurrent noted earlier by Kevin—may also have contributed to his need to mitigate that guilt, feeling as though his parents shouldn't expend economic capital on a more casual pursuit. I can relate to this feeling of guilt, at times wondering if I have jeopardized my future, and leaned too heavily on my parents' generosity, to pursue lofty ambitions in the field of golf.

> *While never struggling, I was aware that my family was not of boundless resource so I took care to only get lessons when I absolutely needed them and in doing so likely stymied my own development in the game. Nevertheless, when I was in High School, my father took on a local professional (golf pro) as a patient. In return for chiropractic care, the pro agreed to see me as often as needed though I did not take nearly enough advantage of this opportunity. Like Lloyd, I was sometimes conscious of how I'd be perceived – both by my peers and the head professional at my own club – going to the local municipal course for lessons. It haunts me to this day, because Dick is such a wonderful human being that I not only missed out on significant personal improvement and development in my golf but also clipped a fledgling relationship with a great mentor. Furthermore, Dick is the HCC that took me from an 80-85 golfer to scratch in two years, and I failed to reward him with the relationship and social capital he deserved. To this day I am still trying to make amends.*
> *(Autoethnography Personal Reflection, 2.4.1)*

Furthermore, Lloyd and I both reveal a striking additional motive for abstaining from and refraining from additional lessons even after it became clear that we could pursue these without undue burden on our families; pride. We, in no uncertain terms, express a disdain for the social stigma that 'having a lesson,' i.e. seeking cultural and subcultural capital through assistance developing corporeal dispositions, entails. This pride would be rooted in the general subcultural practice of denigrating neophyte or newcomer consumers (Canniford and Shankar, 2013), and thus the stigma of having a lesson would project that the individual is searching for mannerisms and dispositions to facilitate consumption and participation (Donnelly and Young, 1988). Refusing to have regular lessons, and therefore protecting his image and identity as a senior or accomplished member of the subculture of golf, Lloyd echoes similar sentiments to Arsel and Thompson's (2011) indie consumers—a symbolic demarcation and delineation of himself away from those looking to prove themselves. I was not protecting any high-status identity in the field of golf, but rather worried I would be exposed for the neophyte I was. The tragic link in our consumption practices of golf is that by working to avoid a compromise of his identity as self-sufficient, gleaned from an LCC background, and revealing my true neophyte status, we both end

up only jeopardizing our potential in golf.

While Lloyd's narrative and my own reveal a more superficial social concern for perception as a neophyte, Theo depicts social sacrifices. Theo recalls sacrificing not his potential or maintenance of identity, but rather his social life in attempts to realise achievement and higher status in the field.

> *It's been my girlfriend for 11 years now. Given up a lot for golf. You know how it is, you give up your weekend, you give up your holidays. You can't go away for summer holidays, because that's when all the tournaments are. You have to get ready, have to practice every week. I've given up a lot, with all my mates going to Greece or Spain for party weekends or party weeks, and I've got to stay home to practice. But, that feeling when you are out there and playing well -- it gives you so much more than drinking with your mates. You feel like you are accomplishing something. The beauty of golf I love. I really do love it. That's why I keep going back to it, is because you can always hit a golf ball better.*
> *(Theo, Interview, January 2017)*

Theo outlines, clearly, everything that he has forfeited to pursue his consumption in the golf field; a social life, mostly. There is a significance to this forfeiture that contradicts many of the motives the literature outlines for sports consumption. Sports consumers and participants generally note social, and communal, motives—especially fans (e.g. Guschwan, 2012; Hewer et al., 2015) and amateur sport participants (Kurpis and Bozman, 2011). Theo's admission contradicts these studies on the central assumptions that participants in sport and sports consumer engage in their various practices in search of a communal identity (Green, 2001; Kahle et al., 1996) and the co-creation of shared experiences (Dixon, 2013; Andrews and Ritzer, 2018), where he willingly forfeits the opportunity to engage in social holiday consumption to instead practice solitary sports. Therefore, Theo reveals some strongly embedded characteristics of self-actualisation and idealism in his sport consumption practices; echoed where other players choose to forego social trips for solitary work. Theo's narrative, in contradicting some of the main findings of the literature, provides a powerful platform for habitus and cultural capital transference into other fields that demand similar sacrifices to succeed—notably education.

8.5 Patience and Discipline in other Fields

Following from the analysis of how patience, discipline, and ascetic practices manifest in the golf habitus and field of golf, the chapter now looks at how individuals use these mechanisms of transference to participate and consume in other fields. Data from the study, both my own and the participants, exhibits that the disciplined and ascetic characteristics from consumption

practices acquired in the golf habitus transfer to the fields of education, management, law enforcement, law practice, and industrial manual labour specifically. These mechanisms of transference predominantly work *from* golf into other fields in this study, though a few participants note the reverse; learning these dispositions elsewhere and using these mechanisms to transfer their behaviours into their golf. Patience has value refining learning techniques and easing performance anxiety, where discipline is mostly credited with self-control and time management, and asceticism helps individuals accept the hardships weathered in the trials of everyday life. Personally, I have found that the disciplinary and ascetic nature of the golf habitus is embedded into my everyday behaviours and practices.

> *The habitus of golf and the subsequent non-skilled embodied capital began to seep into other areas of my life; some significant, like education, and some mundane, such as behavior and physical dispositions when walking down the street. In education, a recognition of the respect a legitimate golfer communicates with everyone in the field reflects a transmission of effective means of communications with academic authority – teachers, professors, deans, and presidents. In walking down the street, I've noticed distinctly that the deferring nature of physical dispositions in golf – by which I mean the courteous habits embedded in the etiquette – has developed my physical behavior to the surrounding community; usually moving out of the way of an oncoming individual, sometimes at my own disadvantage, or opening doors for anyone I can. Holding a door for someone is no different than tending the flag.*
> *(Autoethnography, Chapter 9.4.1, Childhood)*

While writing my autobiography for autoethnographic data, I took time to reflect on the role golf played in shaping my life trajectory; a Ph.D. in Sports Marketing and Consumer Research at Durham from a skateboarding teenager with an affinity for physics and chemistry. Given that golf has been such a substantial part of my life for the past decade, as both an area of study and a driving personal passion, there is at times a relative dearth of activity in extraneous fields on which to draw and reflect. In recollection of my verbal and cultural exchanges with individuals in a dominant position of authority, i.e. teachers, professors, supervisors, managers, and employers, I never recall feeling inadequate. That is not to say I felt equal, or in higher standing, but simply that I always felt equipped to engage in conversation; gleaned from hundreds of rounds of golf, and thousands of hours acquiring these cultural dispositions demanded by the cognitive elements of the habitus. Further reflection led to the realization that not only was I comfortable in engaging in these cultural power structures (a confirmation of the admissions of respondents in Section 7.3.2) but these disciplined and ascetic characteristics allowed me to effectively communicate within them. Admittedly, as I explore my autobiography to this point, I recognize that I possess a firmly MCC to HC familial and sociodemographic background; my levels of traditional cultural

capital are fairly high. However, I rarely exhibit the distance from material necessity or any other typical HCC markers (idealism, self-actualisation, formal aesthetics, etc.) and thus I believe that the habitus I acquired from golf facilitates a social status above where I personally believe that I merit.

Outside of comfort, fluency, and efficiency in academic and cultural power structures, the cognitive and corporeal dispositions of golf habitus have over time transformed my behaviour, practice, and habits in the everyday. Traditional 'manners' may not be as important in 2019 as in 1899, nor do they play any significant role as a social marker since Bourdieu (1984) has been updated, but as reflected above I nevertheless find myself going out of my way to be 'gentlemanly.' I hold doors open for others, I say 'yes sir' and 'yes ma'am' to others even though I am now approaching thirty-one years old, I (try to) open the car door for my wife every time she gets in and out. Now, that is not to claim these behaviours and dispositions are correct, nor am I attempting to impose any hegemonic, primitive, Victorian, chauvinistic values into my habits nor strip anyone's agency; it's the 21st Century and I would classify myself a feminist. I simply find the constant, disciplined, self-restrained dispositions of the golf habitus manifesting unconsciously in my life. After all, is holding the door for someone any different than being quiet when they begin their pre-shot routine?

8.5.1 Patience in Education—Teachers

A frequently cited form of cognitive and corporeal discipline, patience is directly cited by respondents for both its applicability and necessity in fields that are still most salient for social and cultural stratification; i.e. education and work. Patience helps Bradley and Natalie both develop their teaching practices. Through their exposure and acquisition of patience in the golf habitus, these teachers feel they are better equipped to meet their students' individual needs. Teaching different subjects, that draw on drastically different forms of cultural capital (Mathematics versus Physical Education), both Bradley and Natalie illustrate the mechanism of transference in patience and discipline helping to utilize their embodied subcultural capital from golf in their education practice. I ask the participants how they use what they learn in golf in other areas of their lives, and Bradley offers a poignant and candid insight to the trials we endure as golfers and how this translates into teaching success.

> *... ... I think...I mean we go, maybe this year when we are playing competition golf, maybe dealing with a bit of disappointment? … I think, being involved with the team stuff and maybe some weeks not being involved with team stuff. Dealing*

with that disappointment of...I want to play, but I am not getting picked, so go out and shoot another score to then maybe try to get yourself picked. I think for me, in my work...'cause I want, when I am teaching kids and want them to get better at something, not seeing results straight away but then realising it is a long process. Erm...is what I am trying to get around to. Trying to -- being a maths teacher -- trying to teach somebody over a year and not seeing those improvements in the first six weeks of term, but then trying to have that realisation that, however if we keep going somewhere we are going to build on those building blocks...those teaching...we'll get to somewhere with them. Dealing with that initial disappointment of, well, these kids aren't improving...we'll keep going at it, we'll keep trying to different things, and we'll get somewhere I think. You know, experiences you have when you play golf help with that. You can relate those two real-life situations. You're going to have days when you are disappointed -- have spells where you are disappointed...months, weeks, whatever it might be...and then you know, that can just click you know, and change. Or not. But you need to be having, again...in my work you deal with results-based things as well. My performance in terms of my work gets judged on whether...on kids' actual grades, their scores. If that kid -- for me to meet my target, 70% of my kids need to meet...they call it, what's the word they use...significant progress. I have to justify that 70% of my kids have made significant progress. The significant phrase is a little bit vague, but generally they need to make 2-3 levels of progress over the year. When you don't see that straight away, we'll deal with that, problem solve it -- what can I do in my own work to improve it?
(Bradley, Interview, April 2017)

A narrative of asceticism similar to that of Hannah and Thad appears in Bradley's monologue, touching first on the fickle nature of golf with which anyone who plays golf is intimately familiar. The cyclical nature of golf is a source of disappointment, and requires patience to bear and triumph over. As a golfer who is quickly improving, his handicap plummeting to prove it, Bradley has aspirations to play in the Club A Scratch Team (the 'team' he refers to above) and suffering the disappointment of being passed over for team selection has developed his patience. He draws a strong connection between his ability to weather the days where the golf game is subpar and the frustrations arising with meeting performance metrics for his students' learning, coming back stronger the following day. Just as golfers draw on their patience, embodied capital, and cognitive discipline, Bradley draws on these to ensure he maximizes his teaching efficiencies—rectifying errors without 'fixing something that isn't broken.' Importantly, Bradley makes a direct connection between the discipline and patience needed in the self-actualising consumption process for improvement in golf to his competence in the classroom.

Like Bradley, Natalie enhances her teaching methods by drawing on the patience and discipline in her golf habitus.

> *... I think it helped me a lot with teaching? I could understand different little personalities that I was working with -- how they learnt better. I didn't just tell them a definite way to do things, as some of these pro[fessionals] tried to tell me, I tried to let them experiment and explore a little bit more with their ways of thinking. So I think it did help me with the kids, to think "well, that's how I learned better myself" -- made more sense to me by having little awareness practices to think...good contact on the club, which part of the club am I hitting the ball with...then I would say to the kids as they were playing hockey, you know...feel, where is the best place to hit the ball? How to swing the stick. I do definitely think it helped with the kids...I think it helped me be patient with the kids as well, to think they are not all just going to pick it up immediately...erm...and to push the better ones to, you know, to push them a little bit harder and be a little bit slower with some of the less abled-ones. So I do think a lot of the things in golf did help me with the kids.*
> *(Natalie, Interview, September 2017)*

Natalie uses her extensive knowledge of golf and her fluency in the corporeal habitus and embodied capital to better teach her Physical Education classes; she recognizes the similarities between golf and sports with similar motions, such as hockey, then delivers successful and idealistic learning practices to the students. These practices transfer to other sports well, especially the teaching of other sports, due to their purpose—measurable, individualized improvement. I have not seen Natalie in the classroom, but I have seen her on the practice ground with other members at Club A. She is intensely focused on helping her friends perform better, working through different techniques and experimenting within each player's capabilities while carefully disseminating knowledge in ways she knows they can understand. Natalie mentions this in her classroom, where she can teach different students at different speeds depending on their physical aptitude; 'pushing' the more skilled and 'slower' with the less skilled. In this manner, Natalie helps to combat some of the institutionalized gatekeeping seen in educational institutions and often experienced by those who participate in sport (Weininger and Lareau, 2003), thus by extension using golf as a platform to pursue equality in educational opportunity.

8.5.2 Discipline in Education—Students

Building on the transference platform illustrated by Bradley and Natalie as teachers in the classroom, working these mechanisms to facilitate efficiency and a reduction of cultural gatekeeping (Weininger and Lareau, 2003), the chapter turns to the experiences of golfers as students. Golfers in the study claim that these habitus dispositions play a significant part in their academic success; referring to these cognitive dispositions as 'skills.' Dylan, Hannah, Todd, and my own experiences illustrate how these mechanisms work for students. Dylan and Hannah attended University C, whereas myself, Todd, and Lloyd attended University A, and the distinction

is significant based on Bourdieu (1984) and Holt's (1998) scales for traditional cultural capital valuation—despite not only DiMaggio (1982) condemning educational attainment as a proxy for cultural capital and more recent studies in sport (Thrane, 2001; Mehus, 2005; and Stempel, 2005) using educational degrees with questionable efficacy. The insistence of the literature and sports consumption research on using educational qualifications to represent cultural capital, regardless of the admitted (e.g. Mehus, 2005, Kahma, 2012) shortcomings of the metric, renders this particular form of transference significant as University A is 'elite' and University C is not; the transference mechanisms are then accessed by individuals from a diversity of cultural capital compositions.

Dylan's illustration below provides a point of departure, where he discusses how he uses the disciplined cognitive dispositions of golf to prioritise and perform both his academic and athletic pursuits without necessarily sacrificing one over the other. During a particularly trying third year at University, Dylan had to reschedule his academic exams and essays to permit his golf consumption; demanding the time management skills to handle these deadlines early.

> *Can you tell me any specific examples of how what you have learned from golf has helped in other areas of your life?*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Yeah, so...I think time management is the main thing. So, I'll give you an example. My 3rd year, second semester. I had an essay due -- can't remember the exact dates -- but I had an essay due, say, on the Monday. Essay due on the Wednesday, and test on the Friday. The two weeks before that I had golf tournaments, I was leaving for a golf tournament on the Wednesday for two weeks of golf tournaments -- so I had to time...manage my time effectively prior to this stretch of golf over 5 weeks, so I had the essays finished before I left...or when I came back on the Sunday evening, I handed in both essays. Got them to move the test as well, to a time that was suitable for everyone. If I didn't have that skill, I would have been...done. Out of uni[versity].*
> *(Dylan, Interview, March 2017)*

Through common disciplinary requirements in the habitus of academics and golf, Dylan transfers his time-management skills; his ability then to not only recognize the issues caused by the scheduling of his golf tournaments, but the discipline needed to maneuver this situation and maintain his academic standing as well. Recall in Section 7.1 I quote Dylan stating, "I think a lot of the stuff I have learned from golf, I don't use it *in* golf," which clearly expresses some universal or aggregated nature of the dispositions golf bestows upon its consumers and players. Dylan regretfully does not provide a background to developing this time-management manifestation of discipline, however, an exchange the night before the first round of a BUCS tournament last year

and my own pre-tournament reflection helps to draw this from practice in the field.

> *[Conversation the Night Before BUCS Exeter Invitational, 2019]*
> *Hey, Connor, what time do you want to be there tomorrow?*
> *(James)*
>
> *I'm off at 7.30? Erm…I'd like to be there at 6.30 if that's ok.*
> *(Connor)*
>
> *Yeah man, whatever you need. Rogers… can, I don't know, sleep in the locker room.*
> *(James)*
>
> *F*ck sake Connor, it's gonna be freezing! You're just going to end up sitting in the clubhouse having your third coffee anyway…I'm not even off until 10.40!*
> *(Rogers)*
>
> *Haha, true, but I'd like to have time to warm-up anyway. First tee is a long walk from the clubhouse, too. Also, that's what you get for having that fake handicap!*
> *(Connor)*

Though this light-hearted exchange might seem insignificant, it perfectly illustrates the discipline golfers have with regards to practice and consumption in the field as discussed in Chapter 6. They are willing, even those without early tee times (like Rogers) to get to the course in time for a proper warm-up, regardless of the time. Tournaments require preparation in rehearsal, work and in scheduling. As evidenced by Connor, and by extension Dylan previously, a 7.30am tee time requires much more than simply getting to the course in time to *not* be late. A collection of my pre-tournament thoughts, before the final round of the same BUCS Exeter Invitational Tournament, illustrates this further.

> *Right, I'm off at 10.30. Need to be warming up an hour before—30 minutes to putt and 30 minutes to loosen up on the range. Change the shoes, set the trolley up, get the bag out, grab a coffee…at least 9am then. Ugh, rain again. Hope my kit's dry. Well, it's almost 8pm now, so I gotta figure out what to eat for dinner because I'm not paying thirteen pounds for a burger again. Grab a few beers from the Tesco, make a few sandwiches to snack on. Breakfast? Hmmm. Nah, either a McDonald's on the way or a bacon sandwich there. So…leave at 8.35.*
> *(Pre-Round Thoughts, March 2019)*

Again lighthearted, this collection of thoughts illustrates only a handful of items on the checklist of a golfer before a tournament the following day. The tee time, first and foremost, is paramount as indicated in section 6.3.3.1 and always in the mind in the hours leading up to an event along with some measure of nervous energy. Giving these concerns their due consideration might seem

tedious, but it requires only the slightest inconvenience to completely rattle a player during a tournament round; for example, when I forget to bring food I can only think about whether my performance is dropping, or going to drop, from hunger or low blood-sugar. These processes set the player up for success, and academic requirements are no different. As a Ph.D. student playing internationally competitively amateur golf, teaching a year of Marketing Principles and marking undergraduate summative assignments, time management is essential; otherwise, the work would simply not get done. Already requiring momentous sacrifice of more basic and materialistic pursuits, long hours, late nights, and frequent bouts of exhaustion, I forego much of my own development in golf to continue satisfying my academic commitments—the cognitive discipline of the golf habitus, and the ability to transfer some time-management between these fields, is largely the reason I have been able to not only remain competitive but even improve my status in golf. Todd echoes these sentiments in his narrative of transference, illustrating how the dispositions acquired from golf manifest in other fields.

> *From what you've told me that you have learned from golf -- things like time management, patience, dedication -- how and in what areas have these helped you in other areas of your life?*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Time management, you know, is huge. If you want to be successful in anything, you've got to make sure you're at the right place at the right time. You can apply that to university. Getting to lectures, meeting deadlines, and when you get a job and you're in the real world -- you're not going to last very long if you can't get places on time. It's helped me in that way. Again, dedication and work ethic - giving 100% - you can apply that to University work and general work. It's only gonna benefit you in the long run.*
> *(Todd, Interview, January 2017)*

Again, a simple significance of the importance of time management and punctuality rings through first of all in Todd's account. Time is of primary importance in golf, evidenced in the way performance and consumption in the field is structured; 'tee-times,' being 'on-time,' penalties for slow play, allotment of three minutes to search for wayward shorts, etc. Todd draws this importance out into general life and other fields, stating that "if you want to be successful in anything…make sure you're at the right place at the right time." While he mentions other fields as well, Todd first mentions education showing its immediate relevance in his mind along with other important fields such as employment and the corporate 'real world'—all the while noting the usefulness of these dispositions transferred into other fields demanding the same.

Hannah similarly hints at the universality of these disciplined dispositions, like Todd making a

wider-reaching statement of application outside of just university life and academics. A light-hearted quip, below, is evidence of a more pervasive and universally influential habitus.

> *Has what you have learned in golf helped in other areas of your life? (Researcher)*
>
> *Absolutely. Time management? There's no way at all I could manage the things I do without actually knowing, like...Say for example golf is so ridiculous you have to be on the tee ten minutes early. Knowing that sort of thing -- pace of play, pace of your life.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

'Pace of play, pace of your life.' That phrase, said in jest as a casual rebellion against the at-times excessive structuring of golf culture (particularly evident in tournament play), dictating that golfers must operate, consume, and perform within certain arbitrary time constraints; the forty seconds given to a player to hit their shot a metaphor for the time constraints of life. Students have deadlines to meet, employees need to start their work day in a punctual manner, and even athletes have to govern and moderate themselves to prevent burnout (Lemyre, Roberts, and Stray-Gundersen, 2007). Beyond time-management in the field of education, and other non-descript general fields, respondents make explicit references to the work ethic provided by the golf habitus; Dylan evaluates the work ethic from his golf pursuits in education in addition to overcoming cultural barriers to golf consumption.

> *I look at hard work as well? I had to no longer care about being in the library for 10 hours. Whereas, 5 years ago I would have said..."5 hours in the library? 10 hours in the library? ARE YOU MAD?" So, I don't even blink at it now because I know I need to get it done. Then, working hard and going to classes...going to a class, when you've only got one all day and it's at 5 o'clock is much harder than when you have a full day of classes. It's easy to just miss that one lecture at 5. The discipline that I've got from golf, is like "No, you can only go to this one this week. So go to it." So I've had a couple of times...a number of times where I could just say "I'm not well." 'Cause I know it's going to be busy and I don't want to do my work. People are relying on me to get it done. I feel like I have become a better person through what I have learned from golf.*
> *(Dylan, Interview, March 2017)*

Juxtaposed, the two short anecdotes of library and lectures make another point about the mindset bestowed on Dylan from his golf habitus. This mindset stands against his cultural background from a rough part of Glasgow, where people seen to be 'trying' and working towards something are ridiculed and discouraged—in a startling confirmation of Allen's (2002) FLAG research on the class-aspiration nexus, even Dylan's school counsellors told him that pursuing professional golf

was ‘not realistic.’

> *No one has any aspirations to do well, and it's just like...get out of uni at 4th year, get an apprenticeship, become an electrician, or a plumber, or a joiner. They asked me what I wanted to do, and when I said I want to be a professional golfer, at the age of 16 -- they laughed at me. I said it again at 17. This was to my classroom care teacher? I don't know if you had these in the States [similar to guidance counselor?]. He was like "so what do you want to do?" I said, "professional golfer." He says "Dylan, what do you want to do? You can't just keep following this stupid dream." Like, you might remember this is the same school that has produced a European Tour player -- Scott Henry. They still are saying "Nah, you can't do it.*
> *(Dylan, Interview, March 2017)*

There are echoes of Eitle and Eitle (2002) in Dylan’s words. Though not in search of a hyper-rare, lucrative sports contract, Dyland has ambitions and dreams to pursue a career with a similar rarity of success; critically, however, Dylan takes these ambitions, and dispositions from this ‘unrealistic’ field, and utlises them to improve his own outlook rather than jeopardizing it. Even in these small measures, such as going to that lonely evening lecture, Dylan has taken the dispositions of the bygone elite in golf habitus and owned them, influencing his own personal trajectory for the better against a backdrop of cultural complacency.

8.5.3 Patience in Non-Educational Fields

From the point of departure given by Hannah, Dylan, and Todd, the chapter now further explores how the cognitive dispositions of golf mechanise the transfer of embodied subcultural and cultural capital into other, non-educational fields. Though admittedly in small measures, participants illustrate how playing and consuming golf helps them in the other fields making up their cultural cluster (Cornelissen, 2016). The following section paints a picture of universality and transference through Oliver, Kevin, Daniel, and Howard’s experiences in management, industrial machining, law enforcement, and law practice respectively. Oliver returns to the theme of patience, offering only a brief moment of insight into how golf facilitated participation in another field; fruitlessly I tried to gently probe further into the issue, though it is apparent through his discourse that it was a painful and stressful time.

> *Has what you have learned from golf helped in other areas of your life?*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Oh definitely. In the work environment, I am very patient -- and I had to be! In my former career, managing a lot of staff, you had to have a level of patience and a calmness whereas I possibly wouldn't...I would say that if I hadn't been a golfer...I*

think golf gave you a relief as well, from the stresses of the job. I left that former career, from the stresses of the job.
(Oliver)

You say you were a manager? Don't want to stress you out too much by asking about it...
(Researcher)

Used to work for a local council. Worked for the local council for 26 years? We were a local district council, and then we merged into a bigger authority, the County Council. Merging several districts together was very difficult. I went from having a staff of 24 up to a staff of 150. With a lot of difficulties along the way. I took the decision to...enough was enough. I took the opportunity to get out, and I've never looked back to be honest.
(Oliver, Interview, October 2017)

Even saying so little, Oliver makes a powerful statement. Clearly, eustress (Wann et al., 2008) is a motivation for Oliver's consumption and participation in golf, working as 'a relief' to counteract the 'stresses of the job.' The discipline and patience demanded of Oliver in golf, and bestowed upon him through golf, kept him able to perform his job; without which he would have left much earlier, evidenced in a foreboding what-if statement. Regardless of details of the council department, Oliver clearly shows the patient and disciplined dispositions was extensively deployed in his managerial position. To further understand this mechanization for Oliver, sought to discern if there was anything gained from his managerial role that he utilized to participate in golf.

Has anything you have learned in other areas of your life -- career, family life, etc. -- has any of that helped with your golf?
(Researcher)

Nah, I don't think...I think its golf has helped the other areas of the life. I can't say that what I have done outside of golf has helped the golf. It's the other way around, definitely.
(Oliver, Interview, October 2017)

Thus, both Oliver and Dylan, earlier, posit that the transference of dispositions works *from* golf *into* other fields; decidedly one-way in its mechanization and operation. Golf works for many of these participants, then, as a mostly benevolent influencer and not a malleable resource. The chapter now departs to Kevin's experience in industrial machining, depicting his understanding of how golf habitus and capital have impacted his work.

Can you tell me how anything that you have learned from golf has helped in other

areas of your life?
(Researcher)

Well, the patience side of it has definitely helped. Throughout the entire...with the stuff that I now do for work, producing the machines, I had to learn an entire coding programme to do that. G code, for CNC machines. At first that is just an absolute bamboozling amount of numbers that you would look it. It must have taken me just two, three weeks of just constant non-stop looking at these numbers thinking "I don't have a clue what's going on" before it eventually clicked and I found out "this does this," or "this does that." Now, when I look at G code I see which parts of the code do what...whereas before it was just an amalgamation or grouping or nothing. So that's definitely helped in my work, more than anything else.
(Kevin, 1st Interview, April 2017)

The translation here has a distinct duality. Firstly, Kevin's description of how the patience helped him understand the code and thrive in his workplace is exactly how a majority of improvement in golf happens; even minute corporeal or cognitive adjustments to the physical performance of the swing or playing a round require an excruciating amount of time. As golfers, we fumble around with these minute changes to bodily positions and dispositions, even getting significantly worse for a period of time (perhaps believing that 'we don't have a clue what's going on here'), only for it to suddenly click and make sense. We finally understand what positions and motions in our swing correlate to in the flight of the golf ball, and the puzzle comes together—at least until the next poor spell and then we begin the process over again. Secondly, Kevin takes a dedicated practice in a traditionally 'elite' activity, golf, and translating it into an industrial occupation. Industrial machining would fall into the 'skilled labour' category of Holt's (1998) classifications, and would therefore be considered LCC; along with Kevin's LCC background, firmly classifying this HCC to LCC transfer of subcultural capital and habitus.

8.5.4 Emotional Discipline in Other Fields

Kevin's narrative, then, leaves the chapter with several accounts of the disciplined and patient practices necessary to participate and consume golf being of considerable utility in other fields. Respondents also indicate the utility of the emotionally ascetic and emotionally disciplined elements of golf practice, commonly displayed in an even temperament and calm approach through both positive and negative events and circumstances in their golf; as Natalie would say, "not being too high or too low." Daniel notes the applicability of this cognitive and emotional disposition in his line of work as a firearms officer, touching on this theme during his interview and our conversations.

Has what you have learned from golf, that focus, helped in other areas of your life?
(Researcher)

Yeah. Definitely in terms of temperament and stuff in terms of what I do. You have to have that calm mentality, if you know what I mean? The situations that we face, I'm definitely taking that forward from golf! Obviously, from the competitive side of things, playing football and cricket when I was younger, I think I will always have that. Yeah, fair enough I think I was more competitive when I was a kid but I think that was because I was a better golfer when I was younger. The things I was wanting to do when I was younger I could do, whereas some of the things I'm wanting to do now -- because I'm not as good as I was, in my head I'm frustrated. But that's because now I have a family, I don't practice as much as I should, etc. etc.
(Daniel, Interview, April 2017)

Daniel clearly attributes the calm temperament needed for golf as useful in law enforcement, which is a veritable testament to its necessity in golf given that Daniel is a very low handicap and exceptionally skilled player. Yet he departs, momentarily, back to his days as a younger golfer; he believes he was more competitive and better (and more competitive *because* he was better) as a youth. However, he neatly returns to the root what demands this calm mentality, that being the frustration between the expectations and the realities of performances. This frustration then stems from a failure, at times, to physically enact the identity he has adopted and integrated as a golfer (Coleman and Williams, 2013) along with a threat to Daniel's social validation through golf (Zhou et al., 2014). He layers these issues of identity and validation into the frustrations when he admits that he doesn't practice as much as he *should*, rather than as much as he *could.* Yet, how Daniel deals with these frustrations in golf lay a foundation for the transference of those skills and dispositions into his field of work, a workplace that can be infinitely more dangerous than a golf course. Daniel is frequently called into situations that require the willingness to exact lethal force; his friends and colleagues have been called upon to do just that, and live with those consequences. Coming from a military family (my grandfather is buried in Arlington National Cemetery), I never for an instant would equate anything in the field of golf to something so heavy. I will testify, however, that golf has its own trials and tribulations that require a similarly calm, easy temperament; winning my first college tournament, winning the Club B Club Championship, qualifying for USGA events, earning my tour card—even playing with other golfers I categorically do not care for.

As Daniel communicates the usefulness in such disciplined emotional elements of his cognitive golf habitus, Howard also explores how he equates the discipline and dispositions of golf to the

judiciary. While illustrating how necessary discipline and asceticism are in his life, Howard articulates his interpretation of "policing yourself" in various forms; bodily or corporeal control, communication and discourse, and respect.

> *As a judge, you might be the best judge in terms of knowledge of the law, application of the law, findings of fact in terms of assessment of evidence, but if you get done for drink driving you're going to get the sack. One-off, three gin and tonics instead of two at the Captain's day -- you get stopped between here and [the next town] which is maybe three miles -- ...sorry mate, you are not a "fit and proper" person. So, in terms of being a fit and proper person, golf is probably the easiest sport in the world to cheat at -- so only those who really are fit and proper should take it up. You know you'll be able to cheat and get away with it, most of the time, because no-one is going to know. So, it does make a difference, the things you learn about golf and how to police yourself. I can be sat...here (arms folded/tapping on the table), I'm not listening. I'm bored. [Yawns loudly. Sighs]. I'm bored. I can't do that. Any sense of impatience or pre-judgment or anything like that, so yeah it does make a difference. I keep coming back to discipline. I'm not sure why I keep using that word to be honest, but that's what it is. You've got to police yourself; you've got to discipline yourself. You've got to be aware of what is going on all the time around you.*
> *(Howard, 1st Interview, September 2017)*

Immediately, Howard dives into what constitutes a lack of discipline and what the subsequent repercussions would be—dismissal from the bench. He employs the notion of being a "fit and proper" person as a proxy for discipline in both the legal field and the field of golf; just as the judge could *probably* get away with having that extra gin and tonic, so too could someone cheat in golf. Howard then links the dispositions needed for honesty in golf and behavioural integrity on the bench in the courtroom through discipline; the awareness of how both the cognitive and the corporeal dispositions and presentations influence those around, just like a plaintiff before a 'bored' judge. Therefore, the consequence for transference is that discipline manifests as respect towards all; playing partners in golf, plaintiffs, and defendants before the bench. An individual who presents themselves clothed in the dispositions of golf, in all contexts and fields where appropriate, then presents themselves effectively clothed in the dispositions of a gentile elite.

One could also argue that Howard's monologue exhibits evidence of the damaging cultural narrative of exclusivity, gatekeeping, and a contentious power relations typically embedded in golf (Haig-Muir, 2004; Rankin et al., 2017; Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018). It must be noted, critically, that Howard's statement of "only those who really are fit and proper should take it up" only fits the damaging and contentious narrative when taken out of context; in context, it is fairly clear that Howard refers only to his preference that individuals pre-disposed to cheating do not take up the

game, rather than honest individuals who would water-down the exclusivity and traditions of golf as a bastion of social exclusion and a marker for social status (Rankin et al., 2017; Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018).

Returning to the discipline narrative, Howard discusses what is a crucial element to these transference mechanisms; homologies in the habitus of different fields. Though somewhat lengthy, and at times meandering, the following discourse from Howard ties together the commonalities between fields through discipline as a means of translating and applying universal subcultural and cultural capital dispositions. He discusses how a "love" for work and practice drove his success in education, manual labour, and golf.

> *What influence do you think having gone to work -- as you mentioned at university working from 8 to 4.30 -- had on when you started playing? I mean you said you loved to practice and graft.*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *It's a discipline. Most people when they go to university, the first year they spend out experimenting with loads of chemicals and beer and other things. If their first lecture isn't until 2 o'clock then they won't get out of bed until 1 o'clock. They'll go to every lecture and go to every seminar but they end up working until midnight during exam time swotting up and trying to get caught up...if you treat it as a 9-5 job Monday to Friday, any degree in the country whether it's engineering, medicine, law...if you work 9-5 Monday to Friday you'll get no worse than a 2.2 degree. Probably get a 2.1. If you work 40 hours a week -- no student works 40 hours a week! I was doing that! Started work at North Shields, travelling from Ferryhill...I was in the van at 20 to 7. I was getting up at 6 o'clock every morning to get to work on time -- if you didn't get to work on time you didn't get paid. You got the van back full of sweaty men, and labour was hard to find on the building sites in those days because they were throwing buildings up everywhere. It was just a discipline. I was used to working those hours, so I said I was going to do that. So I worked all day, played football on the night -- for which I got paid. My rent was 6 pounds per week, so I put 2 pounds into the pot as there were 5 of us that lived above a fish and chip shop in Gateshead...so it was costing us 8 quid a week for our rent, milk, cereals, bread...and I think I was making about 15 pound a week playing football. So I played football Monday night, Wednesday night, Saturday and Sunday. Played for two teams. Good level -- played the 1st Round of the FA Cup and stuff like that. Travelled all over the country to play. Sometimes you left on a Friday night, don't get back till Saturday night, and playing again on Sunday for the local working men's club. I was just a mercenary -- I played for the team that paid me the most money. The only regret I have was that I didn't take up golf sooner. If I had taken up golf as, I don't know a teenager? I might have been able to play for the County. It's the discipline -- I mean I came down here last night and I practiced for 2 hours. I think I hit 20 wedges, 20 seven irons, 20 4 irons and about 200 4 woods because I'm really struggling with the 4 wood. By the end I was just bombing them. Bombing them! I couldn't stop hitting them. When I got home I was just exhausted. My shoulders were killing me and my arms were*

aching because I was just beating the mat! So yeah, discipline.
(Howard, 1st Interview, July 2017)

To frame his own self-control, time-management, and well-developed work ethic, Howard begins with a quip about university life and the tendency of students to be out 'experimenting,' positioning his own, implicitly sober experience against the drunken normative. That Howard credits the 'nine-to-five' and 'forty-hour' dispositions from working manual labour to his success in academics reveals the potential of an interesting duality in the mechanization of capital transference. While the ability to perform and adhere to a nine-to-five schedule is not itself working-class, Howard developed this disposition in a working-class endeavor. Recognizing this section is laden with some class language, I'll provide the source—Howard's own reflection on the term "working class" and his conceptualization of it.

[W]hen does the class divide start, though? Does it start the day you're born? The day you go to school? The day you become a solicitor? Does it start the day you become a judge? When do you stop being working class? If someone said to me, if someone said to...the circle of friends I have in here, "who in here is upper class?" Oh, they'd say Howard. Why would they say that? Because you're a judge. Yeah but, my dad is the same as your dad. My grandad worked down the pit -- my dad worked on the building sites. What's the difference? I went to a little church school until I was 11. Then I went to grammar school. What difference does that make? Not really a great deal. I didn't go to an Ivy League university or anything like that, you know...I went to what is now NU, because that was all I could get. When does that suddenly change? Does it change when you send your son to a private school? Don't think so....
(Howard, Follow-Up interview, September 2017)

This particular narrative, then, speaks to an under-explored theme in the broader cultural and subcultural capital research; the utility of LCC and dominated dispositions in subverting the institutionalized gatekeeping rendered by a background devoid of much traditional cultural capital. Few studies (e.g. Hill and Lai, 2016) investigate the ways in which LCC individuals seize opportunities for social advancement through the application of traditionally dominated cultural dispositions onto a dominant field structure—rather than as subcultures, particularly in sport, that instead create their own hierarchical and cultural structures to avoid a dominated position they were assigned by family (e.g. Fiske, 1989; Holt, 1995). The cognitive dispositions from the habitus of manual labour and lower-level professional football had utility in academic endeavours through a homology between the two fields in tangible, material, and institutional rewards.

One criticism of this homologous insight, contentious as it might be, could be that Newcastle

Polytechnic is not Oxford, or Cambridge, and therefore Howard's narrative might not represent any evidence that LCC dispositions retain their utility at the pinnacle of traditional, gatekeeping (i.e. educational) institutions of cultural capital reproduction. Regardless, Howard is a judge, university-educated, and has substantially improved his social and consumption trajectories by applying a hard, Northeastern work-ethic to everything that he does. He applied, almost directly, the habitus of manual labour and football to the acquisition of cultural capital and succeeded. Howard then neatly ties his disciplined habitus into the field of golf, demonstrating a clear other-to-golf transference rather than a golf-to-other transference; providing a more rounded understanding of how these mechanisms work through structural homology.

8.6 Linking Patience, Discipline, and Asceticism to the Middle-Class

It is then a structural homology that permits a necessary link between the habitus of golf and the middle-class. This chapter has particularly evidenced homology between the fields of golf and education, with narratives of patience and discipline specifically salient in both teachers and students. Though not explicitly labelled *patience, discipline,* and *asceticism,* the notions of delayed gratification, emotional and attitudinal control, and sacrifice (noted previously in section 8.1) are similarly central to the habitus of the middle-class (e.g. Allatt, 1993; Zembylas, 2007; Cappellini and Parsons, 2013). These notions permit the display and performances of distinction in social spaces without spending large sums of money (Cappellini et al., 2014). Non-financial displays of distinction are often emotional and attitudinal in nature (Weinberger et al., 2017), grounded in the navigation of power structures in normative social spaces of the middle-class (Zembylas, 2007). Thus, we conceptualise these forms of capital in the field of golf (patience, discipline, and asceticism) as *emotional capital*, interpersonal resources treating "emotions and their management as skills or habits that translate into social advantages" (Froyum, 2010: 39). These forms of emotional cultural and subcultural capital emerge from cultural socialization at the intersection of bodily capacities and cultural requirements (Scheer, 2012); the nexus of corporeal and cognitive dispositions so brilliantly evident in golf. Critically, however, we note that emotional capital has been theorized as relatively nuclear familial investments in education and social mobility (Reay, 2000; 2004). Yet, aside from the initial socialization into the field some participants attribute to their father or mother, there is little evidence of familial saturation in the social networks extant in the field of golf. Socialization in the field of golf then seems to offer opportunity for the development and acquisition of emotional capital in a non-familial setting; broadening the understanding of how individuals and consumers both acquire and deploy emotional capital and soft skills in non-financial social distinction.

8.7 Conclusion

Golf requires significant applications of patience, ascetic, and disciplined practice to participate, consume, and achieve status. This chapter explores the cognitive and corporeal dispositions of the golf habitus, how they structure practice in the field, and subsequently how the structures of other fields permits these dispositions to be used almost freely. For example, the field of education demands discipline and time-management; required in abundance to pursue any significant measure of embodied subcultural capital or achieve any status in golf. Furthermore, the habitus of golf necessitates a dismissal of the urge and need for instant gratification, demanding consumers and participants develop ascetic dispositions in their practice with a view towards idealistic, long-term goals; reflective of the recognition that working-class student may need to cast off elements of their culture and embrace discomfort in the pursuit of long-term advancement (Allen, 2002; Hill and Lai, 2016). Significantly, the chapter illustrates a decidedly HCC characteristic to the majority of practices in all fields for participants in this research—all of which stem, in some measure, from their golf habitus. This chapter therefore worked to reveal not the structural homologies between fields themselves, but their existence through the display of common 'tastes,' preferences, and dispositions with equal utility in multiple fields (Gemar, 2018).

Chapter 9: Critical Interactions and Readings in Golf

9.1 Introduction

This final analysis chapter builds on the previous three chapters in the exploration of critical interactions and readings in the field of golf. Whereas Chapter 6 worked to translate the field and subcultural habitus of golf, and Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 explore how soft skills and emotional elements of middle-class habitus (patience, discipline, and aseticism) form embodied cultural capital in golf and act as mechanisms of transference the importance of soft skills (i.e. communication, self-sacrifice, and creativity) this chapter investigates how critical, and at-times reflexive, moments in golf act as further mechanisms of capital and habitus transference. Specifically, these later analysis chapters link to research questions in illustrating how individuals take their aggregated forms of capital and use them across field boundaries; furthermore, these chapters expose the embedded mechanisms of transference in the habitus and embodied capital of golf.

Critical and reflexive dispositions in consumption nod directly back to traditional cultural capital theory, both in sociology (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Peterson, 1992; Prieur and Savage, 2013) and consumer research (e.g. Holt, 1998; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012; McAlexander et al., 2014); reflexive awareness of social congruity or incongruity along a conscious-unconscious scale dependent on the homology between fields' habitus and consumers' habitus (Prieur and Savage, 2013). Bourdieu (1984) offers a still-salient example in how dining practices of the elite and the working-classes work to illustrate this criticality and reflexivity in consumption. Bourdieu's (1984) working-class approach the meal with freedom and abundance, unconcerned about stratifying themselves through the performance of the meal but rather, simply, to eat. The bourgeois, conversely, see the meal as yet another opportunity to culturally and socially stratify themselves; set apart by constraint, performing formal consumption rituals as proof of their own distance from the material necessity of hunger. This chapter, then, explores similar practices and dispositions in golf, i.e. what practices correspond to high and low status in the field, respectively, and how these practices work as mechanisms of subcultural and cultural capital transference. The chapter also explores how, in some instances, status manifests through individuals' attitudes towards these practices. Do golfers engage with and express their tastes simply to play golf, or as an opportunity to creatively express their social position in the field?

9.2 Critical Interactions and Readings in Golf: Setting a Critical Stage

In golf, success in competition requires constraint and mastery over the self; an ability to enjoy the moment, i.e. a perfectly-struck shot or a well-read putt, while also maintaining the emotional

keel mentioned earlier by Natalie and Hannah. Consumption practices in golf, the corporeal elements of embodied cultural capital in particular, are exceptionally varied. At times, status and field position correlate to similarly restrained and ascetic practices that Bourdieu (1984) and Holt (1998) would predict, while at other times practices that might seem to represent high-status in fact indicate the opposite; "nothing depletes capital more than the sight of someone trying too hard" (Thornton, 1996: 12). Discerning between these requires a substantial amount of subcultural capital and a critical understanding of what each disposition and practice *idealistically* serve. Howard's recollection of an exchange between himself and another player, below, introduces this.

> *He came out and played with us. His shoes are absolutely caked in mud. I said "What are you doing?" "Ahh, well I haven't had a chance to clean them. Played last week and it was just so muddy." "Yeah, but that's…you're not prepared to play, are you? Have you cleaned your clubs?" "Well, no I haven't done that either." Why not? Pulls a golf ball out of his bag and I'm like, you're not going to use that, are you? Hearing-aid beige colour! Get a white one out and do it properly. Supposed to be a 7-handicap golfer! It's just a medal? That's not the point!...It's competitive golf! If you are going to play competitively, you better be prepared.*
> *(Howard, 2nd Interview, September 2018)*

Howard illustrates that cleanliness and preparation, two dispositions that this anonymous seven-handicap golfer fails to display, are integral to his interpretation of distinguishing practice in the field. The muddy shoes, dirty clubs, and old golf ball represent a contrasting freedom in consumption to Bourdieu's (1984) elitist diners, wherein the actions and tastes displayed might be 'legitimate'—using golf shoes, clubs, and golf balls—but their presentation is not. Rather, their presentation does not correspond to the embodied capital and cognitive dispositions that a single-digit handicap, as institutionalized capital, 'guarantees' (Holt, 1998). A player arriving on the first tee with anything but clean shoes, clubs, and a fresh ball appears discordant, or socioculturally incongruent, with Howard's perception of how the game should be played; reflective of the bourgeois expectation of a clean plate with every course (Bourdieu, 1984). As noted before in 6.3.3.2, handicaps are a form of institutionalized cultural capital in golf, and thus carry nuanced behavioural and practical expectations. These expectations correlate to both the strata of identities in golf, much like the expectations of other sport consumers to express dispositions mirroring their identities (Coleman and Williams, 2013), and to the cognitive and corporeal expectations of others. Anything less than clean shoes and adequate preparation, then, wouldn't be 'proper,' at least not for a member of the golf-bourgeois; Howard's demand for and expectation of dispositions that correspond to elite behaviours and tastes expressed in other fields

likely stem from his significant socialization into the Law Society Golf Club. Membership of this particular social group would beget an elite set of tastes given the exclusivity of the membership (solicitors, barristers, and honorable jduges only) and the majority of golf clubs where they play (i.e. Muirfield, Royal Birkdale, Royal County Down, etc.). Furthermore, Howard critiques the play style of the seven-handicapper, which indicates the overlap of a more casual general habitus into the field of golf; the manifestation of participating in disparate sociocultural clusters (Morland, 1971; Solomon, 2004).

> *…Then the way he played, [he] hit some bombing drives, then missed loads of greens with 8 irons, 9 irons, and wedges. Erm, couple of times he missed a second putt, went to tap it in backwards and missed that one as well. Whole thing is casual and slap-happy, as evidenced by the way he was dressed and the way he prepared. Lovely lad! Growing to be a good player, just needs to learn how to play golf.*
> *(Howard, 2nd Interview, September 2018)*

The disapproving tone of a player "bombing drives" and the missing "loads of greens with 8-irons, 9-irons, and wedges" indicates a critical appreciation of embodied displays of subcultural capital and practice in the field; note that every shot in golf counts the same, regardless of whether it is a booming tee shot down the middle of the fairway or short putt. What Howard communicates in this critique is the player's inability to display an appreciation for the disproportionate effect that shots have on a player's score as they move closer to the green. Therefore, it could be that while the anonymous golfer has a wealth of talent and corporeal capital they lack the necessary cognitive dispositions and discipline to attain the field status that *should* be guaranteed by their handicap; a 'slap-happy' and 'casual' approach to play being a clear incongruence with the restrained, formal cadences usually evident in the consumption patterns of the elite both in general consumption (Holt, 1998) and sport (e.g. Stempel, 2005; Gemar, 2018). Notably, just as the undisciplined and casual performance and practice of the young seven-handicapper betrays a lower field-status, nor does the expression of discipline in practice guarantee high field-status.

> *The thing is, yesterday, playing with the Captain -- shiny shoes, clean trousers, clean golf ball, immaculate clothes. Stood on the first tee and you think "He's gonna play shit..." Hahah. You know, what is it that makes me think this guy is going to play shit? Whereas the other lad who was a good player was going to play shit because he wasn't prepared? This guy was over-prepared, almost. Every shot he plays, whether it's a putt or a drive, he gets the club....and he puts it on the ground with the handle sticking up and then he walks around it keeping it dead still...*
> *(Howard)*

So he sets the club, and then he...
(Researcher)

If that's the ball, he will hold the clubface...[shuffles around, mimicking the player's actions]...I've seen people do it with a putter, but this was every shot with every club including the driver. In the club championship last year, he'd played and he'd shot 112 and 109... You could just tell, before he hit the ball, he was going to be a shit golfer.
(Howard)

But it wasn't his clothes...
(Researcher)

Nope. Nope.
(Howard)

How could you tell? Aside from the routine...
(Researcher)

Just that, just that. As he walked down, his card was ready, everything was ready...in the fold, there on time, he was up there when I arrived, 20 minutes before hand. Had a putt, ready to go. You just knew...he couldn't play.
(Howard, 2nd Interview, September 2018)

Mirroring the unprepared, casual performance of the young seven-handicapper, the 'Captain's' actions and cadence are incongruent. An over-preparation and over-meticulous nature of the pre-shot routine expose lower field-status; attempts at masking the lack of embodied corporeal dispositions with an excess of discipline and outward displays of preparation. The exposure of the mismatch between embodied capital and the tastes expressed in the captain's clothes reflective of the Chinese appropriation of French wine—identifiable almost immediately to a high-status individual. While the captain's clothes and mannerisms represent the presentation of a bottle of Chateau LaFite, his embodied display on the course represents topping it up with Sprite (Smith-Maguire and Lim, 2015). Additionally, the stiff and rigid adherence to the pre-shot routine belies another layer of mismatched habitus and capital and a failure to express an appreciation of the critical purpose of the routine itself—relaxation in preparing the subconscious to execute the shot at hand, rather than attempting to force the club into certain positions. The Captain embodies the notion of the depletion of capital from trying "too hard" (Thornton, 1996: 12).

This first section works to introduce and provide an example of the nature of critical moments and readings in golf; the chapter now continues with individual accounts of play, discussion of the habitus and performance, the process for improvement, and the relationship between players and brands. This first section also introduces the position of this thesis that status in the field of golf

coalesces around two axes; the cognitive and corporeal axes of habitus and subcultural capital in the field (Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018). Both the seven-handicap and the Captain fall communicate a lower status through display of subcultural capital predominantly composed around only one of the two axes.

9.3 Strike vs Score

The first challenge in discerning critical readings of practice is determining the constitution of critical reception and interpretation of the field itself; the narrative above serving only part of this role. There are so few traditional 'cultural texts' (Holt, 1998) in the field of golf, outside of periodicals and books, that we must look more towards how individuals discuss their own performances and behaviours, the performances and behaviours of others, courses, clubs, and equipment. This section begins with a recollection of mine from NJCAA golf at Tyler Junior College. The following exchange took place between the 12th green and the 13th tee, in October of 2009.

> *JG: Dude, you ripped that last drive – cannot believe it didn't clear the pond. You'd probably have had, like, an 8 or 9 iron in from there…good eagle chance. Solid par though.*
>
> *VA: I guess…*
>
> *JG: You ever think about, I don't know, playing a little safer on that hole? Been in the water twice now…*
>
> *VA: Not really man…Never play safe. Was at a tournament last year? The Starburst? Well, yeah, the coach from UT (University of Texas) was watching that day. At the tournament. I was on a par 5, he was watching, and I ripped it – just didn't quite get the line though, through the dogleg. Made bogey. If I'd nailed that drive I'd have made another eagle or birdie, but I didn't and finished with a 79. I had an eagle and 5 birdies that day but shot 79! Oh well, coach said 'Keep ripping it. I can teach you how to hit it straight, but I can't teach you to hit it long.'*
>
> *JG: Wait, so you had 5 birdies and an eagle and shot 79?!*
>
> *VA: Yeah, just one of those days. I flushed it, but some got away from me. That's why – never played safe, I like making a lot of birdies.*
>
> *JG: Okay, well…would…here you go. Would you rather flush every shot and shoot 80, or thin[12] every shot and shoot 70?*
>
> *VA: Oh, flush it and shoot 80. Every time. I love hitting the ball solid more than I love shooting good scores.*

[12] 'Thinning' a shot refers to making contact below the sweet-spot of the club. Usually thin shots can still go where a player wants, but they feel horrible in the hands.

JG: But…if you thin it and shoot 70, wouldn't you shoot even lower the days you flush it?
(Field Notes, Recollection from Tyler JC, October 2009)

This exchange with a teammate of mine first introduced the idea to me that someone could value anything in golf other than shooting the lowest score possible. In fact, many players place a great number of things above producing the lowest score they can; whether they are consciously aware, or admit this disparate prioritization, is another matter entirely. 'VA' was the first person I had met in the field, who possessed a tremendous level of talent and corporeal embodied capital, that genuinely cared more about *how* he hit the ball than *where* he hit the ball; the severity of the discord between his aesthetically beautiful, textbook swing, along with perfectly struck shots, and scores he turned in provided a constant source of confusion for me during my time as his teammate. Trophies, accolades, and objectified cultural capital in golf are acquired through scoring lower than your competitors, *not* hitting the ball better, or more impressively, than them. Often, the two are wed—hitting the ball well facilitates scoring well, when a critical appreciation of the purpose solidly struck golf shots serve is employed. However, hitting a golf ball solidly, or 'flush,' can be an addicting feeling.

Golf is a different high entirely. Watching a shot come off exactly how you drew it up is, well, I actually struggle to find words to describe it. I would say satisfying but that's not enough. It's complete euphoria on a multisensory level. The feel of the ball coming off the centre of a forged blade, the interaction of the sole with the turf, the release of friction as the divot peels, the visual stimulation of the flight against a blue sky, and that sound — that sound is just narcotic. Similarly, anyone who has ever rolled a perfectly paced, well-read putt over a perfectly smooth green that tracks dead-centre until it's 6 inches down with that little rattle — just never looks like anywhere else but in — knows that feeling is ecstasy. I realise as I am writing this stream of consciousness vomit of words, that golf is a drug. Somehow, someway. Golf is addictive to its core, and I'm not even sure it's healthy. Colour me an addict, I'm in for the long haul now.
(Golf As A Drug, December 2017)

A well-struck golf shot is an immediately and intensely satisfying marriage of physical and mental stimulation; a veritable split-second of 'multisensory' euphoria. However, an obsession with the feeling of a 'solid' shot, rather than one that ends up near the target (yes, it is *quite* possible to hit an objectively beautiful shot that ends up nowhere near the target), illustrates a focus on the material aesthetics of playing golf rather than the idealistic or formal (Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Holt, 2010). Dylan succinctly describes a 'perfect shot' below.

Nothing makes me happier than hitting the perfect shot…a wee draw from 210 to 10 feet.
(Conversation with Dylan during warm-up, March 2017)

A 'perfect' shot has elements of shape, control, and direction. It is a blend of materialistic satisfaction meeting formal purpose, noted by the 'wee draw[13]' that finishes 'ten feet' from the hole. A low scoring round of golf, achieved via well-struck shots that fly true towards their targets, is a form of art—created with one stroke at a time. Creating this 'art' requires patience, discipline, asceticism, and confidence, and can neither be rushed nor forced. It is artwork, extant only in the instant of performance, that manifests as a number on a scorecard; sadly, scorecards deliberately only have space for a number. It is in the balance between discipline, patience, a focus on the score, and attention to both how and where the shot goes that we find some of the critical elements of consumption in golf. One must be able to discern between hitting the ball and playing the game.

9.3.1 Playing Golf, or Hitting the Ball?

A first critical theme in this chapter manifests in, as mentioned above, is in discerning between the materialistic and formal idealistic characteristics of consumer dispositions (Holt, 1998). The participants in the study, along with my own reflections, identify a difference between hitting a golf ball and *playing* golf. The distinction might not be immediately apparent to the neophyte or the outsider, but the following quotes provides a point of departure

There's more to playing golf than hitting the ball.
(Howard, 2nd Interview, September 2018)

Golf is a game, culture, and ethos built around hitting a ball into a hole hundreds of yards away, but it has also developed into something entirely more; etiquette, cognitive and corporeal discipline, patience with yourself and with others, and development of communication skills and habits that all facilitate consumption in other fields. Individuals from a range of sociocultural backgrounds echo this sentiment in the data, however for this section the research departs analyzing this critical interpretation of performance with respect to scoring—the primary metric on which golfers are judged and handicaps, the lone source of institutionalized capital and corporeal stratification, are dependent.

[13] A 'Draw' is a shot that gently, or ever-so-slightly curves from right-to-left. A 'Fade' gently curves from left-to-right (for right-handed golfers).

> *I could hit 30 balls and call that a good practice session. I just...when I was younger, boys were saying " ahh ya need to go down the driving range." For like, hours. I just...that really, it didn't put me off -- but it made me think, this isn't for me in some aspects. The practice, the hard graft of hitting balls...on the flip side, I could go and chip and putt for hours. I used to, still do, stand on the putting green for two hours and leave and there's just other nights where I used to go around the chipping green. I'd have one ball, and two clubs, and I'd be there for hours. Over trees, under trees, bunkers, plugged...everything. I would much prefer to chip and putt for hours than hit balls…. Being on the golf course. I've always learned, being on the golf course -- quicker. I've always found swing changes come quicker on the golf course, 'cause you need to actually hit a shot. Whereas in the range, it's...[motions implying repetition]. So, I definitely found I got better being on the golf course quicker.*
> *(Dylan, Interview, March 2017)*

Dylan's account above summarises the critical, idealistic interpretation of performance in the field intimated earlier by Howard, and the materialistic, referential interpretation of performance in the field communicated by my teammate. Just as Howard is critical of the seven-handicapper for 'missing greens' with short irons and wedges, Dylan explicitly communicates his love for performance of rituals that work to develop these embodied forms of corporeal habitus; spending hours just on the putting green or chipping green. Both Dylan and Howard note an importance, with a view towards attaining status and institutionalized subcultural and cultural capital in the field, of the practice of certain elements of the corporeal habitus of golf—the 'short game.' An expression of distaste for the one-dimensional performance of hitting balls 'on the range' is similar to the distaste for the casual and 'slap-happy' approach to competitive golf, where neither practice serves any self-actualising purpose and thus belie lower, i.e. referential, positions on the hierarchy of the golf field. Bradley adds a crucial layer to this understanding of hitting the ball versus playing golf, where he compares 'playing' to playing 'properly.' I had asked Bradley what he felt was easiest about learning to play golf.

> *...the actually playing itself. At a junior level, I found that quite easy. The tough side was the actual thinking, playing properly -- hitting the ball was fine, but, you know [..] playing your way around a course and learning to play properly and learning to play smart golf and sensible was a bit tougher.*
> *(Bradley, Interview, April 2017)*

This quote expresses Bradley's feeling that, similar to Thomas in the previous chapter, the corporeal elements of the habitus—playing the game—was easiest at first because of some underlying natural ability, captured by finding it 'quite easy' at the junior level. Bradley's natural ability, then, is the same 'talent' discussed by Thomas and Zach in Chapter 8—performing the

same functions as endowed cultural capital in education (Allen, 2002; Lamont and Weininger, 2003) though manifest in golf as a physical head-start. He then transitions, significantly, into a recognition of the importance of the critical and idealistic characteristics of the field; playing 'properly.' Bradley describes playing 'properly' as being smart and sensible, by default indicating that legitimate consumption of golf demands more than just the physical motions of striking the golf ball.

9.4 To the Player, The Brand? All the Gear and No Idea

The research recognizes the nature of the 'score' in golf as an object around which both high status and low status practices organize; the recognition of the importance of practices that translate to the *lowest* score rather than aesthetic performance or the NR (explored in the previous chapter). Onward from the critical understandings and appreciation of the score, and the role it plays in delineating between hitting a ball and to playing the game, the chapter explores the relationship between tastes for brands and practice in the field. Brands in the field of golf are a prevalent form of "cultural text," given the various meanings and implications certain brands have and how players indicate why they use or acquire their equipment—either as, once again, as critical in an attempt to perform their best or as referential to communicate a particular status (Holt, 1998). A mix of individuals from various sociocultural backgrounds discuss brands in the research, and this section uses conversations from the field and interview excerpts from Zach, Howard, and Bradley. We begin with Zach, as he displays an affinity for particular brands and what those brands communicate to others about his golf consumption—even at the expense of his own performance.

> *…why you play the clubs that you do?*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Well, usually...influence is obviously the biggest factor isn't it? […] Club manufacturers are pushing stuff and you hear all that...we're all looking for that edge but we all know, deep down...it doesn't give you one, really. It's...to a certain degree, but we are talking small margins. But, because I love the game, and I am excited to play, it's always a buzz to get new stuff coming out and that's what drives it more than anything.*
> *(Zach, 2nd Interview, July 2018)*

Firstly, Zach indicates a critical recognition of the influence that club manufacturers and marketing have on how golfers perceive equipment and brands, where he states, "pushing stuff and you hear all that." When he says, 'all that' he refers to instances, such as when Taylormade released their RBZ fairway woods, that they would give a player "17 more yards" and the company plastered '17' over all of their branding and campaigns that year (MyGolfSpy, 2011)—personally, it was complete

nonsense. The woods were great clubs, yes, but they *did not* give me anywhere near that gain in distance. Furthermore, Zach's recognition of the efforts of club manufacturers to push and market products resonates in my experience attending PGA Tour events. As a spectator, I enjoy following one player for several holes to see their practices, dispositions, and behaviours on the course and if there is anything I can learn to improve my own game—PGA Tour players are the best in the world. However, following some of the less popular players or popular players on Thursday or Friday means that you can get quite close to them given the unique nature of golf spectatorship (Hansen and Gauthier, 1994); on tee boxes, you can sometimes be only a few feet away.

> *What did I just see? Luke Donald…he's got a Mizuno Headcover on his driver, but it's a Taylormade club? I mean, I'm pretty damn sure that's an R11 – Mizuno doesn't make a white driver anyway. Wow. Learn something new every day. […] (Notes from the 2011 HP Byron Nelson Championship, April 2011)*

This recollection from 2011 highlights the subtle deception extant in the relationship between professional golfers and equipment marketing, for example discrepancies between the headcover on a player's driver – i.e. what the equipment company might want you to believe they are using—and their actual club. Despite consumers being aware of these practices, and knowing that new equipment cannot physically be *that* much better than anything less than a few years' old[14], there is still a 'buzz' when new equipment comes out. Golfers continue to chase those 'small margins,' in search of equipment and brands that might positively influence performance.

Zach recognizes, critically, that brands are selling golfers products that may only offer small, marginal improvements at best and that manufacturers employ their touring professionals to 'push' products. However, despite being aware of these practices, they seem to have little impact on his consumption behaviour.

> *The current clubs I am using at the moment I went in with no preconceptions of what I was getting and I just said to [the professional] basically "let's just hit some and see what comes out." So, we tried everything and that was the best iron, well, it was between them or the Nike -- in fact the Nike was slightly better, the combos -- but-*
> *(Zach)*

[14] The R&A and the USGA imposed limits on certain tolerances for equipment in 1999, essentially creating maximum limits for variables in clubs. Thus, manufacturers can get creative with how they create clubs within these limits but there will never be anything that is significantly or wildly improved.

Was that the last iron that Nike made?
(Researcher)

...Yeah. […] Yeah. But I hit the [Nike] combo set and I hit them really good, but there wasn't much in it, and the Titleist was slightly behind them. Because of the branding, probably, in golf equipment Titleist have a ... basically all they make is golf gear, while Nike do everything don't they. […] They're all made abroad, in the Far East, erm, but the thing is what I think with the Titleist is that it's kind of a...the brand is kind of a, how can I put it, it's kind of an acceptable kind of level of equipment. I can't really describe what I mean...it means...it's just, it's top end stuff…you're getting a really good quality, erm, and because it's pushed through Tour Players as well -- and they're the ones that are getting paid [to play them] -- there is an influence in that.
(Zach, 2nd Interview, July 2018)

For all of the critical appreciation of branding illustrated before, Zach notes that he cannot overcome the fact that "Titleist" is a 'golf brand.' Significantly, Zach's discourse ties back into the need for materialistic validation (Holt, 1998; Bernthal et al., 2005); Zach needs the Titleist brand, and the marketplace myths associated with Titleist integrated into his identity to communicate his desired status in the field (Holt,2004; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). The Nike clubs were better, objectively, but he purchased the Titleist's because they communicate status as 'top end.' There is a distinctly counterproductive element in Zach's discourse, where he indicates that a substantial influence on his appreciation and interpretation of the Titleist brand (and other brands, for that matter) is from Tour players "getting paid to play them." In attempting to appropriate the Titleist brand myth into his identity to communicate status, Zach in fact contributes to the devaluing of the Titleist brand in the marketplace (Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Ironically, however, PGA Tour Professionals more often than not use custom clubs unavailable to amateur golfers; almost every single piece of equipment used on the PGA or European Tour player is purpose-built and tailored to suit a professional's needs. My brief experience as a full PGA EuroPro Tour player in 2019 provides some evidence of this—Mizuno custom-ground the soles on my irons and wedges to better work with my swing and tendencies, free of charge, when I ordered them. The process that even myself, as a 3rd tier professional golfer engaged with manufacturers in, is a level of access above the typical retail engagement. Therefore, the Titleist irons he bought over the Nike's are not, in fact, validated in the way that he believes they are.

Bradley similarly suffers a confliction in critical and referential appreciation for brands in the golf field. The sociocultural backgrounds of Zach and Bradley are different, one working-class and the other middle-class, and yet they both exhibit struggles to distance themselves from material necessity. When asked how important brands are, Bradley offers the following response.

> *It's not, at all...in terms of what I use, because my bag has a bit of everything in there. I've not got an allegiance to a brand, I don't...but there are certain things that I like more. I like Taylormade woods, but I don't think I would buy Taylormade irons because I just don't...like...I don't see them as much of an irons brand, you know? And...you know I've got a PING Anser putter, because I like the idea of putting with a PING Anser putter -- you know, it's old, it's traditional, it's...I've not got...I mean I've got a new version, but the idea of that was its the putter that everybody used to use, ... once upon a time people used to use. So the actual brand name itself, I've not got an allegiance to any brands, but I can see that people get seduced by them...in terms of wanting to have Titleist everything, or Taylormade everything, or Callaway everything...just because it's got a...you know and then having a Titleist bag, and having everything that's...I can see that happening. Having a Scotty Cameron putter just because it is a Scotty Cameron putter, not because it is the best putter for you.*
> *(Bradley, Interview, April 2017)*

Bradley displays an ignorance to his own submission to the powers of branding and material validation, out of sync with his sociocultural background. He states that he has no allegiance to any brand, implying that he would play whatever clubs work best for him; functional over material aesthetics (Holt, 1998). However, he then echoes the same materialistic sentiments on brand connotations as Zach; a contradiction that links to the discomfort and oscillation inherent in the middle-class habitus (Lahire, 2011). Where Zach could not purchase the Nike clubs because they aren't a 'golf brand,' Bradley states he'd never buy Taylormade irons because he doesn't 'see them as much of an irons brand, you know?' Ironic, then, that Tiger Woods—objectively the one of *the greatest iron players of all time* (PGA Tour Stats, 1997-2019)—uses Taylormade irons. Bradley then romanticises his use of the PING Anser putter, swayed by the objectified capital it represents, being the same model of putter that many famous golfers from the 70's, 80's, and 90's used, as communicated in 'it's the putter that everybody used to use.' He never defends his choice of the PING putter with any evidence that it is the best putter for him, leaving only the communication of a satisfaction from the material validation of the putter's symbolic capital. He then claims to understand how people can be "seduced" by brands, or having a Scotty Cameron because it is a Scotty Cameron. Bradley fails to realise that someone using clubs because they want to be associated with the brand may be no different to his own use of a PING because other famous players used it in the past, illustrating that perhaps HCC individuals in golf struggle the same as LCC individuals in overcoming the influence of brands.

9.5 Golf, Critically Demographic

Other significant nuances of critical and referential consumption in the field of golf manifest as

demographic variance; the experiences of players and consumers based on their gender and age, specifically. Gender and age play a leading role in shaping the corporeal and cognitive dispositions in the habitus and embodied cultural capital of the participants. The hegemonic masculinity of golf, and the historic marginalization of women in the sport, have led women to adapt their practices to overcome both cultural and physical barriers to consumption (McGinnis et al., 2005; Ceron-Anaya, 2010; Rankin et al., 2017). Age necessitates adjustments to the changing corporeal abilities of the consumer, but is not a core influence on structuring practice like gender nor is age a barrier to participation other than the gradual loss of bodily proficiency in performance. Other demographic factors, such as race, education, religion, income, or social background hold no bearing on *how* individuals play golf, though they might influence *where* individuals can play golf. Therefore, the chapter focuses on gender and age, exploring how gendered and aged practices manifest in the field structure of golf.

9.5.1 Gendered Practices

9.5.1.1 An Alternative Performance

During the fieldwork Hannah, Natalie, Monica, Brittany, and Denise specifically reference gendered aspects to their golf consumption. Being a woman in the field of golf has a real influence on their cognitive and corporeal consumption practices; from deliberately playing different types of shots on the course to their perception of their place in the field hierarchy. Hannah notes gendered consumption in golf, recalling her experience as a young woman learning the game from a former professional. She learned about being a woman in the heavily masculine world of golf.

> *Going to see her, and going to...every Thursday night, 6-7, I knew I had my lesson with her and I knew she was going to say this and that. Little things like "Oh I want to generate spin on my pitch shots -- last week John or James at junior coaching and he was getting spin with the ball...why can't I get spin with the ball?" (Hannah, March 2017)*

Early in the learning process, Hannah recognized there was something others were able to do that she wasn't—spin the golf ball. 'Spin' refers to the backspin rate of the golf ball as a result of the contact with the club during the motion of a shot, and being able to produce this on shots is a type of rite-of-passage ritual for aspirational players; one example of staged rituals in sports consumption that allow consumers to graduate from the neophyte (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Canniford and Shankar, 2013). Spin does serve a purpose in that it provides increased measures of control over short shots around the green, and therefore it only follows that Hannah would want to learn this practice. I recall my own search for 'spin,' culminating in hours and hours of

practice and work around the chipping green at my local course. Eventually one day, my pitch shots started spinning, and I am not convinced this is because I am a man—I am convinced this is from practice. In fact, my high school teammate's younger sister, now an LPGA Tour Professional who has played in two Solheim Cups[15], was easily spinning her pitch shots as a fourteen-year old junior golfer. Hannah faced an issue that she was told, and therefore believed, was gendered. We return to an excerpt examined in Chapter 6, but with a different view.

> *She would say to me, she would say..."Hannah, you're not physically strong enough to generate clubhead speed which needs to rotate the ball to create the spin." She would explain it to me, which I found really helpful. "You're not strong enough to generate the spin on the ball which can stop the ball on the green and get it to come back to you. Let's teach you another way of getting the ball to stop..." She taught me how to play a chip shot with the toe of the club, and I will never forget that. I now know how to play a chip shot with the toe of the club and it will literally travel as far as you want it to travel depending on how far you swing the club. I still use that shot to this day, and she taught me to play the game differently because I'm female. She taught me to accept the fact that sometimes when I go down to the golf club I will be the only girl -- that's ok. It shouldn't change your attitude when it comes to playing and shouldn't make you not want to play the game anymore.*
> *(Hannah, Interview, March 2017)*

Through collaboration with her coach, Hannah finds a solution to her issue with this particular expression of symbolic capital and rite-of-passage. Though the common outcome of this particular cultural ritual is a young player learning to spin and "check" their chip and pitch shots, Hannah discovered, through necessity and gender-based physical differences, an alternative method to achieve the same end result; control over her own game near the green. As she states, she needed to "play the game differently" because she's a woman. What is surprising is that by learning to use "toe of the club" for softer, more controlled pitch shots (as a substitute for spin), she acquired an even more difficult shot to execute than the standard low-check chip. Having learned the shot myself, it requires an increased level of both focus and skill given that the toe of the club is an even smaller target to match to the ball than the sweet spot. In doing so, not only did she learn how to accomplish the same end result as her male counterparts, she learned a valuable form of embodied capital that she carries with her still to this day. She ends her recollection with a confident admission, and the knowledge that sometimes she will be the only woman on the course; her acceptance and ownership of this a salient example of practices women

[15] The Solheim Cup is a biennial competition between the US and Europe, the same format as the Ryder Cup.

employ to overcome barriers to participation in the field of golf (McGinnis et al., 2005; Humphreys, 2011).

9.5.1.2 Feeling Like the Outsider

Brittany also refers to gendered consumption practices in the field of golf, though her reference speaks to motivations for initially learning the game. Brittany, unlike Hannah, however only identifies superficial disparities between men and women rather than digging into the more nuanced differences in corporeal and cognitive dispositions. Playing only occasionally, and with a much higher handicap than Hannah, Brittany's experience is unique amongst women in the study; golf is not even Brittany's favourite sport, whereas the other women are either Club Champion, County, or International players and competitors (sometimes all at once). Brittany therefore seems to lack the nuance from significant participation and experience in the field, making a shallow acknowledgement of the masculine, gendered nature of golf that stems from a lack of golfing capital (Humphreys, 2011).

> *I started after my mum was pestering me for like two years like "you should start golf. You should start golf!" For no other reason other than she thought it was a gap in the market I had to exploit, because as a girl I am generally quite strong -- stronger than my peers. There's not many girls involved in golf in general, so she was like "you're gonna boss this. It's for you." … I do definitely feel like that is the difference between me and most golf players. A) Female. Mostly! B) The fact that they all started with their fathers, when they were like 3 [years old]. You know? Like a classic setting.*
> *(Brittany, Interview, December 2016)*

In stating that she is different from most golfers because she is a woman, Brittany is factually and statistically correct; women of all ages make up only 15% of golfers in the U.K. (EnglandGolf, 2019). However, her being a woman is not what truly makes her different from most golfers. Brittany is not as invested in the field, nor does she personalize her consumption like Hannah or integrate golf into her identity like Natalie and Monica; her use of the term "golf players" rather than "golfers" intimates a distinct unfamiliarity with not only the terminology of the field but the field itself. Through use of this terminology, Brittany betrays her outsider status and reveals she is not "in the know" or familiar with the 'slang' of the culture (Thornton, 1996: 12). Conscious of the hegemonic undertone using the following words might have, Ian nevertheless helps illustrate this fundamental unfamiliarity.

> *You do not just 'play golf.' You are either a "golfer," or you are not.*
> *(Ian, Conversation before a UA Social, March 2017)*

Ian's statement is nod to authenticity and identity in consumption, particularly evident in subcultural consumption (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Thornton, 1996; Arsel and Thompson, 2011), sport consumption, and fandom (Holt, 1995; Hirt and Clarkson, 2011). Certainly, those who identify as golfers are indeed individuals that *play golf*, but to describe golfers as those who 'just play golf,' is to say that hardcore clubbers of the 1980's were simply individuals who "dance around their handbags" (Thornton, 1996: 99). This sentiment of Ian encapsulates the depth of subcultural participation—it is in being "a golfer," i.e. the internalization of shared beliefs, meanings, rituals, social practices, and status systems that subcultural communities of consumption are bound together (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Greyser, 2011; Guschwan, 2012; Haenfler, 2014). It is then not just the assertion of Ian, a man who expresses a complete visceral comfort with the culture and the habitus of golf in his bodily and verbal discourse while at UA, but Brittany's own words that communicate this unfamiliarity and distance to the field. She states that she only started playing golf because her mother convinced her she would succeed, easily, on her relative physical strength over her peers. This alone implies a misunderstanding of the field and the nature of corporeal dispositions and embodied capital; the delicacy and precision of movements and performances far outweighing any elements of strength beyond that necessary to physically swing a club. Later in the interview, Brittany further betrays her casual status in the field with the following exchange. I asked her what she felt was easiest about learning to play golf.

> *The fact that essentially the swing is supposed to be the same with all the clubs, and they just produce different things. So it's nice that you just, other than drives and stuff, it's nice that you more or less would just work in one thing and getting it is enough to master. It's nice that that is just the main idea!*
> *(Brittany)*
>
> *So, the technical aspect of learning to just swing a golf club for you was the easiest?*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *Yeah, I don't know what other parts there are really. What are the other parts?*
> *(Brittany)*
>
> *Well, there's a lot of social and cultural norms and expectations that go into-*
> *(Researcher)*
>
> *See, I feel like I am kind of exempt from that? Being a girl? So already being an anomaly in the system, so therefore I don't have that side.*
> *(Brittany, interview, December 2016)*

In the above exchange, Brittany provides evidence of her status as a neophyte in two ways. Firstly, she asserts a belief that the swing is supposed to be the 'same with all the clubs,' and that 'getting it is enough to master;' critically unaware of the nuances in body competence and body performance in the field discussed by others (Thornton, 1996) one must recognize before achieving status beyond that of a neophyte. Compare Brittany's discourse here to Natalie, from before in Chapter 8, where Natalie recognizes not only the differences in her own corporeal dispositions to perform and execute various golf shots, but exhibits a general recognition of the differences between others' physical movements in performing similar shots. Furthermore, Brittany believes that she is exempt from the "social and cultural norms"—the cognitive dispositions of the habitus—in being a woman. Conversely, other women actually note a need to exhibit heightened attention and mastery over the cultural and social norms of golf to both overcome extant cultural barriers to their participation and deny chauvinistic members of golf clubs ammunition for further discrimination against their female counterparts (McGinnis et al., 2005; Humphreys, 2011; Ceron-Anaya, 2018). However, Brittany's dismissal of these cultural and social rules perhaps originates from an introduction to the game by another outsider, i.e. her mother. Brittany's mother created unrealistic consumption expectations, telling her she would 'boss' golf, rather than preparing Brittany for golf's steep learning curve and providing her with the soft skills and emotional capital necessary to navigate it. Therefore, Brittany approaches the field of golf in a discordant manner with others, like Hannah and Dylan, who are acutely aware of the 'graft' and hard-work necessary for body competence, body performance, and fluency in the field's social and cultural norms. Finally, there is an abject failure on behalf of the golf club where she plays and their women's section to integrate and encourage young women in the game, causing her to state that she 'can't really fit in' below.

> *I'm already different, so I can't really fit it. So it's just like... […] Then, the other people at my club are older? There are women, but everyone is from 50-70. [Being] 18 is like - "hey, what are you doing here?" Just like strange that there aren't young women involved, I guess the guys are all just playing with the other guys and there's not many other females. I didn't really care, to be honest.*
> *(Brittany, interview, December 2016)*

Brittany feels as though she can't fit in because she has discarded the social and cultural elements of golf, rejecting the women who *are* there for their demographic demarcation to herself and blaming the gendered discrepancy in participation for her withdrawal. By comparison, Natalie, Hannah, and Monica—in addition to most of the men in the study—discuss at length the rich, rewarding social and communal aspects of their golf consumption. The other women in this study,

other than Natalie, were socialized into golf by their families; Hannah with her mother, sister, and father, and Monica with her husband. Familial introductions play significant roles in their ability to accept and integrate golf into their identities and lifeworlds, as they would have likely adopted some of the preferences and dispositions of those socializing them into the field (Farrell et al., 2011), whereas Brittany did not have a familial insider to socialize her into golf. Brittany had a mother, unfamiliar herself with the field of golf, encouraging her daughter to exploit the gender vacuum of golf and resulting in only a critical inability to understand and distance from the field.

Additionally, Brittany's discourse and experience with golf in general is at odds with the expected behaviours and consumption patterns of an individual with such a high amount of traditional cultural capital—both in more ubiquitous cultural fields and in sport (Bourdieu, 1984; Warde, 2006; Prieur and Savage, 2011). One might expect her consumption patterns and dispositions to include elements of self-actualisation, formal aesthetics, cosmopolitanism, along with a critical appreciation of cultural aspects in the field (Holt, 1998). Interestingly, Brittany's consumption of and experiences in golf mirrors that of working and lower-class students' experiences and attitudes in education (Allen, 2002); she dismisses the opportunities and culture of the field as "not for her" because finds her expectations of and socialization into golf incongruent with the sociocultural framework she encountered. Further, a dismissal of the demographic variance in the field is incongruous with other respondents' who credit those social settings in developing their cultural and social skills and resources.

9.5.1.3 A Mother's Guilt

While Hannah reflects on gendered practice and performance in golf habitus and embodied capital, and Brittany reflects on her inability to integrate the field and the overwhelming masculinity in golf, Monica reflects on an entirely different gendered nuance. At one point during her interview, she was asked what she felt had hindered her performance in the field of golf; her response adds tremendous depth to the cultural and social barriers women must overcome or deal with in not only their golf consumption (McGinnis et al., 2005), but their consumption of sport (Skeggs, 2004; Farrell et al., 2011; Hoeber and Kerwin, 2013).

> *My biggest obstacle has been -- it isn't as much now, but it is still there. My kids are 23 and 25. Guilt. Guilt that I do come and play golf and I am away from home. So that if either of the kids just happen to come in from work, or well it was school but now work, and I'm not there. Or...and they may only be in for 10 minutes, but if I haven't seen them, I haven't been the mam just sitting at home waiting for them to come in. Do they want something to eat? Where's mam? She's on the*

> *golf course. She's on the golf course. That's guilt. I probably won't ever get away from that, until they've both fled and they've got their own lives. Which they have, now, but that was the biggest thing that got me. If I didn't have anything like that I maybe would have put more time and effort into it. Even still now, the girls will say "are you playing golf on Saturday?" "No, our Ben's off work on Saturday so I'll just be at home."*
> *(Monica, Interview, March 2017)*

Monica's depiction of the guilt suffered by herself, a mother, during her pursuit of golf represents a poignant reflection on gendered consumption in golf and sport. Besides an illustration of gendered dispositions, this form of guilt differs from the interpersonal guilt (Dahl et al., 2003) discussed in section 8.4.1, and stems partially from the hegemonic roles and expectations cast upon women who engage in sport (Skeggs, 2004; Katz-Gerro and Sullivan, 2004; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2012). Monica's guilt is from being unable to live up to this extant maternal stereotype (Reay, 2015), believing that she may have disappointed her children in not being the 'mam just sitting at home waiting for them to come in.' She wonders if she will ever overcome this guilt, which is evidence of the power that extant gender structures in sport carry and the need for women to be socially 'allowed' to consume sport (Koivula, 1995; Skeggs, 2004). The weight of this guilt on Monica is evident in her repetition of 'she's on the golf course,' almost as if repeating the phrase is a self-inflicted punishment; reminding herself, again, that she was "away" pursuing her own needs rather than catering to her children. Similar paternal stereotypes and expectations of sacrifice do not generally exist in popular culture (Skeggs, 2004), and furthermore as increases in gender equality tear down archaic patriarchal familial roles it becomes clear that Monica's generation still abides those stereotypes. Stay-at-home fathers experience similar constrictions on consumption in their free time (Coskuner-Balli and Thomspon, 2012), but without the narrative of guilt when these expectations are broken.

> *When I first met [my husband], my parents knew of [him] before I did. First thing my mom said to me what "Don't want to be with [him]! You'll be a golf widow." That was the phrase used then, because Ian played a lot of golf before I met him. That was the first thing she said to me "you'll become a golf widow and it won't work." Obviously, because of golf -- and she couldn't have been further from the truth -- because of golf it's now the biggest part of our lives.*
> *(Monica, Interview, March 2017)*

Not only, then, is the mother's guilt evidence of extant gendered differences in the cognitive dispositions in golf habitus but also that gendered stereotypes still interfere with women's ability to consume golf freely. There was no shame, guilt, or pressure on her husband to conform to any parental or leisure constrictions; confirmation that participation in sports is generally more

acceptable for men (Koivula, 1995; Skeggs, 2004). The only responsibility apparent above was for Monica to be aware that her future husband played golf; no pressure whatsoever for the man to curb his consumption to accommodate a relationship, only for the woman to accept her role as a 'golf widow.' The meaning for transference, here, is that having cast off *some* measure of the hegemonic stereotypes in the field of golf, then women are able to cast them off and consume in other fields on an incrementally more equal footing; consuming more confidently and participating in rebellion of the historically extant institutionalized power relations between men and women (McGinnis et al., 2005; Jun and Kyle, 2012; Agarwal et al., 2016).

9.5.1.4 Age

In other critical reflection, older participants in the study appreciate the role that their age plays in structuring their consumption of golf and performance of the habitus. Howard and Natalie both detail the impact that age has on their consumption and participation in golf, both currently and looming in the future. Their accounts of this influence delineate between both the effects on their own games, and their view of age on the performances of others.

> *I was fairway with a driver, fairway with a 3 wood, fairway with a 3 wood just pitched on the apron -- just got up. Two putt 5, walk on. I'm hitting it, because I am swinging it slower. I would never take a 3 wood on the 5th or the 12th, it was usually a 3 iron. Or a hybrid, when they came out. I hit...the hybrid to about 8 feet on the 5th yesterday. I was hitting a 5 iron on the 8th, 4 iron on the 10th, so I'm struggling for length really. You lose your clubhead speed…*
> *(Howard, 2nd Interview, September 2018)*

> *…I just think -- when you're younger, you don't even think about it. You don't realise sometimes that it is a problem until you have this bad patch, and I think because of years ago when I suffered badly from the yips that really brought it home to me that there was a lot more in here (points to her head) connected with it. That's what I had to address. I think the process, of overcoming it, is very similar. I just think as you get older some people can't overcome it, because they just...they just accept....it's something that comes, and I refuse...I refuse to accept it even though you battle it all the time sometimes. Well, not all the time, but a lot of the time.*
> *(Natalie, 2nd Interview, September 2018)*

Both Howard and Natalie details ways in which age acts as a determinant on their consumption practices in the field of golf; distance and nerve, respectively. Howard had just explained how he purchases new clubs every five years, like clockwork, admitting that he has always been a "poor wood player." He delightfully recalls how he plays the 2nd hole at Club B, the night before our conversation, into a strong wind and securing a par. Yet, this recollection leads to reminiscence

on how he *used* to play, and how much physical power he has lost as he grows older— "struggling for length." This small admission is significant for a man of such stature as Howard, especially at Club B; a rare guard-down moment for a man tasked with being a former Club Captain, County Golf Captain, District Judge, and County Golf Executive all at the same time. He exudes a vulnerability not evident in much HCC behaviour (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; Üstüner and Thompson, 2010).

Natalie, likewise, reflects on the corporeal changes to her embodied capital and performance in golf brought about by age. For Natalie, however, these issues are not distance-related; another critical manifestation of gendered practice in the field. The distance that an individual, specifically a man, can hit a golf ball has considerable overtones of masculinity—a rare microcosm of competition in other more physical sports, where brute strength and aggression can suffice (Stempel, 2005; Stempel, 2006) and therefore offer men without the knowledge, discipline, or embodied capital to *score* (i.e. record low scores on the golf course) a mechanism to assert themselves in the field hierarchy. Instead, Natalie laments her loss of disciplined 'nerve' on short putts, a source of frustration and embarrassment from the disproportionate importance of putting on a player's score (as discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 8). She battled the yips[16] years ago, and refused to let such a disastrous affliction wield power over her. The field understands the yips to be age and pressure related, mostly coming to older golfers, and as Natalie states many simply accept it; she likens the yips to a loss of 'touch' with age. Howard, similarly, likens the loss of distance with age rather than any acknowledged reduction in masculinity.

> *…I think as you get older as well you know where your weaknesses are because you lose that little bit of nerve sometimes. So your chipping might be affected more, or your, erm, you know you might...the little short putts might be a fear. It is something that comes, with age. You do lose it -- there's no doubt about it. It's something that you, once you acknowledge it, then you can work harder on it to try and deal with it and try to work out little things that would help you…*
> *(Natalie, 2nd Interview, September 2018)*

> *…the lad I won all these competitions with [motions behind to the boards on the wall], Eddie Herring, is now...Parkinson's, dementia, plays 8 holes in the buggy with [friends]. And, I put...he would never keep a score, he just pats it round. You know? Ten years ago, he was as competitive as anybody. So, rather than criticise anybody for their reduction in talent or stamina or whatever else...because it comes to us all eventually.*

[16] The Yips are a phenomenon in golf where a player loses control over fine motor motions under pressure, and can feel their hands twitch or jerk during small motions. It is not ideal for putting, having ended the careers of many professional and amateur golfers alike.

(Howard, 2nd Interview, September 2018)

Both of these individuals critically interpret the influence of age on their consumption, though these excerpts illustrate the differing perspectives taken in their interpretation. Natalie portrays herself in a fight against the forces of ageing, noting that "once you acknowledge it, then you can work harder to try and deal with it." Natalie's fight against age in her golf is not entirely dissimilar to the fight of other women against stereotypes, hegemonic masculinity, and chauvinism in golf (McGinnis et al., 2005)—a woman must recognize factors working against her consumption before she can tackle them, or "work harder to try and deal with it." Howard makes efforts to soften the negative and emasculating connotation that a reduction in physical ability, i.e. clubhead speed, bring; he mentions combating these forces through equipment updates, though his dialogue serves more to rationalise and remove personal culpability in whatever effects these may be, stating ominously that "it comes to us all eventually."

9.6 Critical Consumption and Reflexivity in Transference

The critical, interpretive, and reflexive capacities in individuals' consumption in the field of golf provide a grounding, or connection, to the field itself; permitting not only a more fluent display and ownership of the habitus but an ability to appreciate social positioning and how to improve it. Consumers who are able to critically interpret the field are therefore able to decide and determine how, when, and where best to act in order to achieve their goals. The first example of critical consumption is the delineation between hitting the golf ball and *playing* golf, and importantly recognizing that these are not the same objective entities in the field structure of golf. Being able to hit a golf ball is necessary to play golf, but *playing* well requires so much more than hitting the ball; evidenced by Dylan, Natalie, and my old college teammate. A narrow focus on being only able to hit aesthetically beautiful shots, which they truly were, rather than functional shots meant that VA effectively ignored other aspects of playing the game such as course management, shot *selection* (example discussed by Hannah in Chapter 6), and most importantly the knowledge of what discerns *functionally* aesthetic shots from *materialistically* aesthetic golf shots. Hannah displays a critical appreciation for this nuance in how she depicts, in Chapter 6, the need to play the ball along the ground in the wind. Natalie communicates this necessary sentiment, where she describes identifying areas for improvement.

I think trying to get them to be a bit more constructive when they did practice to try and find out what areas of their game they find the hardest, but that's […]

> *common nature, isn't it? Everyone likes to do what they are good at? Rather than practice what you are bad at. I think that all came out from golf, to think "well...you're good at that. Leave that alone for a little bit let's work on some things that you're not so good at."*
> *(Natalie, 2nd Interview, September 2018)*

Therefore, a critical disposition to consumption in the field of golf provides a mechanism of transference into other endeavours by recognition of elements of cognitive and corporeal dispositions that inhibit or prevent reaching goals or status. Examples of referential, non-critical consumption in golf usually involve branding and equipment—evidenced by Zach, Bradley, and even myself. We acknowledge and recognise that certain clubs and equipment might perform worse than others for our own golf games, but still purchase and use the brands that communicate the symbolic capital we desire; Zach needing to integrate the status of Titleist, Bradley needing to integrate the history of PING, and myself needing to integrate the skill of Mizuno. There is some need to incorporate the myths of Ttitleist, Mizuno, and PING into our identities—despite the act of appropriating these myths as part of the devaluing process (Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Despite being generally high cultural capital individuals, Bradley and I still exhibit crucially referential purchase and consumption behaviour, perhaps then we are not field-HCC individuals. Still, a critical appreciation for the power of brands and symbolic integration in sport (Holt, 1995) helps individuals identify these relationships in other, extraneous fields, even if we don't necessarily act in ways that validate our critical dispositions.

> *…nothing is going to make you better. If you've got £2000, say you've got £2000 to spend on golf...you want new gear and all the rest of it, but your miles better putting all that money into lessons and coaching and just getting a secondhand set of irons off eBay or somewhere...as long as the shafts aren't horrendous, and somewhere near [what the player needs]. But we don't want that! Everybody wants a quick fix...the thing is it's like anything you get in life, to be accomplished at a lot of things you've got to be committed. If you want to be muscular and ripped, there's no pill you can take -- you've gotta do the graft. You've got to eat right, and it takes months and years to get in shape. Everyone wants it yesterday, but there's a lot of things you can't get yesterday. You've gotta just go through the grind.*
> *(Zach, 2nd Interview, July 2018)*

Zach's discourse here shows that, even as a typically 'LCC' individual (based on the formula introduced by Holt, 1998), he communicates an aspirational attitude towards improvement and status in the field—augmenting corporeal dispositions and embodied capital through lessons, and efforts to acquire embodied capital, rather than buying new clubs. That he draws the link between the "quick fix" and physically getting "in shape," which takes "years," illustrates a critical

appreciation that LCCs in other fields, such as the new-money Turkish consumers of Üstüner and Thompson (2010) do not. Therefore, just as one learns to transfer cognitive and corporeal dispositions through communication, patience, discipline, and ascetic practice, one can transfer a critical approach to consumption taught by golf. Kevin adds to this narrative as well, illustrating a critical appreciation of consumption in golf against a backdrop of immediate gratification in modern society (Bauman, 2010).

> *He has this idea that there is a game out there...there's a tip, there's a trick...there's something that he doesn't quite get yet -- but he will get, eventually -- that will produce something tour-pro level. Doesn't work that way.*
> *(Kevin, 2nd Interview, July 2018)*

Kevin displays a critical view of golf that a deep, intimate familiarity with the field can provide. As a scratch handicap, Kevin is wary of quick-fixes and shortcuts in the process for improvement and the nature of changing corporeal and cognitive elements of the habitus for performance. However, I found myself as an aspiring golfer engaging in similar practices with learning to spin the ball, wherein I continued to hope I would stumble upon some miracle. In hindsight, I was in fact putting significant work into developing my corporeal dispositions and embodied capital which in turn produced that particular skill. Furthermore, the reflexivity of consumption practices in golf with regards to critical and gendered consumption practices help individuals understand how their dispositions influence their place in the field. Given the cognitive habitus, and etiquette in particular, shapes the structure of golf to mirror the early 20th Century bourgeois and elite, this reflexivity should help consumers recognise and navigate the power structures extant in other exclusive consumption fields; better equipping them to both subvert and overcome barriers to entry and participation, along with facilitating, as Denise notes (Chapter 7), expedited conceptualization of the normative rules governing the field. When Hannah discusses how she had to change the structure and performance of her embodied subcultural capital with the toe-chip, she reflexively works to overcome the physical barrier to higher status and continue to pursue improved formal and functional approaches to practice. When Natalie discusses how age affects her putting, she reflexively works to overcome the yips and combat the deterioration of her physical skills and nerve.

Chapter 10: Discussion and a Metaphor for Mechanisms of Transference

10.1 Introduction

The previous four analysis chapters offered a primary investigation into what the mechanisms of transference are and how they work to enable consumers and participants in the field of golf to utilize their cultural and subcultural capital, cognitive dispositions, and corporeal dispositions in other fields. Three key mechanisms have been identified and explored: (1) *communication*, where individuals use the cognitive dispositions of golf to find 'common ground' with a diversity of individuals, beyond the obvious linkage of golf, and demonstrate a proficiency in identifying homology between themselves and their world around them; (2) *disciplined, patient, and ascetic* practices in the field of golf where consumers disengage with the desire for instant gratification, working to practice and consume golf in more self-actualising and idealistic manners to achieve status in the field; (3) *critical interactions and readings of the field and its structure*: in a way that indicates an appreciation the consumption practices and dispositions that work to place individuals in the field, understanding if these practices fulfil their purpose in communicating status in line with their cultural capital resources and their subsequent abilities to influence that status (Atkinson, 2010). These practices help individuals place themselves in the field, understanding their position and how then to change it; the "ability to actively think and choose how to live, what to value and what to become" (Atkinson, 2010: 2). When combined, these mechanisms of transference permit heightened levels of performance, participation, and consumption in the collection of fields constituting a consumer's lived reality.

10.2 Defining 'Mechanism'

The chapter first offers a definition of *mechanism,* a term widely used throughout this thesis and the cultural capital literature as well—though like consumption, it is rarely explicitly conceptualised. A mechanism can be defined in two stages as "a piece of machinery" or "a set of moving parts in a machine that performs a task," serving as "a process, technique, or system for achieving a result" or "a method or system for achieving something" (Merriam-Webster, 2020; Oxford, 2020). Concisely then, a mechanism is a system of moving parts with a purpose. Additionally, the term *mechanism* is quite appropriate for describing sociocultural phenomena with regards to cultural capital, distinction, and consumption. Holt (1998: 3) notes that "competition for various types of cultural capital in social fields" is "a generative mechanism" for social organisation, where "formal education [has] replaced the old mechanism of direct inheritance" (DiMaggio and Mukhtar, 2004:170) and knowledge is now "a differentiating mechanism in modern society" (Kraaycamp and van Eijck, 2010: 216). Thus, the term *mechanism* is fitting for a discussion of emerging nuances regarding distinction in the sociocultural spaces.

10.3 Metaphor as a Vehicle

This chapter looks to make sense of these mechanisms, and how they work in harmony to transfer capital, through the development of a metaphor. Metaphor is an appropriate vehicle for making sense of more abstract phenomena through concepts with which we are familiar (Spiggle, 1994); a technique used frequently in business and management, particularly with organisational studies (e.g. Keidel, 1984; 1987; Weick, 2003; Abel and Sementelli, 2005). The potency of metaphors comes from the power of taking complicated, abstract concepts "out of context" and laying them over simplified backdrops with which viewers, readers, and participants may be more familiar (Weick, 2003). This approach has shown to enhance understanding, communication, and creativity in the workplace (Morgan, 1986). Business, management, and organisational studies often use sport as this backdrop; flooding the business world with notions of "teamwork," "competition," and "winning" (Katz, 2001). For example, Keidel (1984; 1987) equates the sports of baseball, american football, and basketball to various organisational structures along the dyadic individual-collective dynamic. The metaphor of sports, for example, creates a "symbolic reality" which facilitates the internalisation of more complex ideas in business organisation and management (Abel and Sementelli, 2005). In creating these symbolic realities, however, metaphor has the ability to transcend cultures—going beyond simply organisational relationships and linking people in time and space (i.e. broader sociocultural spaces) (Jung, 1964).

To this point, the thesis has provided a detailed understanding of the field of golf even for those previously unfamiliar with it; thus, I have settled on the metaphor of a golfer playing their own unique golf course. I have considered other metaphors through which to make sense of this phenomena, namely a car's powertrain and a golf swing, neither of which fully captured the phenomenon of how cultural capital can be transferred from one field to another. In the first, the various parts of the car powertrain actually provided meaningful representation of the basic parts forming these mechanisms. Cultural capital served as the engine of the car, given that cultural capital provides the "power" for individuals to participate in markets (Prieur et al., 2008). Communication skills worked to meaningfully translate that power with respect to field structures. Discipline, patience, and asceticism work to control and deliver that translation of power in to the wheels. Critical interactions and readings in the field connect the car to the road, acting as the habitus and field network of individuals, interpreting direction and guiding the consumer on their consumption journeys. The metaphor of the golf swing, conversely, was broken down into three parts; the physical positions of the swing, the rhythm, and impact (as discussed in Chapter 6).

Discipline, patience, and asceticism worked to place the club into various positions during the swing. Communication skills worked to control the tempo and rhythm of the swing to ensure positions were not lost or delivered out of sync. Critical interactions and readings governed the impact position, where the golfer would know if their metaphorical swing was going to produce a metaphorical shot representative of their capital resources.

While these two metaphors might have worked at a basic level, they failed to serve as appropriate metaphors for two reasons. Firstly, neither metaphor suitably accounted for the nature of habitus as a *set* or *bundle* of dispositions, interrelated with embodied cultural capital, from which individuals choose, as explicitly articulated by Cornelissen (2016) but also implicitly in the work of Bourdieu (1984), Holt (1998), Edgerton and Robertson (2014). The metaphor of the road did not work, as it was one large connected network rather than a collection of interlinked cultural spaces that represent the clustering of subcultures and cultural fields we participate in (Solomon, 2004). The golf swing also did not quite work as a metaphor, as the degree to which the mechanics of the motion to be broken down to account for cultural capital, habitus, communication, discipline, patience, asceticism, critical interactions and readings, would have been obfuscating at best. Furthermore, as I argued in Chapter 6, that many of the positions in the golf swing are fluid and not overly determinant of the outcome of any particular shot; even the impact position, in isolation, which is considered to be the only position of true significance, is tremendously difficult to interpret correctly as a player—I have hit thousands of shots that *felt* perfect only to fly awry. Therefore, the metaphor would have been left arguing for certain positions that do not have any grounding in the *actual* practice of playing golf which would have been not only a poor, but entirely dishonest, representation of the swing as a metaphor; even the best players in the world can rarely diagnose their own swing faults without the help of a coach. Beyond those issues, Holt (1998: 4) notes that consumers' actions within a field constitute "micro-political acts of status claiming." Neither driving a car, nor swinging a golf club, constitute acts that one can easily delineate as separate instances of status claiming.

This thesis therefore uses the metaphor of a golfer playing a golf course to conceptualise these mechanisms of transference; the consumer is the golfer, each shot they play is an act of status assertion in a field (Holt, 1998), their swing is their cultural and subcultural capital, their golf clubs are their habitus. Communication, discipline, patience, asceticism, and critical interactions manifest in more subtle and nuanced manners; the grip, course-management, and shot-selection respectively. How successfully they navigate their way around the course then affirms or

relegates their status, as their score either reflects their handicap (institutionalised capital) or betrays it. The chapter now discusses these elements in more detail, using the platform of the metaphor to relate findings back to the literature.

10.4 The Metaphorical Golf Course

The chapter first outlines the metaphorical golf course and how using the structure of a golf course permits an appropriate conceptualisation of consumers' composition of cultural and subcultural fields (Solomon, 2004). These metaphorical golf courses are not structured around the normative eighteen-hole layouts, but rather composed of the cultural and subcultural fields in which the consumer participates. Some golf courses, then, will have more holes than others, just as some courses will be significantly harder and more difficult to play; the physical and structural characteristics of these courses will depend on the social rules and customs governing each field (Anheier et al., 1995; Tapp and Warren, 2010; McAlexander et al., 2014). Many courses will have a mixture of easy holes, difficult holes, and holes of somewhere in between—dependent entirely on the ability of the golfer to interpret and understand the rules of the field, or *how the hole is asking to be played.* I use the experience of playing mini-golf to capture this sentiment.

> *I want to make a clear note of how difficult I actually find crazy golf[…]It is golf (well, putting…It's putting), but not really. You can bounce the ball off of walls and logs and whatever is there—no penalty—and sometimes there's a distinct advantage in being able, mentally, to just hit it as hard as possible; given that you are putting on artificial greens usually laid over poured concrete there is little rhyme or reason resembling putting on an actual golf course. I'll bend down to read a putt, conscious of how ridiculous I look, and then the ball just gives me the finger and does its own thing. Infuriating. About the only advantage I have in crazy golf is that I have a good putting technique and can at least hit the ball where I want to—even if that target is nowhere near where it actually should be. Crazy Golf is foreign to me…a tremendous amount of fun, but very foreign. Mostly, I think I struggle being able to play crazy golf as it is intended, rather than treating it as a microcosm of golf and, essentially, a miniature golf course proper. I'm not even sure I know how crazy golf* ***should*** *be played, given my extensive socialization into competitive full-size golf.*
> *(Autoethnography, Section 7.6)*

I invoke the mini-golf experience to illustrate the role that habitus and embodied cultural capital play in framing the perception of the field. I know I can definitely still play mini-golf, even to a high level, but I genuinely find it difficult because of the discordance between my expectations for the ball and the reality of its movement. The salience from this point is that my wife Amanda finds mini-golf substantially easier to consume, participate in, and *enjoy* than championship golf, as her set of habitual dispositions and capital resources are different to mine. In the same way, being an

equestrian, my wife finds riding horses far more enjoyable, and significantly less terrifying, than I do. Our behavioural sensibilities, patterns of thought, internalized attitudes and naturalized preferences for distinction vary enough to significantly frame our perception of the field in disparate ways (Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013; Husu, 2013; Arsel and Bean, 2013).

The golf course also works to represent inter-field homologies. The structural commonalities and valuation systems between cultural and subcultural fields give habitus and embodied cultural capital their purchase. Likewise, the golf course will have consistent design elements throughout, providing a linkage between the holes that works to create an overarching theme. Links courses look like links courses, and parkland courses look like parkland courses. Rarely, if ever, do you find golf courses with both links and parkland elements because of the incompatibility of play styles requires to navigate their respective features. Thus, the homology between holes represents the homology between fields making up a consumer's cultural and subcultural composition, allowing for the transfer of habitus and capital into fields with similar structural valuations (Solomon, 2004; Desmond, 2006).

10.5 The Golfer

Consumers, then, are the golfers on these metaphorical courses. Individuals vary in compositions of cultural capital (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998), dispositional elements of their habitus (e.g. Desmond, 2006; Cornelissen, 2016), and consumption goals and motives (e.g. McDonald et al., 2002; Chadborn et al., 2017); golfers likewise vary in their swings, clubs, course-management, expectations, and consumption desires. This section works to illustrate the consumer as golfer metaphor, starting with the swing as cultural and subcultural capital.

10.5.1 Cultural Capital as the Golf Swing

The golf swing is a beautiful metaphor for cultural and subcultural capital with regards to mechanisms of transference, drawing on the discussion of the golf swing from Chapter 6 (6.4.2.1). Golfers are not born with great golf swings, though they might be naturally endowed with athletic talent and corporeal dispositions just as individuals with high levels of cultural or subcultural capital are born into advantageous homes (Hieronymous, 1951; Bourdieu, 1984; Fiske, 1989). A golfer born with talent, socialised into the game by an individual with high amounts of golfing capital, is more likely to develop a textbook swing; advantageous physical dispositions that facilitate a high level of participation and status (Edgerton and Robertson, 2014). The game becomes easier for them, as they mostly just need to learn how to play the course rather than

also swing the club, just as students from upper-class backgrounds did not have to learn the culture of the classroom in addition to the material being taught (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

The swing can be broken down into distinct elements coalescing into one fluid motion—the backswing, the transition, the downswing, impact, and the finish. The individual elements of the swing tolerate an incredible variety and personalisation, dependent on both how golfers are physically able to swing the club and the reasons for swinging it a particular way; shaping shots, consistency, accuracy, or power. Golfers that want to play fades (described in footnote of 9.3), associated with control and accuracy, will have different swings to golfers that want to play draws, a shape associated with perfection and power. Tiger Woods played a fade in his prime, as did Jack Nicklaus. These two players are widely regarded in the golf culture as the best players who ever lived for their respective generations; Tiger has now tied Sam Snead for the most PGA Tour wins at 82, and Jack Nicklaus owns the most major championship victories at 18. Yet, for whatever reason, a draw is the most desired shape amongst amateur players—evidenced by Dylan's statement of the 'perfect' shot being "a wee draw." These shapes require the club to be in different positions to attain the correct impact conditions to produce these shot shapes. This brief discussion of shapes is relevant to the metaphor because golf holes are designed with curvature and hazards to negotiate; sometimes being able to hit a draw means one can get further down the hole, or that a fade makes keeping the ball in 'the fairway' easier. For example, I recently switched coaches and since play a fade—I can have difficulty playing holes that curve to the left, but I can still play them. Sometimes, however, the shape of a hole will cause me to try to use a swing with which I am not comfortable, upon which I must decide to play the hole according to my habitus in a comfortable manner even though I might stifle my opportunities (Allen, 2002) or to challenge the hole and embrace a swing I am not comfortable with for the potential opportunity to score better (Hill and Lai, 2016). Thus, for the metaphor, shot shapes and the swings needed to produce them directly relate to the micro-political interactions of status assertion in the field (Holt, 1998).

10.5.2 Habitus as Clubs

Once on a course, and having acquired a swing, in order to hit the metaphorical golf ball a golfer needs clubs. The clubs transfer the motion of the swing into the golf ball, therefore helping the golfer's cultural capital achieve its power for enacting consumption practice (Prieur et al., 2011). There are different types of golf clubs, all designed to do different things; drivers launch the ball from the teeing ground, irons offer controlled approaches into the greens, wedges provide soft

touch on shots around the greens, and putters roll the ball into the hole across the green. Though the Rules of Golf (Rule 4.1-b, R&A, 2019) dictate a player may only carry fourteen clubs in their bag, our metaphorical bag has no limit on the number of clubs a player can carry because these clubs work as a collective bundle of dispositions players call upon to execute certain interactions in the field (Cornelissen, 2016). The swing and the clubs are interrelated, as mentioned earlier in 10.1, just as embodied cultural capital and habitus can often be two-sides of the same coin (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014). Using the clubs as a metaphor for habitus is appropriate, however, given that cultural capital is frequently expressed through, but also shapes, the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984); therefore, the swing expresses itself through the club, which then hits the ball in an assertion of status. Critically, the clubs of a player must fit their physical dispositions and tendencies, otherwise there is an extant incongruity between what the swing tells the ball to do and what the club communicates.

10.5.3 The Grip

Recognising that the swing and the clubs are interrelated, as embodied cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; Edgerton and Roberts, 2014), the first mechanism of transference comes into play; communication skills and cognitive dispositions as the player's grip. The grip serves as the connection between a golfer and the club, the single point of contact through which the swing can actually influence the golf ball. Well-developed communication skills and cognitive dispositions, especially with exposure to a variety of individuals, facilitates the accurate expression of status through habitus guided by cultural capital. After all, it is the generational dissemination of cultural capital between parents and their children (Bourdieu, 1984; Prieur and Savage, 2011), or elder subcultural members to neophytes (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Canniford and Shankar, 2013) that performs the cyclical reinforcement of status structures. Advanced, field-appropriate communication skills then allow the expression of cultural capital and habitus. A fundamentally sound or 'textbook' grip allows the club to swing and the body to move in the manner most beneficial to producing great golf shots, acting only in the capacity to allow the swing to express itself through the ball flight freely.

> *Personally, I think you've got to be able to communicate with people – you've gotta meet people, you've gotta talk to people, you've gotta communicate with people. That's one thing people need to have, communication skills.*
> *(Thomas, Interview, June 2018)*

Participants in the research, such as Thomas above, note the importance that *being able to communicate* plays in their consumption of golf. Furthermore, participants like Denise and Xavier

note the reliability of their communication skills from golf in navigating sometimes uncomfortable power constructs in other fields; illustrating that a good grip can help encourage more consistent performance, because the player can then trust their swing and their habitus to send the ball where they need to. However, recent developments in golf instruction and the movement away from many concepts once thought to be "perfect" or "textbook" now implies that a player's grip, like their clubs, must match their swing and thus what they desire from their golf game. The ways in which they want to play the game, then, determines what grips should be used. Improper or inefficient grips inhibit the swing from reaching its potential, in addition to creating a host of their own problems that manipulate the club and reverberate back into the swing itself. The best swing in the world can be rendered almost useless by a bad grip, much in the way that being unable to communicate effectively can render a substantial amount of cultural capital powerless.

10.5.4 Course-Management and Critical Decision-Making

Now that the metaphorical golfer has a swing, clubs, and a grip to hold them, they must decide how to play each hole to best achieve their goals, assert their status, and record a score. This score would be in line with the guarantees of a player's handicap, i.e. their institutionalized cultural and subcultural capital in the field, or even transcend it in order to attain new status. Scores that do not align with these measures of capital then reflect a status incongruity and golfers risk losing their handicaps. Discipline, patience, and ascetic practices then help players decide how to play these courses; understanding what clubs to hit, how and when to shape the ball, and whether to play aggressively or conservatively as they navigate each interaction on the course. The anecdotes, excerpts, notes, journals, and vignettes from the analysis chapters discussing patience, discipline, and ascetic practices in golf illustrate a stabilizing, connective set of dispositions that helps keep consumers grounded in their pursuits of consumption objectives and social status. For example, many participants note the importance of discipline as time management and punctuality in golf, relating that directly to the field of education (e.g. Dylan, Hannah, and Thad) and work (e.g. Thomas, Todd, and Howard); being late or failing to prepare for an assignment akin to choosing the wrong club or the wrong shot., with sometimes disastrous status consequences for individuals.

Critical consumption and reflexivity manifest in this metaphor beyond the shot-selection and execution elements of course-management, where golfers have to contemplate if what they have chosen is correct based on their location in the field and their aspirations. Therefore, a golfer may choose a different shot entirely if they have a large lead and find themselves in trouble on the

final hole.

> *The first three days were various degrees of crap, but this final round was something else. I played exceptional golf, and to be honest I really deserved to be about five or six under; instead, I was only three because I kept lipping putts out. Frustrating. Coming down the stretch, however, I began to get a bit shaky. I knew I had played my way into the lead for the Order of Merit (the lead for the tournament itself was well beyond the reach of any mortal man at this point), and standing on the tee box of the 18th hole Coach came up to me.*
>
> *Coach: James, I don't know if you need to hear this or not. You need a double bogey to win the Order of Merit.*
>
> *JG: What?*
>
> *Coach: Yep. Martin (the guy chasing me) is already in at +6, and you're +3 currently.*
>
> *JG: Oh. Ok then.*
>
> *With what I mistook for relief from the burden of pressure, I promptly blasted a drive into the woodland on the right side of the hole—potentially out of bounds. I teed up my provisional and striped it down the middle, thankfully. As I went to look for that first ball, Coach came back as I was just about to walk into the trees to search. He encouraged me "not to look for that first ball too hard." He was right. I wasn't going to win the tournament, and all I had to do in order to validate an entire season's worth of struggle, perseverance, and heartbreak was to just make a double bogey here. I took a cursory look on the outskirts of the trees in case my ball was playable—nothing. I left it. I walked to my provisional, played up, chipped on, and then holed a very nervous two-foot putt for the 2017-2018 BUCS Order of Merit. It was a good, weird, stressful day.*
> *(BUCS Order of Merit, Autoethnography, Section 8.5)*

Perhaps too simple of an illustration, but the reflexivity and critical approach I needed to abandon my first drive allowed me to succeed in the bigger objective than the immediate; securing the 2017-2018 BUCS Order of Merit rather than trying to finish 3rd in the BUCS Finals at Woodhall Spa. Even as I was walking away from that ball, it felt wrong—everything I had been taught in golf was to always do what I could to make the lowest score possible. Or, like with Hannah, critical and reflexive approaches to consumption help individuals adapt their practices to best achieve their goals and aspirations in the field despite the social, cultural, and gendered barriers in their way. Deciding whether a shot is the best shot, considering where a player stands on that hole, with respects to the round, and even a tournament, works as a metaphor for consumers' ability to determine what form their habitus and capital needs to take to satisfy consumption motives.

10.6 Summarising the Metaphor

To end this part of the chapter, I offer a brief review of how these proposed mechanisms of transference work to facilitate the utility of cultural and subcultural capital across field boundaries. The consumer is a golfer, playing a course constructed of the various cultural and subcultural fields that constitute their reality as individual holes. These holes can be easy, difficult, or anywhere in between depending on both the golfer's consumption motivations and the golfer's familiarity with the design, i.e. the extant power structures and hierarchies that give fields, and thus these holes, their characteristics. Golfers then 'play' these courses of their own design by hitting shots; their embodied cultural and subcultural capital as 'swings' connected to their collection of habitus dispositions as 'clubs' through their abilities to communicate effectively. Clubs and swings are intimately intertwined, both dependent on the other to hit a shot, depicting the nature of embodied cultural capital and habitus as cyclically reinforcing and shaping the other; two sides of the same coin and cultural currency (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014). The shots golfers then play are the micro-political interactions consumers engage within fields to assert their status (Holt, 1998) and in doing so record a metaphorical score; either positively or negatively reflective of their institutionalized cultural capital and thus encouraging or inhibiting their consumption goals across fields. Finally, these golfers must decide what shots to play through disciplined, patient, and ascetic practice towards their consumption and life goals; analysed through their critical and reflexive dispositions, depending on their position on the 'course' relative to their ambitions, as to whether these shots are the correct or best shots to play at any given time.

10.7 Discussion

In consumer research, prevailing theorisations around cultural and subcultural capital involve making sense of how individuals distinguish themselves and assert their status within the various sociocultural spaces in which they consume; beyond simply *what* they consume and focusing, instead, on *how* they consume (e.g. Holt, 1998; Kozinets, 2001; Kates, 2002; Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Courtesy of Holt (1998), the first to meaningfully translate Bourdieu's seminal distinction theory (1984) into consumer research, much of this distinction occurs along binaries of practice—broadly idealistic or materialistic consumption practices determined by individuals' pre-existing levels of traditional cultural capital (i.e. levels of education and types of occupations). Studies examining traditional cultural capital often involve consumption practices performed in social spaces and consumption spheres traditionally dominated by the habitus of the middle-class; education, retail, home décor, and work (e.g. Allen, 2002; Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Arsel and Bean, 2013). Kates (2002: 396) notes that

cultural capital is "more diffuse" and "structures consumption throughout society." Subcultural capital, on the other hand, has been conceptualised to discern how marginalised consumers distinguish themselves in non-traditional social and consumption spheres (Thornton, 1996; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Subcultural capital develops within systems of valuation that ignore, counter, or parallel those of the mainstream middle-class that work to develop and valorise traditional cultural capital (Haenfler, 2014; Bourdieu, 1984). These forms of capital, and the ways in which individuals distinguish themselves, are theorised as being relatively field or context-dependent—e.g. traditional cultural capital has little value in social spaces dominated by working-class ideals, just as subcultural capital has little value outside of the subculture in which it was cultivated. Subcultural capital is not seen to "have ramifications beyond the local context" (Kates, 2002: 396). Therefore, the notion of cultural and subcultural capital *transference* has been ignored for two likely reasons. First, cultural capital is often understood to reflect the more traditional dispositions of the 'dominant' middle-class and elite. Given that subcultures usually form in opposition to these dominant, traditional values (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Thornton, 1996; Solomon, 2004), cultural capital is usually relegated to having little purchase or value within these social arenas. Secondly, scholars posit subcultural capital as having various intensities of field-dependence, i.e. contextual specificity, with little consequence in broader sociocultural contexts (Thornton, 1996; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Researchers have, however, in passing entertained the idea that forms of capital can be *converted* (i.e. cultural capital converted into economic capital, social capital, or vice versa) (Bourdieu, 1986; Rey, 2004; Stroope et al., 2014) but never transferred in what resembles its original form. Therefore, the explicit conceptualisation of cultural and subcultural capital *transference* is therefore a significant novel contribution.

This ethnographic and autoethnographic research explores the ways in which individuals transfer distinguishing skills and dispositions, i.e. forms of embodied cultural and subcultural capital, from the field of golf into other sociocultural fields through mechanisms of transference embedded in habitus. In doing so, the study presents several emergent themes which extend streams of research around cultural and subcultural capital particularly with regards to field-dependence and contextual specificity, the middle-class habitus, and capital development in sports consumption. Further, I argue for two *markers* of potential capital transference—characteristics that enhance the likelihood that forms of cultural and subcultural capital can be transferred between fields—in structural and habitus homogeneity, and the relative amount of specialised knowledge in the composition of embodied cultural capital.

10.7.1 Structural and Habitus Homogeneity

The first marker for cultural capital transference, as discussed in 2.3, is a measure of structural homogeneity between the origin and destination fields; similarities in the sociocultural systems that valorise cultural and subcultural capital and the dispositions of the habitus. This homogeneity between fields' systems of valuation is the underlying reason why education became a lens through which to examine social reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977); the power structures, relationships, and preferences of the middle and upper-classes mirrored those advantageous in the classroom. Edgerton and Roberts (2014: 199) neatly describe this, in discussing formal education and the role of habitus in reproducing social inequality, as "habitus-field congruence." Desmond (2006) reintroduces this concept but from a different perspective, explicitly focusing on how dispositions from a working-class and rural upbringing facilitate a 'natural' transition into careers as woodland firefighters and soldiers. This 'natural' fit stems from distinct similarity in the dispositions gleaned from this rural upbringing and those needed to be successful firefighters and soldiers; simply an extension of the primary habitus of 'country boys' (Desmond, 2006) in similar, but not identical, fields. Likewise, the participants in this study find the dispositions they have acquired from gaining status in the field of golf to be of specific advantage and utility in other fields, namely higher education and the professional workplace (both dominated by traditionally middle-class capital and habitus).

Critically, however, the extant interpretations of cultural capital position field-homogeneity as relative to the distinctive practices and dispositions acquired from one's *primary* socialisations, i.e. the habitus of an upbringing (Bourdieu, 1984; Desmond, 2006). On the contrary, this research examines the nature of homogeneity between a *secondary* socialisation, golf, and the mainstream fields individuals participate in as they navigate their reality. Though subcultural capital research also focuses on secondary socialisations (as individuals navigate various identity needs), it rarely touches on inter-field homogeneity for the nature of subcultures themselves—fields isolated from and marginalised by the mainstream, with subcultural participants instead focusing mostly on how they differentiate themselves within the subculture (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Thornton, 1996; Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Thus, this research extends the discussion of homogeneity beyond those of primary socialisations, and therefore beyond the sometimes-contentious issues of birth, childhood, family, upbringing, and 'class;' paying closer attention to secondary socialisation, secondary and multiple habitus, and

the role these play in individuals' cultural compositions (Bourdieu, 2000; Swidler, 2001; Cornelissen, 2016).

10.7.2 Embodied Capital Composition and Field-Dependence

A second marker for capital transference is the relative dependence of cultural or subcultural context on the value of embodied capital. Consumer researchers and sociologists often posit cultural capital, and especially subcultural capital, as being quite *field-dependent*—possessing little normative value outside of the sociocultural spaces in which they are acquired and developed (e.g. Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Thornton, 1996; Holt, 1998; Kozinets, 2001; Schau et al., 2009; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2013). This is because of the composition of embodied cultural capital in these fields; heavily weighted in favour of specialised forms of knowledge specific to the context. For example, in the clubbing and indie subcultures, subcultural capital is often embodied by being "in the know," i.e. knowledge of particular DJs, albums, bands, and venues (Thornton, 1996; Arsel and Thompson, 2011); by default, then, indie and club subcultural capital is limited in its transference potential by its own nature as specialised knowledge. Fields outside of the indie and club subcultures almost certainly will not share structural systems of valuation for specialised knowledge of DJ's and bands, otherwise they would be part of the club and indie subcultural space.

In contrast, golf is organised around an almost equal mixture of cognitive and corporeal dispositions in the *etiquette* (detailed in Chapter 6), embodied cultural capital that mirrors soft skills of the middle-class (explored in Chapter 7), and emotional capital (explored in Chapter 8)—in addition to the likely non-transferrable physical motions of playing golf. None of the participants ever explicitly listed the need for being "in the know" to attain their status in the field with regards to particular brands, players, or cultural texts in the field; instead achieving status through displays of soft skills (i.e. communication and creativity), emotional capital (patience, discipline, and asceticism), body competence, and body performance. An argument could be made that the golf etiquette is a form of specialised knowledge, but it so closely resembles the traditional 'manners' of the bourgeois and is so widely shared and encouraged (i.e. not protected and guarded) that it fails to meet the standards illustrated by other subcultures (Thornton, 1996; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). These forms of embodied capital in golf, and subsequently the habitus, mirror those of the middle-class much like the habitus of 'country-boys' mirrors that of firefighters and soldiers. However, the skills that the country-boy takes into firefighting are of a specialised, hard-skilled nature with utility in a fairly narrow band of fields organised around the

"culture of the country" (Desmond, 2006: 393)—the skills golfers deploy in education and work are soft and emotional, transferrable into most fields organised around a middle-class habitus. Therefore, as cultural and subcultural capital in a field is increasingly organised around specialised knowledge, the less likely it is that it can be transferred with some amount of normative value into other fields.

10.7.3 Mechanisms of Transference (and the Middle-Class Habitus)

Noting the markers for cultural capital transference, thus far as structural-habitus congruence and the relative field-dependence of embodied forms of capital, mechanisms of transference appear to manifest in the degree to which embodied capital takes on the characteristics of *soft skills* (Weiberger et al., 2017) and emotional capital (Zembylas, 2007). In essence, mechanisms of transference then appear to be embedded into the habitus of the middle-class, where soft skills and emotional capital (e.g. Zembylas, 2007; Cappellini et al., 2014; Weinberger et al., 2017) play a more dominant role than hard skills and specialised knowledge. The Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 do illustrate transference of advantageous dispositions through communication, patience, discipline, and asceticism (i.e. sacrifice). To be sure, this is not an effort to imbue some aspirational or desirable quality onto the middle-class habitus and dispositions themselves—a problem discussed in 2.2.9—as opposed to those of the other social classes. Furthermore, this ethnography did not set out intending to discover how individuals from various backgrounds can acquire a middle-class habitus if they were not endowed with one. Instead, this was an emergent theme from the data and research analysis, though perhaps it is not surprising. Golf today still organises largely around a culture originally constructed and cultivated by the middle-class and elite of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Green, 1987; Ceron-Anaya, 2013), so it would follow that the skills and dispositions individuals acquire and develop as they become increasingly invested in the field take on elements of the middle-class habitus.

Interestingly, the data illustrates that the field of golf itself, in isolation from the broader cultural field in which it is embedded, does not encourage many of the exclusionary practices that the characteristics of its forms of capital, typical of the middle-class, might imply—participants preferring acts of inclusion and community to deliberate distinction and marginalisation. Furthermore, the middle-class habitus is becoming increasingly pervasive across modern society, noted by Gripsrud et al. (2011) in the increasing marginalisation of both low and high brow taste extremes, by subcultural and fragmented social participation (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Solomon, 2004; Burgh-Woodman and Brace-Govan, 2007), and the disappearance of traditional

class boundaries (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014). As individuals participate in and navigate a variety of social spaces and spheres in their everyday lives, there is a significant chance that some of those will be dominated by middle-class habitus and cultural capital—or in other words, more generalised fields organised around forms of cultural capital set by the dominant classes (Bourdieu, 1984; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Note the ubiquity with which we all attend school as children, at least to a certain point, and education is exhaustingly documented as dominated by the habitus and cultural capital resources of the middle and upper classes (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Allen, 2002; Lehmann, 2013).

The mechanisms of transference explored in this research, and the ways in which they manifest as soft skills and emotional capital, extends our conceptualisation and understanding of some elements of the middle-class habitus and their utility can be understood as more nuanced and varied than perhaps previously theorised. With regards to forms of communication, and creativity (i.e. soft skills) the middle-class is understood to engage in discourse in efforts to combat the discomfort of perpetual aspiration (Friedman, 2012); middle-class consumers seek to *communicate* their appreciation of multiple tastes and behaviours, encouraged by a desire to 'keep up appearances' and fit in (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014; Thompson et al., 2018). This communication and creativity is not positioned as a means through which to understand their consumption fields and their respective valuation systems, but rather as an exasperated, desperate defence of distinction (Reay, 2015). Golfers, however, mainly employ communication skills and creativity as a means to understand, become familiar with, and comfortable in the various fields in which they participate; note in 7.2.2 Denise explains how these communication skills give her confidence to participate because she "understands the rules." Other golfers explain how they use comfort in communication and creativity in conversation to locate "common ground" with others, working to offset the residual discomfort in the middle-class habitus by fostering a sense of community (O'Reilly et al., 2013). Further, by enabling golfers to isolate where commonalities exist between themselves and others, these communication skills also help to golfers learn to identify structural homogeneity in novel fields and facilitate more natural participation.

These mechanisms of transference—patience, discipline, and asceticism—evidence forms of emotional capital (Allat, 1993; Zembylas, 2007) that are acquired through non-familial means. Emotional capital is not necessarily presented as *exclusively* middle-class, as an appreciation for high art was in early theorisations of traditional cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984), but the concepts

of patience and sacrifice are explicitly related to the middle-class through common research streams (e.g. Reay, 200; 2004; Cappellini et al., 2014; Linnet, 2011; Nguyen et al., 2017). Emotional capital has been seen as familial investment as parental seek to endow their children with advantageous attitudes and emotional resources with which to navigate social spaces and arenas (Reay, 2000; 2004; Froyum, 2010); a form of embodied cultural capital emergent from socialisation "where bodily capacities and cultural requirements meet" (Scheer, 2012: 202). Thus, the presence of forms of emotional capital—patience, discipline, and asceticism—that can be acquired through non-familial socialisation (i.e. from investments in golf), extends our understanding of how individuals acquire these particular forms of embodied cultural capital. Considerably, the exploration of non-familial forms of emotional capital links with the discussion of homogeneity in secondary socialisations (discussed above in 10.7.1), to illustrate the importance of understanding the role significant secondary socialisations play in developing and shaping individual habitus and capital resources.

The middle-class has further been conceptualised as "unreflexive, unremarkable, and driven by an anxiety to keep up appearances" (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014; 127); the ideology against which marketplace cultures (i.e. subcultures of consumption, consumer tribes, and brand communities) structure their symbolic boundaries (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Thus, the last mechanism of transference explored in the thesis, a critical and reflexive approach to consumption in the field, contributes to Consumer Culture Theory and our understanding of how individuals utilise middle-class dispositions to deploy embodied capital resources and attain status in 'marketplace' cultures. A defining characteristic of these cultures is that they are "grounded in shared beliefs, meanings, mythologies, rituals, social practices, and status systems" (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 874). Therefore, golf is indeed a type of marketplace culture—subculture, specifically—that is furthermore comprised of heterogeneous cultural groupings and sociohistorical backgrounds, which permits the field to fall under the study of CCT. Contrary to other marketplace cultures with which the CCT literature engages, the status systems in golf are constructed around the dominant middle-class lifestyle norms and habitus rather than against them. It is, however, the *critical* and *reflexive* use of dominant middle-class lifestyle norms, rather than simply in efforts to fit in or 'keep up appearances,' that golfers display in their efforts to decipher and engage in consumption practices that work to advance status in the field rather than maintain the status quo. In fact, participants from working-class backgrounds (Kevin, Dylan, Thomas, and Howard of note) seem to even 'weaponise' the middle-class habitus against itself; employing forms of capital gained from mostly non-familial socialising to gain access to and participate in other dominant, middle-class

social spaces that use those similar forms of capital for exclusion and social distinction.

10.7.4 Sport as a site for Cultural Capital Development

Specifically, this research illustrates the significance of secondary socialisation in sport *participation* for the development of embodied forms of cultural and subcultural capital. Predominantly, the extant literature on sports consumption engages with cultural capital as a means to predict or differentiate sports participation and consumption based on traditional cultural capital profiles (e.g. Thrane, 2001; Stempel, 2005; Mehus, 2005; Kahma, 2012). The literature does engage with subcultural capital with regards to sport subcultures like surfing (e.g. Canniford and Shankar, 2013), rugby (Donnelly and Young, 1988), fans and fandom, exploring the relationships certain sports-centric subcultures form and how these individuals differentiate themselves; e.g. real fans from 'barstool' fans (e.g. Crawford, 2004; Richardson and Turley, 2006) or in 'shunning' official merchandise to communicate their status (Brown, 2008). What the extant literature fails to do, however, is consider that sport is a cultural site where traditionally dominant forms of cultural capital can be acquired and developed from participation characterised by significant heterogeneous socialisation—clearly exemplified by the field of golf and the participant narratives in this ethnographic research. Specifically, the context of golf provides an argument for understanding how elite socialisation and participation in sports, i.e. at a high level and achievement rather than in sports classed as *for* the elite (e.g. polo, tennis, yachting, etc.) (Stempel, 2005; 2018), can provide accessible mechanisms through which individuals from heterogeneous social backgrounds appropriate dominant cultural and consumption dispositions to which they may not otherwise have access. Additionally, the narratives presented by the participants in this study illustrate an enthusiastic embrace of those dispositions, wherein they actively work to maintain and communicate them, as opposed to communicating the typical middle-class contempt or explicit distaste for the practices of those both more and less culturally and economically privileged (Jarness, 2015). Therefore, this research extends our understanding of the relationship between cultural capital, subcultural capital, and sports *participation*, providing a foundational understanding of how *playing* sports can also help individual develop forms of cultural capital and the role individuals from diverse backgrounds play in the reproduction of dominant (i.e. middle-class) lifestyle norms.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

11.1 Introduction

This final chapter concludes and summarises the thesis, with a view to highlight how the research questions have been explored, overview the broader empirical and theoretical contributions of the study, offer managerial implications, discuss limitations and highlight the potential for future research. The research questions dealt with interpretive and qualitative exploration of cultural and subcultural capital transference through mechanisms embedded in the habitus of golf, rather than any definitive and generalized universality in application. However, there are some extant 'universal' characteristics of these mechanisms of transference, given they take on characteristics of the middle-class habitus and the increasing ubiquity of middle-class consumption spaces, as discussed in the previous analysis and discussion chapters. I offer below a flowing response to how this study provides an understanding of this abstract cultural phenomena through the contextual lens of golf.

11.2 Exploration of the Research Questions

11.2.1 What are the mechanisms of transference?

The analysis revealed three dominant mechanisms of transference in the field of golf through the thesis' data, accessed by individuals who participate in and consume golf to more than just a casual degree. The first mechanism is embedded into the communication skills and dispositions taught by the habitus and etiquette of golf, where individuals learn to navigate power structures in other fields; expressing, and therefore wielding, a type of aggregated habitus and embodied cultural and subcultural capital as sculpted by the soft skills of the middle-class. Chapter 6 translates the cognitive and corporeal nature of habitus in golf, and Chapter 7 explores these communicative structures and dispositions in the field, both of which uncover a unique propensity for these dispositions to have substantially beneficial purchase elsewhere.

The second mechanism of transference is embedded in the disciplined, patient, and ascetic practices of aspirational golf consumption. Collectively, these resemble forms of emotional capital. Individuals can participate and consume golf without disciplined, patient, or ascetic practice, provided they have a basic understanding of the etiquette of the game, but will not be able to achieve status beyond the neophyte or the casual; golf demands sacrifice and the ability to defer gratification in order to succeed and achieve in the field, as reflected in the countless hours of practice and emotional investment in the field for those at the uppermost stratum of the field. Chapter 8 explores these disciplined, patient, and ascetic practices—specifically, how they manifest in the field, its habitus, and bleed across field boundaries.

Chapter 9, then, explores the final mechanism of transference. Golf, in addition to developing communication skills, the expression of habitus and social positioning, and disciplined, patient, and ascetic practices in consumption, requires a critical and reflexive approach to consumption practices in order ascend the sociocultural hierarchy. These critical and reflexive elements manifest as recognition of how to *play* golf rather than simply how to hit the ball, how to improve, how to deal with gendered corporeal and cognitive dispositions and abilities, and an understanding one's place in the field and how to change it. A particularly salient example involves a young Scotsman recognizing, and then defying, insidious psychological cultural barriers that work to keep sons from ever pursuing grander ambitions than the work of their fathers.

These mechanisms work together, on a platform of homogeneity in the habitus of different fields, to allow individuals to transfer their embodied capital and cognitive dispositions across field boundaries. Mechanisms of communication and reflexivity help individuals identify the extant power structures in fields, whereas discipline, patience, and communication (again) then permit individuals to participate within those fields with aggregated forms of embodied cultural capital resources embedded in their 'bundles' of habitus (Cornelissen, 2016).

11.2.2 How does the structure of a field guide the elementary acquisition, aggregation, and characteristics of cultural capital resources in consumption practices?

The context of golf, and its structural composition, is based upon an etiquette of communication, discipline, and critical reflection. The communicative ethos in golf is predicated on respect for all players alike regardless of sociodemographic background, gender, age, handicap, or any other distinguishing demographic variable. It is one of the few sports where all players can compete against each other on equal footing, achieved through the handicapping system originally instated by the appropriating early 20th century English middle and upper classes (Green, 1987; Ceron-Anaya, 2010; Rankin et al., 2017). In attempting to strip agency from the working-class Scots in continuing meaningful distinctive consumption in the field based on physical skill and corporeal dispositions, these upper-class eventually created an inclusive system of competition open to any who wish to play the game; it is only the remnants of the broader hegemonic masculinity and chauvinism extant in the dispositions of that by-gone elite and bourgeois that perpetrate gendered discrimination against certain individuals, namely women, in golf today. Furthermore, there are few instances, if any, where an individual could default to the basic, but dated, concept of 'manners' and run afoul of the normative structure of golf. As one's participation and

aspirations in golf increase it necessitates incrementally ascetic practices, shaping consumption behaviours and cognitive dispositions; evidenced by the very best competitive amateur golfers in the study.

These practices, adopted by players from a wide range of backgrounds (for example, myself and Hannah compared to Dylan, Kevin, and Kyle) mirror the ascetic practices of the broader cultural elite in sport (e.g. Stempel, 2005; Warde, 2006; Kahma, 2012). Coupling the disciplined and ascetic practices of distinguished golfers with the substantial amount of time and emotion invested in the field renders golf a meaningful site of socialization, wherein players adopt and own the habitus of golf as their own, effectively integrating this culture of the bygone elite into their identities as consumers (Holt, 1995). The field of golf, then, draws on its homogeneity with the dominant middle-class lifestyle norms of other social spaces in shaping aggregated and transferrable forms of embodied cultural capital and habitus. Extensive secondary socialization, participation, and consumption in golf packages and shapes the cultural and subcultural capital resources of participants in the mould of widely-accepted dominant middle-class practices—packaging or bundling resources from a range of heterogeneous sociodemographic backgrounds into dispositions that facilitate consumption in other cultural spaces rather than impede.

11.2.3 How do individuals take their aggregated cultural and subcultural capital resources and use them across field boundaries?

Individuals take these augmented, developed, or appropriated behavioural and cognitive dispositions shaped by the habitus of golf and deploy them into other fields through homogeneity in the governing habitus and normative valuation structures. Homogeneity in the habitus, and the structure, of the cultural and subcultural fields constituting individual realities renders similar valuations to the corporeal and cognitive dispositions employed to achieve consumption objectives and acquire status. The number of fields into which research participants illustrate transference of capital and habitus are admittedly limited, though these limitations do not detract from the utility of their resources; field limitations originate mostly from the time constraints of playing golf, the time required to achieve aspirations in golf, and the nature of being either employed full-time or a full-time student (of which every participant is, except Monica and Natalie). The common fields into which participants transfer their capital and employ their habitus are higher education and the workplace. Students find success in the classroom in drawing on the time-management and discipline learned from golf; both appear to be of equal if not greater value in the educational field. Teachers find that the soft skills developed in golf participation and

consumption enable them to connect and communicate their ideas more effectively to their students, e.g. meeting performance evaluation metrics and providing individualised instruction dependent on students' needs. Kevin specifically notes how patience from his golf consumption facilitated his understanding of industrial machining code, and Howard recalls how 'policing yourself' with regards to the rules of golf and treating people with respect both apply in Law; two narratives illustrating a vertical duality wherein consumers are not solely transferring their habitus into similarly exclusive or 'elite' pursuits like golf, but also transferring their habitus from an 'elite' field into working-class fields. These mechanisms of transference are grounded in the habitus of homogeneous fields, where extant commonalities such as cognitive and corporeal dispositions, communication skills, emotional intelligence, idiosyncratic variance in performance, and the absence of a dominant physical prototype (i.e. unlike professional Basketball or American Football) mean that a habitus gleaned from socialization into these types of fields can be transferred into others.

11.3 Broader Contributions of the Study

Beyond the theoretical contributions discussed in Chapter 10 (sections 10.7 through 10.7.4), I offer a broader fourfold contribution of this thesis to the bodies of Sports Consumption and Consumer Research literature. Firstly, I hope that in this thesis I have provided a window into the continuously misunderstood, misrepresented, and irresponsibly wielded context of golf; frequently serving as heavy-handed snap-shots of exclusivity and elitism in areas already replete with inequality and extreme class division (e.g. see Gladwell, 2017 for popular culture and Ceron-Anaya, 2017; 2018 for sports consumption literature). Furthermore, what scarce references to golf do exist in the broader consumer research literature paint the sport, without reserve, as a bastion of masculinity and elitism (e.g. Kozinets et al., 2004). Golf is a complex, nuanced field with an overall culture of inclusivity and equity; the rules privilege no-one, all players are equal in the eyes of a rulebook (McGinnis et al., 2005). There is however a paradoxical element to this culture of inclusivity and equity, given it is constructed around soft skills, etiquette, emotional capital, and dispositions frequently associated with distinction in the middle-class; exclusive, marginalizing, and contemptuous practices often utilizing an expressed distaste for distinction from those both above and below in broader social hierarchies. Certainly, the behaviours and practices of highly exclusive and high-profile clubs such as Muirfield and Augusta National are not representative of golf in a broader sense—one wouldn't confuse the behaviours of members of House of Lords and Congress as that of the general British and American populace. At both Club A and Club B, most of the golfers I play with are tradesmen or labourers, and shining examples of this inclusivity; their

adherence to etiquette frequently surpasses that of members of Royal Lytham and St. Annes, Royal St. George's, and Ganton—ironically, the types of clubs, i.e. elitist social reservations, upon which many people base their general perception of golf.

Secondly, this study has contributed to furthering and broadening the understanding of cultural capital, subcultural capital, and habitus and their workings within fields. This thesis broadens the general understanding of cultural capital and habitus by extending the foundational understanding of how consumers develop and acquire cultural capital (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998; McAlexander et al., 2014) and subcultural capital (e.g. Kates, 2002; Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Rather than as narrow appropriations of capital resources gleaned from a primary socialization, specifically the childhood upbringing and education experiences, consumers also acquire prominent consumption dispositions from secondary socialization sites that become significant consumption arenas—the field and culture of golf working to supplant many of the LCC dispositions predicted by the likes of Bourdieu (1984) and Holt (1998), in addition to the limited implementations of Üstüner and Holt (2007; 2010), of research participants with HCC dispositions obtained from the field. The field translation in Chapter 6 and the narratives of critical interactions and readings in Chapter 9 help illuminate how taste and preferences are shaped by the field of golf. Substantial investments of time, and the structuring of many golfers' lives around their consumption and participation, indicate that the field of golf becomes a primary site of socialization that as mentioned before augments, if not overwrites, previous habitus (Bourdieu, 2000; Cornelissen, 2016). Through the examination of mechanisms of transference, this thesis explores the operation and workings of cultural and subcultural capital in different fields; helping individuals overcome both cultural and gendered barriers to consumption (Cincinnato et al., 2016; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012). The narratives of Hannah, Kevin, and Dylan provide evidence of the ways in which individuals employ dispositions outside the spectrum of their own sociocultural backgrounds to overcome cultural and gendered barriers to their consumption and participation; for example, the Glaswegian dismissal of aspirations and the hegemonic masculinity of traditional elements of sport in the field of golf. This aligns with the position of Hill and Lai (2016) that consumers largely subscribe to self-actualising and self-advancing possibilities in their marketplace. Further, the study explores varying practices in the field, looking to understand how individuals can perform disparate practices of the same activity (Trizzulla et al., 2016); the very nature of the field of golf dictates that individuals consuming in the field will have individual and personalized disparities in their practices by default (highlighted in Chapter 6 and Chapter 9).

One major contribution of this study is, then, the understanding of the field-dependence of cultural capital. These mechanisms of transference demonstrate that fields satisfying the characteristics of golf—outlined above—generate cultural and subcultural capital that sits between 'absolute' and 'floating' (Prieur and Savage, 2011). Neither fixed to sociocultural and historical limitations, as were Bourdieu's (1984) original positions locked into taste for high arts, nor relative and thus dependent on temporal fashions, the forms of capital developed in the golf habitus appear to transcend more traditional and tacit manifestations; reinforced as the cognitive and corporeal dispositions of a generally transposable habitus—cultural currency a consumer can spend in as many different places as accept it. The analysis in this thesis illustrates that not only can working-class individuals appropriate and wield dominant middle-class dispositions and habitus effectively, but that they can also re-deploy those middle-class dispositions *back* into working-class fields to improve their status. Initially, I set out to challenge the work of Bourdieu and authors who use cultural capital in a limited, field-dependent way by illustrating its capacity for transference through habitus homogeneity. The narratives presented in this thesis provide an interesting foundation for future studies into the interplay between habitus, homology, and capital transfer; how do other field structures shape transferrable consumption practices and dispositions? Do other forms of middle-class practices, besides discipline, patience, asceticism, and critical interactions engender capital transfer? Golf does not bestow any original, or strictly subcultural, capital resources upon its consumers and participants other than localized physical skill and corporeal dispositions necessary to physically play the sport, though it resolutely transforms the cognitive and embodied dispositions of the habitus into an aggregated collection upon which an individual can draw depending on their situation.

Another broad contribution of this study is to the conceptualization of the consumption-production nexus and promoting participation in sport as a form of consumption. There could be questions over how a thesis investigating the playing and participation of golf is a thesis in consumption; golfers play golf to have fun, build networks and relationships, and provide meaning to their lives with—satisfying all of the criteria of Askegaard and Heilbrunn (2018). Furthermore, golfers use golf to satisfy needs and wants; a sense of community, self-actualisation, and opportunities for development of identity and status. I have absolutely used golf to satisfy wants and needs, both in education and personal development, and in providing an identity around which I can organize my dispositions and consumption practices. With regards to the consumption-production nexus, sports provide interesting frameworks wherein individuals can both compete and observe simultaneously, and this is highlighted in golf. There is a heightened

element of co-creation and prosumption in golf (Andrews and Ritzer, 2018) as individuals take on roles of both producer and consumer; only one player hits at one time, and etiquette dictates other players watch quietly and attentively. Likewise, golfers collectively co-create their consumption experiences, as it is with their play that they determine who wins and with what score.

Finally, though perhaps not intentionally, this thesis contributes to a preliminary understanding of the existence of mechanisms of transference in other sports at the highest competitive levels. Though not all of the participants are highly-accomplished amateur golfers, those who are or were—myself, Dylan, Hannah, Thad, Theo, and Kevin—all communicate distinct elements of discipline, patience, and asceticism (i.e. emotional capital) in practicing and consumption of golf. This study provides an in-depth exploration of the behaviours and consumption practices of distinguished individuals in a field historically inaccessible for qualitative academic research, evidenced by distance communicated by most scholars when invoking golf and the looming failure of Ceron-Anaya (2017; 2018). Therefore, through this commonality of sacrifice and self-denial, athletes across other sports might also be able to access these mechanisms of transference embedded in field-structure and habitus homology. There is a significant dearth of literature on high-level sport participation and consumption from a consumer research perspective, though it does generally extend research in sports consumption by providing a foundational understanding of the framework structuring the field of golf. Hopefully this thesis can both inspire future studies to explore how mechanisms of transference might manifest in other sports fields and equip researchers with a fundamental understanding of golf habitus to promote more successful qualitative ventures into a field rich with sociodemographic and cultural nuance.

11.4 Managerial Implications

This research has a number of managerial implications. Firstly, it is imperative that marketers and managers working in the field of golf or using the field of golf (e.g. in an advertisement or other) understand the importance of the golf 'etiquette.' The etiquette is not just a system of superficial values—traditional or snobbish dress codes, for example—to which golfers adhere but rather a collective set of dispositions that these consumers actively and deliberately incorporate into their identities and use to interpret and interact with their lifeworlds. The representation of the golf etiquette, and habitus, in popular culture as overbearingly 'snobbish' and 'elite' can be a prohibiting factor in individuals deciding to take up golf and become neophyte consumers in the field. Communications from golf organisations, governing bodies, and equipment and clothing

manufacturers are often easily construed as similarly snobbish and elitist; they often project condescending, strict, and negative tonalities. Therefore, golf organisations should endeavor to address and reimagine this perception of golf in the minds of potential new consumers and players, instead focusing on the developmental, aspirational, and significantly inclusive characteristics innate to the habitus and subculture of golf. A straightforward means of accomplishing this, at least to start, is in communications and public relations; reflect the same aspirational, inclusive, and developmental characteristics the participants in this research describe by structuring communications and policies around positive action as opposed to negative action—i.e. "do this" instead of "don't do this." In doing so, golf organisations can take a step towards fostering a greater sense of community; capitalising on the shared nature of the ideals, rituals, and social practices in golf that are so important to marketplace cultures in general (Arnould and Thompson, 2005).

Secondly, the findings from this research can help golf clubs construct more meaningful marketing, membership recruitment, and membership retention plans with the knowledge that the habitus and embodied forms of capital acquired, developed, and augmented in golf consumption are potentially transferrable; specifically, transferrable into generally homogeneous traditional middle-class fields and social arenas. Managers and marketers can leverage the knowledge that golf consumption and participation assists individuals in navigating homogeneous field structures, e.g. education and the professional workplace, in constructing programs that target certain demographics of consumers or members highlighted by this research. For example, after-school programs for juniors (i.e youth) and after-work socials, competitions, or leagues—programs built around strong implicit linkages to the fields of transference where these skills and dispositions have purchase illustrated in the data. It should be noted, however, that these suggestions are not levying any problematic judgment or inefficacy on habitus and dispositions *not* reflecting those of the middle-class nor implying that working-class experiences intrinsically have less value (Lehmann, 2013; DeKeere and Spruyt, 2019). These implications merely reflect the emergent themes of the research, and as such organizational managers and marketers can draw on the linkages between golf and the aspirational middle-class to strengthen membership recruitment and retention programs; notable areas in which golf courses and clubs have been struggling since 2010 (KPMG, 2019). Despite the number of golfers in the UK has remained fairly stagnant over the past five years, hovering around 650,000, many golf courses--particularly in the North of England, including Club A and Club B—have been struggling to break even, with consistently fewer than 50% of golfers reporting being a member of a club (Sport England, 2016).

Thus, golf clubs that find a way to link together the various fields making up their members' lifeworlds offer more meaningful experiences than just the standard social, individual, and team-based competitions, reasonably expecting those experience to translate into increased membership.

Beyond the context of golf, marketers and managers operating in other marketplace cultures can use the conceptualization of transference mechanisms of habitus and embodied cultural and subcultural capital to reach potential new consumers. If there is a balance between specialized and tacit knowledge, soft and hard skills, and contextual-specificity and ubiquity in the forms of capital structurally valorized in a marketplace or subculture, then marketers and managers can isolate target consumers based on homogeneity in field structures. Knowing that the mechanisms of transference explored in this research are embedded into both the habitus of golf and the broader dispositions of the middle-class, links between other fields or contexts and the dominant middle-class can be explored to identify new consumers—perhaps previously thought off-limits because of assumed disparities indicated on the appearance of marketplace culture identification. Admittedly, golf is a sport in which participation and consumption is, on the surface, distinctly characterized by the dispositions of the bygone 'elite' and the dominant middle-class; however, underneath the surface golf illustrates that an adherence to soft skills and emotional capital links it to these dominant lifestyle norms, rather than an oft-perceived pretentiousness, snobbishness, and elitism. Therefore, other sports that similarly value communication, patience, discipline, and asceticism (sacrifice) could provide similar benefits and transference in the social spaces structured around traditionally dominant preferences and dispositions—evidenced by higher exam scores and grades amongst student-athletes in formal education compared to non-athletes (Henderson et al., 2006; Munoz-Bullon et al., 2017). Marketers should then leverage these mechanisms, effectively represented in shared dispositions and preferences, to reach new audiences and markets.

11.5 Future Research

There are potential limitations in this study that can be addressed by future research. Firstly, outside of some autoethnographic fieldwork undertaken in the United States, Peru, and the southern parts of England, this ethnography was conducted predominantly in the northeast of England and Scotland. Purposefully, these locations were chosen as golf clubs in these areas are *mostly* devoid of the exclusive and elitist characteristics evidenced by clubs in cultures where golf is reserved exclusively for the middle and upper-classes; for example, parts of North America and

in particular Mexico City. The Northeast of England offered a lens through which to study and investigate golf participation wherein a majority of the social hierarchy has the opportunity to consume the sport *as members*—financial barriers are significantly lower and the prevalence of accessible golf courses significantly higher than, for example, the metropolitan area of London and much of the United States and Latin America. However, the scope of this study should be expanded by investigating consumption practices at more golf clubs. Future research can ethnographically explore golf consumption at other clubs in the Northeast of England, to more comprehensively investigate the local context, and also study golf consumption in other geographic areas. For example, while a study of further golf clubs and golfers in the northeast will add depth and richness to the data presented here, similar studies could be conducted at golf clubs in other sociodemographic contexts or at more exclusive venues to explore how these mechanisms work in golf clubs that truly reflect the popular and academic perception of golf. Studies investigating golf consumption in more affluent regions, however, will need to account for what will likely be a relatively homogenous sociodemographic grouping of participants—demanding a deeper examination of the nuances and subtleties in middle-class presentations of habitus and cultural capital. This potential homogeneity of participants in affluent areas will be due to increased financial and social barriers to entry, similar to those illustrated by Ceron-Anaya's (2017; 2019) research in Mexico City. Future research conducted at these more exclusive sites will also have to navigate more socially involved, complex, and financially prohibitive membership protocols in order to gain access to the club—necessary in facilitating natural participation. Significant amounts of social, economic, and subcultural golf capital will be necessary to access these sites for ethnographic study.

This study also focused on the practices of younger amateur golfers (mostly aged 18-45) with relatively low handicaps; an unintentional snowballing in the recruitment of research participants. Being 'amateur' golfers, these individuals are more likely to work full or part-time, thus engaging in at least one other field consistently. However, as low-handicap and thus relatively accomplished individuals in the field of golf they are also more likely to have already spent a significant amount of time immersed and invested in golf. Future research could further expand the scope of this study both by examining the consumption practices of neophyte and high-handicap golfers in addition to professional golfers. Notably, exploration of the consumption practices and dispositions of either neophytes or high-handicappers would provide insight into whether low-status individuals are firstly aware of the same cognitive and corporeal dispositions investigated in this research, and further how they view, engage with, and appreciate those forms

of capital. Conversely, a study exploring how these mechanisms manifest at the professional level could yield even deeper, richer insights into this phenomena; specifically a study of leading PGA and European Tour Players. Given the public relations and managerial commitments, their roles as brand ambassadors, and the pressure of performance expectations while making a living *playing* golf, it would provide interesting insights into how these soft skills and emotional capital manifest when golf is also the workplace. Without question, there would be substantial access issues here and financial requirements to facilitate this type of study—professional tours travel to a new venues, sometimes cross-country or cross-continent, each week.

Finally, future ethnographic research should be conducted to determine if these mechanisms of transference are embedded into the habitus and embodied cultural capital of other sports and marketplace cultures. Other fields might not require the same levels of access and familiarity that golf does to tease out if and where these mechanisms of transference are located. Individual sports that have demanding physical and fitness requirements, e.g. mountain biking, running, swimming, etc., may share similar characteristics of patience, discipline, and sacrifice in consumption practices. However, other individual sports, by nature of being *individual,* might not exhibit the extant sense of community seen in golf; created by social adherence to shared ideals, rituals, mythologies, and beliefs. Nevertheless, ethnographic studies on mechanisms of transference in other contexts will contribute to the conceptualization of these new transformative, transferrable wrinkles in the habitus of the middle-class. Future research into other sports contexts can enrich our understanding of how individuals use sports participation and acculturation to acquire, develop, and augment their cultural and subcultural capital resources as they navigate their lifeworlds and constructed realities.

References

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P., 1994. Observational techniques. In Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, pp. 377–392. Sage Publications, Inc.

Agarwal, S., Qian, W., Reeb, D.M. and Sing, T.F., 2016. Playing the boys game: Golf buddies and board diversity. *American Economic Review*, *106*(5), pp.272-76.

Allat, P., 1993. Becoming privileged: the role of family processes, in: I. Bates & G. Riseborough Eds. *Youth and inequality.* Buckingham, Open University Press.

Allen, D.E. (2002). Toward a Theory of Consumer Choice as Sociohistorically Shaped Practical Experience: The Fits-Like-a-Glove (FLAG) Framework. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28(4), pp.515–532.

Almagor, E. and Skinner, J. eds., 2013. *Ancient ethnography: New approaches*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Alvesson, M., 2003. Beyond neopositivists, romantics, and localists: A reflexive approach to interviews in organizational research. *Academy of management review*, *28*(1), pp.13-33.

Andrews, D.L. and Ritzer, G., 2018. Sport and prosumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 18(2), pp.356–373.

Anheier, H.K., Gerhards, J. and Romo, F.P., 1995. Forms of capital and social structure in cultural fields: Examining Bourdieu's social topography. *American journal of sociology*, *100*(4), pp.859-903.

Anzul, M., Ely, M., Freidman, T., Garner, D. and McCormack-Steinmetz, A., 2003. *Doing qualitative research: Circles within circles*. Routledge.

Arnould, E.J. and Thompson, C.J., 2005. Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, [online] 31(4), pp.868–882. Available at: https://academic.oup.com/jcr/article/31/4/868/1812998 [Accessed 1 May 2019].

Arnould, E.J., Price, L.L. and Zinkhan, G.M., 2004. *Consumers*. Boston: Mcgraw-Hill/Irwin.

Arsel, Z. and Bean, J., 2013. Taste Regimes and Market-Mediated Practice. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39(5), pp.899–917.

Arsel, Z. and Thompson, C.J., 2011. Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Identity Investments from Devaluing Marketplace Myths. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(5), pp.791–806.

Askegaard, S. and Heilbrunn, B., 2018. *Canonical authors in consumption theory*. London: Routledge.

Askegaard, S. and Linnet, J.T., 2011. Towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory. *Marketing Theory*, 11(4), pp.381–404.

Atkinson, W., 2010. Phenomenological additions to the Bourdieusian toolbox: Two problems for Bourdieu, two solutions from Schutz. *Sociological theory*, *28*(1), pp.1-19.

Atkinson, W., 2011. The context and genesis of musical tastes: Omnivorousness debunked, Bourdieu buttressed. *Poetics*, *39*(3), pp.169-186.

Back, L., Crabbe, T., and Solomos, J. 2001. *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game*. Oxford: Berg.

Bailey, R. and Morley, D., 2006. Towards a model of talent development in physical education. *Sport, education and society*, *11*(3), pp.211-230.

Balcar, J., Eva, H. and Zdenek,,K., 2011. *Transferable Competences Across Economic Sectors: Role and Importance for Employment at European Level*, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Balcar, J., 2014. Soft skills and their wage returns: Overview of empirical literature. *Review of Economic Perspectives*, *14*(1), pp.3-15.

Baumgartner, H., 2002. Toward a personology of the consumer. *Journal of consumer research*, *29*(2), pp.286-292.

Bardhi, F. and Eckhardt, G.M., 2017. Liquid consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *44*(3), pp.582-597.

Bauer, H.H., Stokburger-Sauer, N.E. and Exler, S., 2008. Brand image and fan loyalty in professional team sport: A refined model and empirical assessment. *Journal of sport Management*, *22*(2), pp.205-226.

Bauman, Z., 2005. *Liquid life*. Polity.

Beal, B., 1996. Alternative masculinity and its effects on gender relations in the subculture of skateboarding. *Journal of sport behavior*, *19*(3), p.204.

Becker, H.S., 1952. Social-class variations in the teacher-pupil relationship. *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, *25*(8), pp.451-465.

Bee, C.C. and Havitz, M.E., 2010. Exploring the relationship between involvement, fan attraction, psychological commitment and behavioural loyalty in a sports spectator context. *International Journal of Sports Marketing and Sponsorship*, *11*(2), pp.37-54.

Belk, R.W., 1988. Possessions and the Extended Self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, [online] 15(2), p.139.

Belk, R.W., 2000. Consumption lifestyles of the new elite in Zimbabwe. *Advances in Consumer Research*, *28*.

Belk, R.W. ed., 2007. *Handbook of qualitative research methods in marketing*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Belk, R.W., Wallendorf, M. and Sherry Jr, J.F., 1989. The sacred and the profane in consumer behavior: Theodicy on the odyssey. *Journal of consumer research*, *16*(1), pp.1-38.

Belk, R.W., Fischer, E. and Kozinets, R.V., 2013. *Qualitative consumer & marketing research*. London: Sage.

Bellavance, G., 2008. Where's high? Who's low? What's new? Classification and stratification inside cultural "Repertoires". *Poetics*, *36*(2-3), pp.189-216.

Bennett, T., Emmison, M. and Frow, J., 1999. *Accounting for tastes: Australian everyday cultures*. Cambridge University Press.

Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E.B., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M. and Wright, D., 2009. *Culture, class, distinction*. Routledge.

Berger, J. and Ward, M., 2010. Subtle signals of inconspicuous consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *37*(4), pp.555-569.

Berlin, K.L. and Klenosky, D.B., 2014. Let Me Play, Not Exercise! A laddering study of older women's motivations for continued engagement in sports-based versus exercise-based leisure time physical activities. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *46*(2), pp.127-152.

Bernthal, M.J., Crockett, D. and Rose, R.L., 2005. Credit cards as lifestyle facilitators. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *32*(1), pp.130-145.

Beutler, I. (2008). Sport serving development and peace: Achieving the goals of the United Nations through sport. *Sport in Society*, 11(4), pp.359–369.

Beverland, M.B., Farrelly, F. and Quester, P.G., 2010. Authentic subcultural membership: Antecedents and consequences of authenticating acts and authoritative performances. *Psychology and Marketing*, 27(7), pp.698–716.

Biscaia, R., Correia, A., Rosado, A.F., Ross, S.D. and Maroco, J., 2013. Sport sponsorship: The relationship between team loyalty, sponsorship awareness, attitude toward the sponsor, and purchase intentions. *Journal of Sport Management*, *27*(4), pp.288-302.

Black, D.R., 2010. The ambiguities of development: Implications for 'development through sport'. *Sport in society*, *13*(1), pp.121-129.

Black, N., Johnston, D.W., Propper, C. and Shields, M.A., 2019. The effect of school sports facilities on physical activity, health and socioeconomic status in adulthood. *Social Science & Medicine*, *220*, pp.120-128.

Borland, J. and MacDonald, R., 2003. Demand for sport. *Oxford review of economic policy*, *19*(4), pp.478-502.

Borman, K.M., LeCompte, M.D. and Goetz, J.P., 1986. Ethnographic and qualitative research design and why it doesn't work. *American behavioral scientist*, *30*(1), pp.42-57.

Botterill, J., 2007. Cowboys, outlaws and artists: The rhetoric of authenticity and contemporary jeans and sneaker advertisements. *Journal of consumer culture*, *7*(1), pp.105-125.

Bourdieu, P., 1974. The school as a conservative force: scholastic and cultural inequalities, in: J. EGGLESTON (Ed.) Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education (London, Methuen)

Bourdieu, P., 1978. Sport and social class. *Social Science Information*, 17(6), pp.819–840.

Bourdieu, P., 1984. *Distinction A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London Routledge & Paul.

Bourdieu, P., 1986. Forms of Capital. *Journal of Economic Sociology*, 3(5), pp.60–74.

Bourdieu, P., 2000. Making the economic habitus: Algerian workers revisited. *Ethnography*, *1*(1), pp.17-41.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. 1977. *Reproduction in education, society and culture (La reproduction, engl.) Translated by Richard Nice.* Sage.

Branthwaite, A. and Patterson, S., 2011. The power of qualitative research in the era of social media. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, *14*(4), pp.430-440.

Burnham, P., Wilkinson, M. and Goodall, S., 2013. The 2010 regulations on golf groove design: impact on ball flight characteristics during a controlled shot. *International Journal of Golf Science*, *2*(1), pp.54-64.

Businesswire.com., 2019. *Sports - $614 Billion Global Market Opportunities & Strategies to 2022 - ResearchAndMarkets.com*. [online] Available at: https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20190514005472/en/Sports---614-Billion-Global-Market-Opportunities.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L., 1999. On the cunning of imperialist reason. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *16*(1), pp.41-58.

Brown, S., Kozinets, R.V. and Sherry Jr, J.F., 2003. Teaching old brands new tricks: Retro branding and the revival of brand meaning. *Journal of marketing*, *67*(3), pp.19-33.

Brown, D., 2004. *Step into Liquid*, DVD, Rialto Entertainment. California, CA.

Burgh-Woodman, H. and Brace-Govan, J., 2007. We do not live to buy: Why subcultures are different from brand communities and the meaning for marketing discourse. *International journal of sociology and social policy*, *27*(5/6), pp.193-207.

Burke, C., 2015. *Culture, capitals and graduate futures: Degrees of class*. Routledge.

Canniford, R. and Shankar, A., 2013. Purifying Practices: How Consumers Assemble Romantic Experiences of Nature. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39(5), pp.1051–1069.

Cappellini, B., 2009. The sacrifice of re-use: the travels of leftovers and family relations. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour: An International Research Review*, *8*(6), pp.365-375.

Cappellini, B. and Parsons, E., 2013. Self-sacrifice and abnegation in the kitchen. *The Routledge Companion to Identity and Consumption*, p.119.

Cappellini, B., Marilli, A. and Parsons, E., 2014. The hidden work of coping: gender and the micro-politics of household consumption in times of austerity. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *30*(15-16), pp.1597-1624.

Carfagna, L.B., Dubois, E.A., Fitzmaurice, C., Ouimette, M.Y., Schor, J.B., Willis, M. and Laidley, T., 2014. An emerging eco-habitus: The reconfiguration of high cultural capital practices among ethical consumers. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 14(2), pp.158–178.

Celsi, R.L., Rose, R.L. and Leigh, T.W., 1993. An exploration of high-risk leisure consumption through skydiving. *Journal of consumer research*, *20*(1), pp.1-23.

Ceron-Anaya, H., 2010. An Approach to the History of Golf: Business, Symbolic Capital, and Technologies of the Self. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 34(3), pp.339–358.

Ceron-Anaya, H., 2017. Not everybody is a golfer: Bourdieu and affluent bodies in Mexico. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *46*(3), pp.285-309.

Ceron-Anaya, H., 2018. Class, gender, and space: The case of affluent golf clubs in contemporary Mexico City. *Ethnography*, 20(4), pp.503–522.

Ceron-Anaya, H., 2019. *Privilege at Play: Class, Race, Gender, and Golf in Mexico*. Oxford University Press.

Chadborn, D., Edwards, P. and Reysen, S., 2017. Displaying fan identity to make friends. *Intensities: The Journal of Cult Media*, *9*, pp.87-97.

Chalmers Thomas, T., Price, L.L. and Schau, H.J., 2012. When differences unite: Resource dependence in heterogeneous consumption communities. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *39*(5), pp.1010-1033.

Chan, T.W. and Goldthorpe, J.H., 2005. The social stratification of theatre, dance and cinema attendance. *Cultural Trends*, *14*(3), pp.193-212.

Clammer, J., 1984. Approaches to ethnographic research. In Ellen, R.F. (Ed.)*Ethnographic research: A guide to general conduct. Research Methods in Social Anthropology*, *1*, pp.63-85. Academic Press London.

Clinch, M., 2018. *Around half the world's population tuned in to this year's soccer World Cup*. [online] CNBC. Available at: https://www.cnbc.com/2018/12/21/world-cup-2018-half-the-worlds-population-tuned-in-to-this-years-soccer-tournament.html.

Coalter, F., 2007. *A wider social role for sport: Who's keeping the score?* Routledge.

Coffey, A., 1999. *The ethnographic self: Fieldwork and the representation of identity*. Sage.

Coleman, J., 2006. The adolescent society. *Education Next*, *6*(1).

Coleman, N.V. and Williams, P., 2013. Feeling like my self: Emotion profiles and social identity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *40*(2), pp.203-222.

Collignon, H., 2019. *Read @ATKearney: Winning in the Business of Sports*. [online] Atkearney.com. Available at: https://www.atkearney.com/communications-media-technology/article?/a/winning-in-the-business-of-sports.

Commuri, S., 2009. The impact of counterfeiting on genuine-item consumers' brand relationships. *Journal of Marketing*, *73*(3), pp.86-98.

CONGU, 2018. A QUICK GUIDE TO THE CONGU® HANDICAPPING SYSTEM FOR PLAYERS. (2018). [online] Available at: http://www.congu.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Players-quick-guide-2018.pdf [Accessed 7 Nov. 2018].

Cornelissen, S., 2016. Turning distaste into taste: context-specific habitus and the practical congruity of culture. *Theory and Society*, 45(6), pp.501–529.

Correia, A. and Pintassilgo, P., 2006. The golf players' motivations: The Algarve case. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *6*(3), pp.227-238.

Coskuner-Balli, G. and Thompson, C.J., 2013. The Status Costs of Subordinate Cultural Capital: At-Home Fathers' Collective Pursuit of Cultural Legitimacy through Capitalizing Consumption Practices. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40(1), pp.19–41.

Council of Europe. 1993. European Sports Charter. RECOMMENDATION No. R (92) 13. London, Sports Council.

Coupland, J.C., 2005. Invisible brands: An ethnography of households and the brands in their kitchen pantries. *Journal of consumer research*, *32*(1), pp.106-118.

Cova, B. and Dalli, D., 2009. Working consumers: the next step in marketing theory? *Marketing Theory*, *9*(3), pp.315-339.

Cova, B. and White, T., 2010. Counter-brand and alter-brand communities: the impact of Web 2.0 on tribal marketing approaches. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *26*(3-4), pp.256-270.

Cova, B., Dalli, D. and Zwick, D., 2011. Critical perspectives on consumers' role as 'producers': Broadening the debate on value co-creation in marketing processes. *Marketing Theory*, *11*(3), pp.231-241.

Crawford, G., 2004. *Consuming sport: the consumption spectacle and surveillance of contemporary sports fans*. London: Routledge.

Cromie, J.G. and Ewing, M.T., 2009. The rejection of brand hegemony. *Journal of Business Research*, *62*(2), pp.218-230.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., 2000. The costs and benefits of consuming. *Journal of consumer Research*, *27*(2), pp.267-272.

Dahl, D.W., Honea, H. and Manchanda, R.V., 2003. The nature of self-reported guilt in consumption contexts. *Marketing Letters*, *14*(3), pp.159-171.

Davies, K., 2012. How reflective practice can enhance learning for sustainability. *Learning for Sustainability in Times of Accelerating Change*, pp.283-296.

Davis, R. and McGinnis, L.P., 2016. Conceptualizing excessive fan consumption behavior. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 28(28), pp.252–262.

Desmond, M., 2006. Becoming a firefighter. *Ethnography*, *7*(4), pp.387-421.

De Graaf, P.M. and Kalmijn, M., 2001. Trends in the intergenerational transmission of cultural and economic status. *Acta Sociologica*, *44*(1), pp.51-66.

De Keere, K. and Spruyt, B., 2019. 'Prophets in the pay of state': The institutionalization of the middle-class habitus in schooling between 1880 and 2010. *The Sociological Review*, *67*(5), pp.1066-1085.

Dietz-Uhler, B., Harrick, E.A., End, C. and Jacquemotte, L., 2000. Sex differences in sport fan behavior and reasons for being a sport fan. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *23*(3), p.219.

DiMaggio, P., 1982. Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status Culture Participation on the Grades of U.S. High School Students. *American Sociological Review*, 47(2), p.189.

DiMaggio, P. and Mohr, J., 1985. Cultural Capital, Educational Attainment, and Marital Selection. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(6), pp.1231–1261.

DiMaggio, P. and Mukhtar, T., 2004. Arts participation as cultural capital in the United States, 1982–2002: Signs of decline? *Poetics*, 32(2), pp.169–194.

Doepke, M. and Zilibotti, F., 2005. Social class and the spirit of capitalism. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *3*(2-3), pp.516-524.

Douglas, M and Isherwood, B. 1979. *The World of Goods*. Allen Lane, London.

Drewe, S.B., 2003. *Why sport?: An introduction to the philosophy of sport*. Thompson Educational Pub.

Duffett, M., 2013. *Understanding fandom: An introduction to the study of media fan culture*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Dumais, S.A., 2002. Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus. *Sociology of education*, *75*(1), p.44.

Dunning, E. and Sheard, K., 1976. The bifurcation of rugby union and rugby league: A case study of organizational conflict and change. *International Review of Sport Sociology*, *11*(2), pp.31-72.

Edgerton, J.D. and Roberts, L.W., 2014. Cultural capital or habitus? Bourdieu and beyond in the explanation of enduring educational inequality. *Theory and Research in Education*, *12*(2), pp.193-220.

Eitle, T.M. and Eitle, D.J., 2002. Race, Cultural Capital, and the Educational Effects of Participation in Sports. *Sociology of Education*, 75(2), p.123.

Elliott, R. and Jankel-Elliott, N., 2003. Using ethnography in strategic consumer research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, *6*(4), pp.215-223.

Ellis, C. and Bochner, A., 2000. Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject, in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S., (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd Ed.)*, Sage Publications, pp. 733-768

Erickson, B.H., 1996. Culture, Class, and Connections. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(1), pp.217–251.

Eurich, M. and Burtscher, M., 2014. The Business-to-Consumer Lock-in Effect.

Evers, C., 2010. *Notes for a young surfer*. Melbourne Univ. Publishing.

Falzon, M.A., 2009. Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory. *Praxis and Locality*.

Farrell, A., Fink, J.S. and Fields, S., 2011. Women's sport spectatorship: An exploration of men's influence. *Journal of Sport Management*, *25*(3), pp.190-201.

Filo, K., Funk, D. and O'Brien, D., 2010. The antecedents and outcomes of attachment and sponsor image within charity sport events. *Journal of Sport Management*, *24*(6), pp.623-648.

Firat, A.F. and Venkatesh, A., 1995. Liberatory Postmodernism and the Reenchantment of Consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(3), p.239.

Fiske, J., [1989] 2017. *Reading the popular*. Routledge.

Foucault, M., [1979] 2012. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage.

Friedman, S., 2012. Cultural omnivores or culturally homeless? Exploring the shifting cultural identities of the upwardly mobile. *Poetics*, *40*(5), pp.467-489.

Froyum, C.M., 2010. The reproduction of inequalities through emotional capital: The case of socializing low-income black girls. *Qualitative Sociology*, *33*(1), pp.37-54.

Fullerton, S. and Metz, R., 2008. The four domains of sports marketing: A conceptual framework. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*,.17(2), pp 90–108.

Funk, D.C. and James, J.D., 2006. Consumer loyalty: The meaning of attachment in the development of sport team allegiance. *Journal of Sport Management*, *20*(2), pp.189-217.

Gabriel, Y., Lang, T., 2006. *The unmanageable consumer: contemporary consumption and its fragmentations*. London: Sage.

Gans, H. J., 1974. *Popular Culture and High Culture*. New York, Basic Books

Gayo-Cal, M., Savage, M. and Warde, A., 2006. A cultural map of the United Kingdom, 2003. *Cultural Trends*, 15(2), pp.213–237.

Gemar, A., 2018. Sport as culture: Social class, styles of cultural consumption and sports participation in Canada. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, p.101269021879385.

Geraghty, L., 2014. *Cult collectors*. Routledge.

Gladden, J.M. and Funk, D.C., 2001. Understanding brand loyalty in professional sport: Examining the link between brand associations and brand loyalty. *International Journal of Sports Marketing and Sponsorship*, *3*(1), pp.54-81.

Gladwell, M., 2008. *Outliers: The story of success*. Hachette UK.

Gladwell, M., 2017. A Good Walk Spoiled. *Revisionist History*.

Gold, R. L., 1958. Roles in Sociological Field Observation. *Social Forces, 36(3*) pp.217–223.

Goldring, J.E., 2010. Between partisan and fake, walking the path of the insider: Empowerment and voice in ethnography. *Ethnography in social science practice*, pp.126-141.

Goulding, C., 2005. Grounded theory, ethnography and phenomenology: A comparative analysis of three qualitative strategies for marketing research. *European journal of Marketing*, *39*(3/4), pp.294-308.

Goulding, C. and Saren, M., 2007. Gothic'entrepreneurs: A study of the subcultural commodification process. *Consumer tribes*, pp.227-242.

Goulding, C., 2017. Pierre Bourdieu: Luminary or Elitist? Capital and the Project of Consumption. *Canonical Authors in Consumption Theory*, pp.206-211.

Green, B., 2001. Leveraging Subculture and Identity to Promote Sport Events. *Sport Management Review*, 4(1), pp.1–19.

Graeber, D., 2011. "Consumption." *Current Anthropology*, 52(4), pp.489–511.

Granovetter, M.S., 1977. The strength of weak ties. In *Social networks*, pp. 347-367. Academic Press.

Green, R., 1987. *Golf: an illustrated history of the game*. London: Willow.

Grenfell, M., 2015. Pierre Bourdieu on sport. In *Routledge handbook of the sociology of sport* (pp. 85-95). Routledge.

Gripsrud, J., Hovden, J.F. and Moe, H., 2011. Changing relations: Class, education and cultural capital. *Poetics*, *39*(6), pp.507-529.

Grix, J., 2013. Sport Politics and the Olympics. *Political Studies Review*, 11(1), pp.15–25.

Grugulis, I. and Stoyanova, D., 2012. Social Capital and Networks in Film and TV: Jobs for the Boys? *Organization Studies*, 33(10), pp.1311–1331.

Guschwan, M., 2012. Fandom, brandom and the limits of participatory culture. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *12*(1), pp.19-40.

Guttman, Allen. 1978. *From Ritual to Record*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Guttmann, A., 2002. *The Olympics: A history of the modern games* (Vol. 14). University of Illinois Press.

Haenfler, R. 2014. *Subcultures: The Basics.* Routledge.

Haig-Muir, M., 2004. Handicapped from birth? Why women golfers are traditionally a fairway behind. *Sport history review*, *35*(1), pp.64-82.

Halle, D., 1996. *Inside culture: art and class in the American home*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Hallmann, K. and Wicker, P., 2015. Determinants of sport-related expenditure of golf players and differences between light and heavy spenders. *Sport, Business and Management: An International Journal*, 5(2), pp.121–138.

Hansen, H. and Gauthier, R., 1994. The professional golf product: spectators' views. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *3*(4), pp.9-16.

Hardin, M. and Greer, J.D., 2009. The influence of gender-role socialization, media use and sports participation on perceptions of gender-appropriate sports. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *32*(2).

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

Hart, A., Kerrigan, F. and Vom Lehn, D., 2016. Experiencing film: Subjective personal introspection and popular film consumption. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, *33*(2), pp.375-391.

Harvard Health Publishing, 2018. *Calories burned in 30 minutes for people of three different weights - Harvard Health*. [online] Harvard Health. Available at: https://www.health.harvard.edu/diet-and-weight-loss/calories-burned-in-30-minutes-of-leisure-and-routine-activities.

Havighurst, R.J. and Janke, L.L., 1944. Relations between ability and social status in a midwestern community. I: Ten-year-old children. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 35(6), pp.357–368.

Healy, J.C. and McDonagh, P., 2013. Consumer roles in brand culture and value co-creation in virtual communities. *Journal of Business Research*, *66*(9), pp.1528-1540.

Hemphill, D., 2005. Deeper inside the beautiful game. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, *32*(1), pp.105-115.

Henderson, D.J., Olbrecht, A. and Polachek, S.W., 2006. Do Former College Athletes Earn More at Work? *Journal of Human Resources*, XLI(3), pp.558–577.

Hennessey, S.M., MacDonald, R. and MacEachern, M., 2008. A framework for understanding golfing visitors to a destination. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, *13*(1), pp.5-35.

Henry, P.C., 2005. Social class, market situation, and consumers' metaphors of (dis) empowerment. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*(4), pp.766-778.

Heuser, L., 2005. We're not too old to play sports: The career of women lawn bowlers. *Leisure studies*, *24*(1), pp.45-60.

Hewer, P., Gannon, M. and Cordina, R., 2017. Discordant fandom and global football brands: 'Let the people sing'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *17*(3), pp.600-619.

Hieronymus, A.N., 1951. A study of social class motivation: relationships between anxiety for education and certain socio-economic and intellectual variables. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *42*(4), p.193.

Hill, B. and Lai, A.-L., 2016. Class talk: habitus and class in parental narratives of school choice. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 32(13–14), pp.1284–1307.

Hills, M., 2002. Transcultural otaku: Japanese representations of fandom and representations of Japan in anime/manga fan cultures. *Media in Transition*, *2*, pp.10-12.

Hirschman, E.C. and Holbrook, M.B., 1982. Hedonic Consumption: Emerging Concepts, Methods and Propositions. *Journal of Marketing*, [online] 46(3), pp.92–101. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1251707.pdf [Accessed 2 May 2019].

Hirschman, E.C., 1992. The consciousness of addiction: Toward a general theory of compulsive consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *19*(2), pp.155-179.

Hirt, E.R. and Clarkson, J.J., 2011. The psychology of fandom: understanding the etiology, motives, and implications of fanship. In *Consumer behavior knowledge for effective sports and event marketing* (pp. 93-120). Routledge.

Hoeber, L. and Kerwin, S., 2013. Exploring the experiences of female sport fans: A collaborative self-ethnography. *Sport Management Review*, *16*(3), pp.326-336.

Holbrook, M.B., 1986. I'm hip: an autobiographical account of some musical consumption experiences. *ACR North American Advances*.

Holbrook, M.B., 2005. *Consumer value: a framework for analysis and research*. London: Routledge.

Holbrook, M.B., 2006. Consumption experience, customer value, and subjective personal introspection: An illustrative photographic essay. *Journal of business research*, *59*(6), pp.714-725.

Holbrook, M.B. and Hirschman, E.C., 1982. The Experiential Aspects of Consumption: Consumer Fantasies, Feelings, and Fun. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9(2), p.132.

Holbrook, M.B., Weiss, M.J. and Habich, J., 2002. Disentangling effacement, omnivore, and distinction effects on the consumption of cultural activities: an illustration. *Marketing Letters*, *13*(4), pp.345-357.

Holt, D.B., 1995. How consumers consume: A typology of consumption practices. *Journal of consumer research*, *22*(1), pp.1-16.

Holt, D.B., 1997. Distinction in America? Recovering Bourdieu's theory of tastes from its critics. *Poetics*, 25(2–3), pp.93–120.

Holt, D.B., 1998. Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25(1), pp.1–25.

Holt, D.B. and Thompson, C.J., 2004. Man-of-action heroes: The pursuit of heroic masculinity in everyday consumption. *Journal of Consumer research*, *31*(2), pp.425-440.

Hudson, L.A. and Ozanne, J.L., 1988. Alternative ways of seeking knowledge in consumer research. *Journal of consumer research*, *14*(4), pp.508-521.

Humphreys, M., 2005. Getting personal: Reflexivity and autoethnographic vignettes. *Qualitative inquiry*, *11*(6), pp.840-860.

Humphreys, C., 2011. Who cares where I play? Linking reputation with the golfing capital and the implication for golf destinations. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, *16*(2), pp.105-128.

Hwang, J. and Lee, K.W., 2018. The antecedents and consequences of golf tournament spectators' memorable brand experiences. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, *9*, pp.1-11.

International Football Association Board | IFAB. (2019). *The Laws*. [online] Available at: http://theifab.com/ [Accessed 20 Dec. 2019].

Irwin, J.K. (1962), ''Surfers: a study of the growth of a deviant subculture'', MA thesis, University of California, CA.

Jacoby, J. and Chestnut, R.W., 1978. Brand loyalty measurement and management.

James, J.D. and Ridinger, L.L., 2002. Female and male sport fans: A comparison of sport consumption motives. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *25*(3).

Jancovich, M., 2002. Cult fictions: Cult movies, subcultural capital and the production of cultural distinctions. *Cultural Studies*, *16*(2), pp.306-322.

Janke, L.L. and Havighurst, R.J. (1945). Relations between ability and social status in a midwestern community. II. Sixteen-year-old boys and girls. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 36(8), pp.499–509.

Jarness, V., 2015. Modes of consumption: From 'what'to 'how'in cultural stratification research. *Poetics*, *53*, pp.65-79.

Johnson, B.E., 2011. The speed and accuracy of voice recognition software-assisted transcription versus the listen-and-type method: A research note. *Qualitative Research*, *11*(1), pp.91-97.

Jones, B., 2014. Fifty shades of exploitation: Fan labor and Fifty Shades of Grey. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, *15*.

Jones, I., 2017. 'He's still the winner in my mind': Maintaining the collective identity in sport through social creativity and group affirmation. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *17*(2), pp.303-320.

Jun, J. and Kyle, G.T., 2012. Gender identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *44*(3), pp.353-378.

Kahle, L.R. and Close, A.G. eds., 2011. *Consumer behavior knowledge for effective sports and event marketing*. Routledge.

Kahma, N., 2012. Sport and social class: The case of Finland. *International review for the sociology of sport*, *47*(1), pp.113-130.

Kane, M.J., LaVoi, N.M. and Fink, J.S., 2013. Exploring elite female athletes' interpretations of sport media images: A window into the construction of social identity and "selling sex" in women's sports. *Communication & Sport*, *1*(3), pp.269-298.

Kassing, J.W., Billings, A.C., Brown, R.S., Halone, K.K., Harrison, K., Krizek, B., Meân, L.J. and Turman, P.D., 2004. Communication in the community of sport: The process of enacting, (re) producing, consuming, and organizing sport. *Annals of the international communication Association*, *28*(1), pp.373-409.

Kates, S.M., 2002. The Protean Quality of Subcultural Consumption: An Ethnographic Account of Gay Consumers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29(3), pp.383–399.

Katz-Gerro, T. and Sullivan, O., 2004. Leisure, Tastes and Gender in Britain: Changes from the 1960s to the 1990s. *Sociologie et sociétés*, *36*(1), pp.165-186.

Katz-Gerro, T. and Sullivan, O., 2010. Voracious cultural consumption: The intertwining of gender and social status. *Time & Society*, *19*(2), pp.193-219.

Kaufman, J. and Gabler, J., 2004. Cultural capital and the extracurricular activities of girls and boys in the college attainment process. *Poetics*, 32(2), pp.145–168.

Khondker, H.H. and Robertson, R., 2018. Glocalization, consumption, and cricket: The Indian Premier League. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *18*(2), pp.279-297.

Kim, J., Kang, J.H. and Kim, Y.K., 2014. Impact of Mega Sport Events on Destination Image and Country Image. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *23*(3).

Kim, Y.K. and Trail, G., 2010. Constraints and motivators: A new model to explain sport consumer behavior. *Journal of Sport Management*, *24*(2), pp.190-210.

King, J., Kahle, L.R. and Close, A.G., 2011. Introduction: The study of sports and events consumer behavior. In *Consumer behavior knowledge for effective sports and event marketing* (pp. 35-62). Routledge.

Kitano, H.H., 1969, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

Ko, Y.J., Park, H. and Claussen, C.L., 2008. Action sports participation: consumer motivation. *International Journal of Sports Marketing & Sponsorship*, *9*(2).

Koivula, N., 1995. Ratings of gender appropriateness of sports participation: Effects of gender-based schematic processing. *Sex Roles*, *33*(7-8), pp.543-557.

Kotschwar, B., 2014. Women, Sports, and Development: Does It Pay to Let Girls Play? *Peterson Institute for International Economics: Washington, n. PB*, pp.14-8.

Kozinets, R.V., 2001. Utopian Enterprise: Articulating the Meanings of Star Trek's Culture of Consumption: Figure 1. *Journal of Consumer Research*, [online] 28(1), pp.67–88.

Kozinets, R.V., 2002. Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29(1), pp.20–38.

Kozinets, R.V., Sherry Jr, J.F., Storm, D., Duhachek, A., Nuttavuthisit, K. and DeBerry-Spence, B., 2004. Ludic agency and retail spectacle. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*(3), pp.658-672.

Krane, V. and Baird, S.M., 2005. Using Ethnography in Applied Sport Psychology. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 17(2), pp.87–107.

Kravets, O. and Sandikci, O., 2014. Competently ordinary: New middle class consumers in the emerging markets. *Journal of Marketing*, *78*(4), pp.125-140.

Krohn, B.D. and Backman, S.J., 2011. Event attributes and the structure of satisfaction: A case study of golf spectators. *Event Management*, *15*(3), pp.267-277.

Kurpis, L.H.V. and Bozman, C.S., 2011. The motivations associated with attendance and participation in an amateur sporting event. In *Consumer behavior knowledge for effective sports and event marketing* (pp. 217-240). Routledge.

Kvale, S., 1996. *InterViews: an introduction to qualitive research interviewing*. Sage.

Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S., 2009. *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Sage.

Lahire, B., 2004. *La culture des individus: dissonances culturelles et distinction de soi*. Paris: La Découverte.

Lahire, B., 2011. *The plural actor*. Polity.

Lamont, M. and Lareau, A., 1988. Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments. *Sociological Theory*, [online] 6(2), p.153. Available at: http://www.vanneman.umd.edu/socy789b/LamontL88.pdf [Accessed 16 Aug. 2019].

Lamont, Michele. 1992. Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lareau, A., 2002. Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families. *American Sociological Review*, 67(5), p.747.

Lareau, A. and Horvat, E.M., 1999. Moments of social inclusion and exclusion race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. *Sociology of education*, pp.37-53.

Lareau, A. and Weininger, E.B., 2003. Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment. *Theory and society*, *32*(5-6), pp.567-606.

Larsen, G., 2013. Consuming the arts. In *The Routledge companion to arts marketing* (pp. 211-221). Routledge.

Larsen, G., Lawson, R. and Todd, S., 2010. The symbolic consumption of music. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *26*(7-8), pp.671-685.

Larsen, G. and O'Reilly, D., 2010. Special issue on creative methods of inquiry in arts marketing. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *4*(1), pp.3-7.

Larsen, G., 2014. Arts Consumption. In *The Routledge Companion to Arts Marketing*. O'Reilly, D., Rentschler, R. & Kirchner, T. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. 183-193.

LeCompte, M.D. and Goetz, J.P., 1982. Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. *Review of educational research*, *52*(1), pp.31-60.

Lee, J.H., Kim, H.D., Ko, Y.J. and Sagas, M., 2011. The influence of service quality on satisfaction and intention: A gender segmentation strategy. *Sport Management Review*, *14*(1), pp.54-63.

Lefèvre, B. and Ohl, F., 2012. Consuming sports: distinction, univorism and omnivorism. *Sport in society*, *15*(1), pp.44-63.

Lehmannn, W., 2013. In a class of their own: How working-class students experience university. In *Contemporary debates in the sociology of education* (pp. 93-111). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Lemyre, P.N., Roberts, G.C. and Stray-Gundersen, J., 2007. Motivation, overtraining, and burnout: Can self-determined motivation predict overtraining and burnout in elite athletes? *European Journal of Sport Science*, *7*(2), pp.115-126.

Li, C.P., 2011. An analysis of motivation, constraints, and satisfaction among recreational golfers in Taiwan. *United States Sports Academy*, *39*(4), pp.15-186.

Light, R. and Kirk, D., 2001. Australian cultural capital-Rugby's social meaning: Physical assets, social advantage and independent schools. *Sport in society*, *4*(3), pp.81-98.

Linnet, J.T., 2011. Money can't buy me hygge: Danish middle-class consumption, egalitarianism, and the sanctity of inner space. *Social Analysis*, *55*(2), pp.21-44.

Löbert, A., 2012. Fandom as a religious form: on the reception of pop music by Cliff Richard fans in Liverpool. *Popular music*, *31*(1), pp.125-141.

Lofland, J., Snow, D. and Anderson, L., H. Lofland, L., 2006. *Analysing Social Settings, A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis (Forth ed.)*. London. Thomson Learning.

Lovell, T., 2000. Thinking feminism with and against Bourdieu. *Feminist theory*, *1*(1), pp.11-32.

Maguire, J.A., 2011. Globalization, sport and national identities. *Sport in Society*, 14(7–8), pp.978–993.

Maguire, J.S. and Lim, M., 2015. Lafite in China: Media representations of 'wine culture'in new markets. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *35*(2), pp.229-242.

Mahony, D.F., Madrigal, R. and Howard, D.A., 2000. Using the psychological commitment to team (PCT) scale to segment sport consumers based on loyalty. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *9*(1), p.15.

Malinowski, B., 2013. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea [1922/1994]*. Routledge.

Martin, D.M. and Schouten, J.W., 2013. Consumption-driven market emergence. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *40*(5), pp.855-870.

Maslow, A.H., 1943. A theory of human motivation. *Psychological review*, *50*(4), p.370.

Mason, D., 1999. What is the sports product and who buys it? The marketing of professional sports leagues. *European Journal of Marketing*, *33*(3/4), pp.402-419.

Matheson, J.L., 2007. The voice transcription technique: Use of voice recognition software to transcribe digital interview data in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, *12*(4), pp.547-560.

Mazer, S., 1990. The doggie doggie world of professional wrestling. *TDR (1988-)*, *34*(4), pp.96-122.

McGinnis, L., McQuillan, J. and Chapple, C.L., 2005. I just want to play: Women, sexism, and persistence in golf. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *29*(3), pp.313-337.

Mehus, I., 2005. Distinction through sport consumption: Spectators of soccer, basketball, and ski-jumping. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *40*(3), pp.321-333.

Messer-Davidow, E., Shumway, D.R. and Sylvan, D.J., 1993. Disciplinary ways of knowing. *Knowledges: Historical and critical studies in disciplinarity*, pp.1-21.

Metcalfe, A., 1987. *Canada learns to play.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Miller, T., Lawrence, G.A., McKay, J. and Rowe, D., 2001. *Globalization and sport: Playing the world*. Sage.

Moital, M., Dias, N.R. and Machado, D.F., 2013. A cross national study of golf tourists' satisfaction. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, *2*(1), pp.39-45.

Morland, K.J., 1971. *The No So Solid South: Anthropological Studies in a Regional Subculture*, Southern Anthropological Society, Athens, GA.

Morrison, R.L., 2014. Employee social liability–more than just low social capital within the workplace.

Moufahim, M., 2013. Religious gift giving: An ethnographic account of a Muslim pilgrimage. *Marketing Theory*, *13*(4), pp.421-441.

Muniz, A.M. and O'Guinn, T.C., 2001. Brand Community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27(4), pp.412–432.

Muniz Jr, A.M. and Schau, H.J., 2005. Religiosity in the abandoned Apple Newton brand community. *Journal of consumer research*, *31*(4), pp.737-747.

Muñoz-Bullón, F., Sanchez-Bueno, M.J. and Vos-Saz, A., 2017. The influence of sports participation on academic performance among students in higher education. *Sport Management Review*, *20*(4), pp.365-378.

Murray, J.B. and Ozanne, J.L., 1991. The critical imagination: emancipatory interests in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *18*(2), pp.129-144.

Murray, S. and Pigman, G.A., 2014. Mapping the relationship between international sport and diplomacy. *Sport in Society*, *17*(9), pp.1098-1118.

Murray, S., 2016. Sports diplomacy. In *The SAGE handbook of diplomacy* (pp. 617-627). SAGE Publications Ltd.

MyGolfSpy, 2011. *Taylormade 2012 Rocketballz*. [online] Mygolfspy.com. Available at: https://mygolfspy.com/taylormade-2012-rocketballz/ [Accessed 20 Oct. 2019].

Le-Phuong Nguyen, K., Harman, V. and Cappellini, B., 2017. Playing with class: Middle-class intensive mothering and the consumption of children's toys in Vietnam. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, *41*(5), pp.449-456.

Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2006. *Strategy for Norway's Culture and Sports Co-operation with Countries in the South*. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Obiegbu, C.J., Larsen, G. and Ellis, N., 2019. Experiential brand loyalty: Towards an extended conceptualisation of consumer allegiance to brands. *Marketing Theory*, p.1470593119885167.

Ohl, F., 2000. Are social classes still relevant to analyse sports groupings in "postmodern" society? An analysis referring to P. Bourdieu's theory. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine & Science in Sports: Review Article*, *10*(3), pp.146-155.

Oliver, R.L., 1999. Whence consumer loyalty? *Journal of marketing*, *63*(4_suppl1), pp.33-44.

O'Reilly, D., Larsen, G., Kubacki, K. and Larsen, G., 2013. *Music, markets and consumption*. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Limited.

Ostberg, J., 2007. The linking value of subcultural capital: Constructing the Stockholm brat enclave. *Consumer tribes*, pp.93-106.

Patri, T., 2019. *The Importance of the Pre-shot Routine, by Tom Patri*. [online] Available at: https://www.mentalgamecoaching.com/IMGCAArticles/Golf/PreShotRoutine2.html [Accessed 19 Sep. 2019].

Perkins, C., 2010. The performance of golf: Landscape, place, and practice in North West England. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *34*(3), pp.312-338.

Peterson, R.A., 1992. Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics*, 21(4), pp.243–258.

Peterson, R.A., 2005. Problems in comparative research: The example of omnivorousness. *Poetics*, 33(5–6), pp.257–282.

Peterson, R.A. and Kern, R.M., 1996. Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61(5), p.900.

Peterson, R. A. and Simkus, A., 1992. How musical tastes mark occupational status groups. In: Lamont, M. and Fournier, M. (eds.), *Cultivating differences: Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*, 152-186. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

The PGA Tour, 2019. *Tiger Woods PGA TOUR Profile - News, Stats, and Videos*. [online] PGATour. Available at: https://www.pgatour.com/players/player.08793.tiger-woods.html [Accessed 1 Feb. 2019].

Pink, S., 2013. *Doing visual ethnography*. Sage.

Pongsakornrungsilp, S. and Schroeder, J.E., 2011. Understanding value co-creation in a co-consuming brand community. *Marketing Theory*, *11*(3), pp.303-324.

Prahalad, C.K. and Ramaswamy, V., 2004a. Co-creating unique value with customers. *Strategy & Leadership*, 32(3), pp.4–9.

Prahalad, C.K. and Ramaswamy, V., 2004b. Co-creation experiences: The next practice in value creation. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 18(3), pp.5–14.

Prieur, A. and Savage, M., 2011. Updating cultural capital theory: A discussion based on studies in Denmark and in Britain. *Poetics*, 39(6), pp.566–580.

Prieur, A. and Savage, M., 2013. Emerging forms of cultural capital. *European Societies*, *15*(2), pp.246-267.

Prior, N., 2013. Bourdieu and the sociology of music consumption: A critical assessment of recent developments. *Sociology Compass*, *7*(3), pp.181-193.

Putnam, R.D., 2000. Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Rankin, A., Bakir, A. and Bullock, E., 2017. Golf consumption. In *Golf business and management* (pp. 20-34). Routledge.

Readman, M., 2003. Golf Tourism In.: Hudson S.(Ed.): Sport and Adventure Tourism.

Reay, D., 2000. A useful extension of Bourdieu's conceptual framework? Emotional capital as a way of understanding mothers' involvement in their children's education?. *The sociological review*, *48*(4), pp.568-585.

Reay, D., 2004. 'It's all becoming a habitus': Beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British journal of sociology of education*, *25*(4), pp.431-444.

Reay, D., 2007. 'Unruly places': Inner-city comprehensives, middle-class imaginaries and working-class children. *Urban Studies*, *44*(7), pp.1191-1201.

Reay, D., 2015. Habitus and the psychosocial: Bourdieu with feelings. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *45*(1), pp.9-23.

Rees, D.I. and Sabia, J.J., 2010. Sports participation and academic performance: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. *Economics of Education Review*, *29*(5), pp.751-759.

Reeves, A., 2012. Social stratification, gender and sport participation. *Sociological Research Online*, *17*(2), pp.1-17.

Rey, T., 2004. Marketing the goods of salvation: Bourdieu on religion. *Religion*, *34*(4), pp.331-343.

Richardson, B. and Turley, D., 2006. Support Your Local Team: Resistance, Subculture, and the Desire For Distinction. *ACR North American Advances*.

Richardson, B. and Turley, D., 2007. It'S Far More Important Than That: Football Fandom and Cultural Capital. *ACR European Advances*.

Ritzer, G., 2015, March. The "new" world of prosumption: Evolution, "return of the same," or revolution?. In *Sociological Forum* (Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 1-17).

Ritzer, G. and Jurgenson, N., 2010. Production, consumption, prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital 'prosumer'. *Journal of consumer culture*, *10*(1), pp.13-36.

Rivera, L.A., 2012. Hiring as cultural matching: The case of elite professional service firms. *American sociological review*, *77*(6), pp.999-1022.

Robinson, M.J., Trail, G.T. and Kwon, H., 2004. Motives and points of attachment of professional golf spectators. *Sport Management Review*, *7*(2), pp.167-192.

Roscigno, V.J. and Ainsworth-Darnell, J.W., 1999. Race, cultural capital, and educational resources: Persistent inequalities and achievement returns. *Sociology of education*, pp.158-178.

Roulston, K., 2010. *Reflective interviewing: A guide to theory and practice*. Sage.

Rudy, M. and Getty Images, 2016. *The Best Swing On Tour (And 7 More Bests) - Golf Digest*. [online] Golf Digest. Available at: https://www.golfdigest.com/story/best-swing-on-tour-and-7-more-bests [Accessed 26 June. 2018].

Ruihley, B.J. and Billings, A.C., 2013. Infiltrating the boys' club: Motivations for women's fantasy sport participation. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(4), pp.435-452.

Saatcioglu, B. and Ozanne, J.L., 2013. Moral Habitus and Status Negotiation in a Marginalized Working-Class Neighborhood. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40(4), pp.692–710.

Sandvoss, C., 2005. One-dimensional fan: Toward an aesthetic of fan texts. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *48*(7), pp.822-839.

Schau, H.J., Muñiz Jr, A.M. and Arnould, E.J., 2009. How brand community practices create value. *Journal of marketing*, *73*(5), pp.30-51.

Scheer, M., 2012. Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuian approach to understanding emotion. *History and theory*, *51*(2), pp.193-220.

Schell, L.A. and Rodriguez, S., 2000. Our Sporting Sisters: How Male Hegemony Stratifies Women in Sport. *Women in Sport & Physical Activity Journal*, *9*(1), p.15.

Schor, J. and Holt, D.B., 2011. *The consumer society reader*. Brantford, Ont.: W. Ross Macdonald School Resource Services Library.

Schouten, J.W. and McAlexander, J.H., 1995. Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(1), p.43.

Scott Jones, J.E. and Watt, S.E., 2010. *Ethnography in social science practice*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Shove, E. and Pantzar, M., 2005. Consumers, producers and practices: Understanding the invention and reinvention of Nordic walking. *Journal of consumer culture*, *5*(1), pp.43-64.

Silva, E.B., 2006. Distinction through visual art. *cultural trends*, *15*(2-3), pp.141-158.

Simonson, I., 1989. Choice based on reasons: The case of attraction and compromise effects. *Journal of consumer research*, *16*(2), pp.158-174.

Simonson, I., 1989. Choice based on reasons: The case of attraction and compromise effects. *Journal of consumer research*, *16*(2), pp.158-174.

Skeggs, B., 2004. Context and background: Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of class, gender and sexuality. *The Sociological Review*, *52*(2_suppl), pp.19-33.

Skille, E.Å., 2011. Sport for all in Scandinavia: sport policy and participation in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. *International journal of sport policy and politics*, *3*(3), pp.327-339.

Sloan, L. R., 1989. The Motives of Sports Fans. In Goldstein, J. H. (Ed.), *Sports, games, and play: Social and psychological viewpoints* (2nd ed.). pp.175-240. Hillsdale, NJ. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Smart, B., 2018. Consuming Olympism: Consumer culture, sport star sponsorship and the commercialisation of the Olympics. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *18*(2), pp.241-260.

Smith, A., 2009. *[1776] The wealth of nations. Books 1-3*. Lexington, Ky.: Seven Treasures Publications.

Smith, B. and Sparkes, A.C., 2005. Men, sport, spinal cord injury, and narratives of hope. *Social Science & Medicine*, [online] 61(5), pp.1095–1105.

Smith, A.C. and Stewart, B., 2007. The travelling fan: Understanding the mechanisms of sport fan consumption in a sport tourism setting. *Journal of sport & tourism*, *12*(3-4), pp.155-181.

Snyder, E.E. and Spreitzer, E., 1990. High school athletic participation as related to college attendance among Black, Hispanic, and White males: A research note. *Youth & Society*, *21*(3), pp.390-398.

Spiggle, S., 1994. Analysis and interpretation of qualitative data in consumer research. *Journal of consumer research*, *21*(3), pp.491-503.

Stearns, P., 2001. *Consumerism in world history: the global transformation of desire*. London: Routledge.

Stempel, C., 2005. Adult Participation Sports as Cultural Capital. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(4), pp.411–432.

Stempel, C., 2006. Gender, social class, and the sporting capital–economic capital nexus. *Sociology of sport journal*, *23*(3), pp.273-292.

Stempel, C., 2018. Sport, Social Class, and Cultural Capital: Building on Bourdieu and His Critics.

Stewart, B., Smith, A. and Nicholson, M., 2003. Sport consumer typologies: A critical review. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *12*(4), pp.206-216.

Stokvis, R., 2008. Ajax isn't Ajax anymore: On power, rhetoric and identity. *Soccer & Society*, *9*(4), pp.497-508.

Stroope, S., Franzen, A.B., Tolbert, C.M. and Mencken, F.C., 2014. College Graduates, Local Retailers, and Community Belonging in the United States. *Sociological Spectrum*, *34*(2), pp.143-162.

Suits, B., 2007. The elements of sport. *Ethics in sport*, *2*, pp.9-19.

Sullivan, O. and Gershuny, J., 2004. Inconspicuous consumption: Work-rich, time-poor in the liberal market economy. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *4*(1), pp.79-100.

Sun, T. and Wu, G., 2012. Influence of personality traits on parasocial relationship with sports celebrities: A hierarchical approach. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, *11*(2), pp.136-146.

Swartz, D., 1997.Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Swidler, Ann. 2001. Talk of Love: How Culture Matters. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tamburrini, C.M., 2000. What's wrong with doping? *Values in Sport: Elitism, nationalism, gender equality and the scientific manufacture of winners*, pp.200-216.

Tapp, A. and Warren, S., 2010. Field-capital theory and its implications for marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*, *44*(1/2), pp.200-222.

Thompson, C.J., Locander, W.B. and Pollio, H.R., 1989. Putting consumer experience back into consumer research: The philosophy and method of existential-phenomenology. *Journal of consumer research*, *16*(2), pp.133-146.

Thompson, C.J. and Holt, D.B., 2004. How do men grab the phallus? Gender tourism in everyday consumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *4*(3), pp.313-338.

Thompson, C.J., Henry, P.C. and Bardhi, F., 2018. Theorizing reactive reflexivity: Lifestyle displacement and discordant performances of taste. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *45*(3), pp.571-594.

Thornton, S. 1996. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*, University Press of New England, Hanover, NH.

Thorpe, H., 2009. Bourdieu, feminism and female physical culture: Gender reflexivity and the habitus-field complex. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *26*(4), pp.491-516.

Thrane, C., 2001. Sport spectatorship in Scandinavia: A class phenomenon?. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *36*(2), pp.149-163.

Tilley, S.A., 2003. "Challenging" research practices: Turning a critical lens on the work of transcription. *Qualitative inquiry*, *9*(5), pp.750-773.

Tomlinson, A., 2004. Pierre Bourdieu and the sociological study of sport: Habitus, capital and field. In *Sport and modern social theorists* (pp. 161-172). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Trail, G.T. and James, J.D., 2001. The motivation scale for sport consumption: Assessment of the scale's psychometric properties. *Journal of sport behavior*, *24*(1).

Trail, G.T., Fink, J.S. and Anderson, D.F., 2003. Sport spectator consumption behavior. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *12*(1).

Trail, G.T., Anderson, D.F. and Fink, J.S., 2005. Consumer satisfaction and identity theory: A model of sport spectator conative loyalty. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *14*(2).

Trizzulla, C., Garcia-Bardidia, R. and Rémy, E. (2016). From Bourdieu to Lahire: Social determinism and pluralist consumer practices. *Recherche et Applications en Marketing (English Edition)*, 31(1), pp.85–102.

USGA, 2015. Men's Handicap Index® Statistics (2015). *Men's Handicap Index® Statistics*. [online] USGA. Available at: https://www.usga.org/handicapping/handicap-index-statistics/mens-handicap-index-statistics-d24e6096.html [Accessed 20 Dec. 2019].

Üstüner, T. and Holt, D.B., 2007. Dominated Consumer Acculturation: The Social Construction of Poor Migrant Women's Consumer Identity Projects in a Turkish Squatter. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(1), pp.41–56.

Üstüner, T. and Holt, D.B., 2010. Toward a Theory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries: Table 1. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(1), pp.37–56.

Üstüner, T. and Thompson, C.J., 2010. How marketplace performances produce interdependent status games and contested forms of symbolic capital. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *38*(5), pp.796-814.

Veblen, T., 2005. *The theory of the leisure class: an economic study in the evolution of institutions*. Chestnut Hills, Ma? Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corp.

Videira, N., Correia, A., Alves, I., Ramires, C., Subtil, R. and Martins, V., 2006. Environmental and economic tools to support sustainable golf tourism: The Algarve experience, Portugal. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *6*(3), pp.204-217.

Wallendorf, M. and Brucks, M., 1993. Introspection in consumer research: implementation and implications. *Journal of consumer Research*, *20*(3), pp.339-359.

Wann, D. L., and Branscombe, N. R., 1993. Sports Fans: measuring degree of identification with their team. *International Journal of Sport Psychology*, 24, pp.1-17.

Wann, D.L., 1995. Preliminary validation of the sport fan motivation scale. *Journal of Sport and Social issues*, *19*(4), pp.377-396.

Wann, D.L., Grieve, F.G., Zapalac, R.K. and Pease, D.G., 2008. Motivational Profiles of Sport Fans of Different Sports. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, *17*(1).

Warde, A. and Tampubolon, G., 2002. Social Capital, Networks and Leisure Consumption. *The Sociological Review*, 50(2), pp.155–180.

Warde, A., Martens, L. and Olsen, W., 1999. Consumption and the problem of variety: cultural omnivorousness, social distinction and dining out. *Sociology*, *33*(1), pp.105-127.

Warde, A., 2006. Cultural capital and the place of sport. *Cultural Trends*, *15*(2-3), pp.107-122.

Warde, A., Wright, D. and Gayo-Cal, M. (2007). Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness: Or, the Myth of the Cultural Omnivore. *Cultural Sociology*, 1(2), pp.143–164.

Warner, W.L., 1949. Democracy in Jonesville. *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 23(3), p.189.

Watkins, B. and Lee, J.W., 2016. Communicating brand identity on social media: A case study of the use of Instagram and Twitter for collegiate athletic branding. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *9*(4), pp.476-498.

Watson, T.J., 2012. Making organisational ethnography. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*, *1*(1), pp.15-22.

WeAreGolf.com, 2019. *Golf: number of participants U.S. 2019 | Statista*. [online] Statista. Available at: https://www.statista.com/statistics/191907/participants-in-golf-in-the-us-since-2006/ [Accessed 18 Dec. 2019].

Weinberger, M.F., Zavisca, J.R. and Silva, J.M., 2017. Consuming for an imagined future: Middle-class consumer lifestyle and exploratory experiences in the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *44*(2), pp.332-360.

Weininger, E.B. and Lareau, A., 2003. Translating Bourdieu into the American context: the question of social class and family-school relations. *Poetics*, 31(5–6), pp.375–402.

Wertenbroch, K., Soman, D. and Chattopadhyay, A., 2007. On the perceived value of money: The reference dependence of currency numerosity effects. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *34*(1), pp.1-10.

Wheaton, B., 2000. "Just do it": Consumption, commitment, and identity in the windsurfing subculture. *Sociology of sport journal*, *17*(3), pp.254-274.

White, P. and Wilson, B., 1999. Distinctions in the stands: An investigation of bourdieu's habitus, socioeconomic status and sport spectatorship in Canada. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *34*(3), pp.245-264.

Whitten, R. and Szurlej, S., 2018. *Ranking: World's 100 Greatest Golf Courses - Golf Digest*. [online] Golf Digest. Available at: https://www.golfdigest.com/story/worlds-100-greatest-golf-courses [Accessed 10 Oct. 2019].

Widdop, P. and Parnell, D., 2016. *Golf: widening the gap between those who can and cannot*. [online] Available at: https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/620647/3/Golf%20widening%20the%20gap.pdf [Accessed 15 Apr. 2018].

Wilkie. W.L., 1994. *Consumer Behaviour (3rd Edition)*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Wilson, T.C., 2002. The paradox of social class and sports involvement: The roles of cultural and economic capital. *International review for the sociology of sport*, *37*(1), pp.5-16.

Wilson, J. and Thilmany, D., 2007. Golfers in Colorado: The role of golf in recreational and tourism lifestyles and expenditures. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *20*(3-4), pp.127-144.

Woermann, N., 2012. On the slope is on the screen: Prosumption, social media practices, and scopic systems in the freeskiing subculture. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *56*(4), pp.618-640.

Wu, H.C. and Cheng, C.C., 2018. What drives spectators' experiential loyalty? A case study of the Olympic Football Tournament Rio 2016. *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, *30*(4), pp.837-866.

Wuggenig, U., 2007. Comments on Chan and Goldthorpe: Pitfalls in testing Bourdieu's homology assumptions using mainstream social science methodology: Social stratification and cultural consumption: The visual arts in England. *poetics*, *35*(4-5), pp.306-316.

Yaish, M. and Katz-Gerro, T., 2012. Disentangling cultural capital: The consequences of parental cultural capital for cultural taste and participation. *European Sociological Review*, *28*, pp.169-185.

Zembylas, M., 2007. Emotional capital and education: Theoretical insights from Bourdieu. *British journal of educational studies*, *55*(4), pp.443-463.

Zerubavel, E., 1993. *The fine line*. University of Chicago Press.

Zhou, J., O'Brien, K.S. and Heim, D., 2014. Alcohol consumption in sportspeople: The role of social cohesion, identity and happiness. *International review for the sociology of sport*, *49*(3-4), pp.278-293.

Zwick, D., Bonsu, S.K. and Darmody, A., 2008. Putting Consumers to Work: Co-creation and new marketing govern-mentality. *Journal of consumer culture*, *8*(2), pp.163-196.

APPENDIX A: A Life Shaped by Golf

My Story: A Narrative of Change and Consumptive Trajectory

1.0 Introduction to Golf

1.1 Sweet Beginnings

I don't quite remember the day, at least not in terms of it being a Monday or what the weather was like. I do remember that it was Salisbury and South Wiltshire Golf Club – and dad is finally taking me to play golf. Young and naïve, I would soon realise that "playing" golf wouldn't happen for a few years. There was a lot of really, really boring stuff to learn. I enrolled in after-school programs at Salisbury and South Wilts to learn the basics of the game, so that one day I could hopefully play with my dad and his friends at Fox Hills and Burhill. The professional at Salisbury was boring – all we did for the first day was learn to hold the club. I'm holding it! See? Not falling out. I wanted to stripe that little white ball out hundreds and hundreds of yards, like Dad. At least after a while we switched to putting. Their mistake was offering a Snickers' bar to the winner of the putting contests every week. I was a fat kid – fat kids like candy. This is easy. There's a hole, put the ball in it with this club. Done. I ate a lot of Snickers' bars. I realized, several years later, that I learned to play golf for Snickers' bars.

It was easy. At least, I don't remember the struggles with it. I was a fantastic putter as a little kid; most of us were. We were free, uninhibited by pressure and consequence yet. All we saw was the ball and the hole, and we just rolled the ball into the hole. We didn't get caught up with line and grain and whether this putt was for birdie or double bogey – there was no lead to lose or tournament to win. Except the Snickers'.

1.2 Smacked in the Head

There's not many experiences from my early childhood days with golf that I remember, not vividly, but this is one of them. It was sometime in the summer – it had to be, we were wearing shorts and a polo – and we were playing Salisbury and South Wilts. There was a par 3 on the front nine, near the back of the course that may have been 145 yards or so? The green was raised, with a slope to the left. Shadows from the oak trees nearby covered the ground in a black and green speckled pattern. I was angry. Well, no, I was being a little sh*t. Throwing a tantrum about hitting a really bad chip shot. Dad told me to calm down, and something along the lines of "I won't play with you anymore if you act like this." Pfff. I bent down to pick up my putter cover, and he turned around simultaneously with his bag already on his back. SMACK – back of the head. Trackman

would have put the smash factor on the contact between his bag and my head somewhere near 1.46. I may have cried. I mean, I was like 9 and it really hurt, ok? Yet, for some reason after that, I played pretty well the rest of the day – even broke my personal best for the back 9 by a few shots. So now, every time I start playing poorly and Dad's there..."James, want me to hit you in the head?" No, Dad. Well. Actually. Yeah.

2.0 High School Golf

2.1 First Year at Seneca

My freshman year of High School. Seneca, South Carolina. I didn't play much golf the last few years we lived in England, mostly because I developed an affinity for the rebellious sports like skateboarding, BMX, and throwing dog poop into the cricket field. The fact I was homeschooled likely did not alleviate the need to rebel, and as such it had been a few years since I played golf. Furthermore, I'd shown some aptitude at football after playing for Bishopsgate School. Football was, is, and will always be king in England. Like many other young boys, I often dreamed of playing Premier League football and scoring goals under the lights. I always imagined myself in a Chelsea shirt, burying one in the corner past Seaman in the derby. When I started at Seneca, golf wasn't even on my radar. I immediately sought out skateboarding buddies, though small-town South Carolina wasn't exactly the Mecca of fliptricks and ollies that Surrey was. Nevertheless, AJ, Jesse, AJ and myself began routinely falling over stuff and trying to emulate our heroes – Rodney Mullen, Erik Koston, and Bam Margera among others. Thankfully, we were all terrible – and no-one wanted to be the next Tony Hawk – which kept our injuries at bay. I waited to hear when football (soccer over there) tryouts would be. I'd have to go out for JV, given that freshmen (9th graders) rarely, if ever, play on Coach Vitaris' Varsity team. Only one kid was good enough, Josh Soler, and to be fair even he split time between Varsity and JV given his size.

I made the JV team, as did just about anybody who could run and not fall over, and had an amazing time playing; however, football in the States is played very differently. Conditioning is paramount, and touches a little less so. Generally, if you could outrun the other team you would win. I was not a runner.

2.2 Sophomore Season

So, given that I wouldn't make the Varsity team, I canned the football and decided one summer day before my sophomore year began that I'd take up golf again. My family had just moved from the lake into Cross Creek Plantation, and I met the professional's son, Drew. We were the same

age, and he was vastly superior – as you would expect, growing up with a PGA Professional for a father. Nevertheless, I think he asked me one day as I was out on the range if I wanted to play golf for Seneca with him – they could use another player. Why not? I remember liking golf. Enjoyed playing with my Dad, could it be much different? I'd broken 90 a few times – even shot an 84 once. Hell yeah, let's do this.

February came around, and the season started. We had two sophomores, two juniors, and one senior on the team (the travelling 5). Our first match was against two schools that I don't remember, and I'm pretty sure we played 9 holes and took the lowest 4 scores from 5 players.

> *Holy. Sh*t. Competitive golf is a different animal entirely. NERVES? WHAT IS THIS FEELING?? I'm standing on the 1st Tee and I'm worried about hitting it out of bounds – I mean, it happens, but it never bothered me before? This is weird. Okay. Breathe. Just, breathe.*

I recall shooting somewhere around 43 or 44, and ended up getting my score used. I liked this, but it also terrified me.

2.3 South Carolina Junior Amateur, 2005

Drew and Mark, his father, encouraged me to start playing in junior tournaments to help improve my game. Around the same time, my dad discovered that colleges in the States offered scholarships for golf. Well, I'm just going to need to get one of those! To be fair, we made the connection between getting a scholarship to college, playing NCAA golf, and then being able to try and play for a living – though for me, the dream culminated at playing in college. I did not yet have delusions of grandeur. In the wake of this encouragement, I played in a qualifier for the South Carolina Junior Amateur – the biggest tournament in South Carolina for junior players. I wanted to get in, first of all to play in the tournament, but also because it was at Chanticleer! The premier course of Greenville Country Club, so it was fairly close to home. The qualifier was at Lake Marion Golf Club, and I shot 83 to qualify. Barely. I don't remember much from the actual SC Junior Championship that year, other than being very embarrassed and feeling distinctly out of my league. I played with a tall kid that used a PING Doc17 putter – this putter was f*cking huge. It was a damn 17cm wide putter face. I've eaten off dinner plates smaller than this. I shot myself out of the tournament with an opening 93, with my grandfather watching, and then came back the next day to shoot 86. Pleased with the improvement, though the cut was well and truly missed. Drew shot something in the mid-high 60's the first round and was in contention.

2.4 Dick Paschal

It was after the SC Junior that my dad, a Chiropractor at the time, had a patient come in named Dick Paschal. Dick was, and maybe even still is, the head golf professional at Oconee County Country Club – the local municipal course in Seneca. He and my father worked out a deal where Dick would get Chiropractic care in exchange for my lessons – the weight of which has only just literally right now hit me. I went to Dick at least once a week for the next two summers, and once a month in the off-season. I can guarantee you that he did not visit my father that often, which at this moment in time has just caused a well of emotion to rise up inside of me. Tears are at the edges of my eyes, as I think to myself how I have let him down by not pursuing a career as a professional yet. There are two points I make to summarise, with fluent efficacy, how influential Dick was – and still is – on my development as a player. First point. The following season, after shooting 93-86 and missing the cut with ignominious certainty, I shot 78-73 in a rain-shortened SC Junior Amateur to finish 23rd and qualify for the Blade Invitational. A milestone. Consistently breaking 80 is the mark of a good player. The following year after that, I broke par for the first time. I also started a U.S. Open Local qualifier with two double-bogeys, playing with (at the time Nationwide Tour Player) J.J. Killeen, who was on track to earn automatic promotion onto the PGA Tour. I played my final 16 holes 2 under par, and beat a top Nationwide Tour Professional on those holes. Furthermore, and more importantly, I beat every underclassman on Clemson's roster. Dick was my HTCC.

2.4.1 A Reflection

While never struggling, I was aware that my family was not of boundless resource so I took care to only get lessons when I absolutely needed them and in doing so likely stymied my own development in the game. Nevertheless, when I was in High School, my father took on a local professional (HTCC) as a patient. In return for chiropractic care, the pro agreed to see me as often as needed though I did not take nearly enough advantage of this opportunity. Like Lloyd, I was sometimes conscious of how I'd be perceived – both by my peers and the head professional at my own club – going to the local municipal course for lessons. It haunts me to this day, because Dick is such a wonderful human being that I not only missed out on significant personal improvement and development in my golf but also clipped a fledgling relationship with a great mentor. Furthermore, Dick is the HTCC that took me from an 80-85 golfer to scratch in two years, and I failed to reward him with the relationship and social capital he deserved. To this day I am still trying to make amends.

2.5 Disappointment, Burnout, and Soccer.

The summer leading up to my senior year in High School I played entirely too much golf. I was playing a tournament every week and a half or two weeks to try and build a resume that could get my recruited for college – I only had one season at this point of halfway decent scores. Today, sure, I can play every week and I'm fine, but as a 16-year-old? That amount of pressure, especially while dealing with all the hormonal changes a young kid goes through, just burned me out. I started playing poorly consistently, and my love for the game had extinguished. I liked girls. I liked having fun with my friends. I didn't want to practice, I didn't want to sit on the putting green for hours and hours just to shoot 75 and not get a scholarship. I put the clubs up, grabbed my skateboard, and "boardslid" the fall away.

I decided to participate in conditioning for soccer, since it being my senior year I now had the size to command the defensive midfield. I hated, and still hate, running. Conditioning was the absolute worst. Playing soccer? Love it. Running with a purpose. Running on its own? Nah. Nevertheless, I stuck with it and in February tryouts I made the Varsity team. We had a passionate, semi-dominant side that could take down most teams. We struggled against D. W. Daniel, as they draw from the Clemson area and have access to some better resources. We got obliterated against Greenville, but then again they are a metropolitan (ish) area high school, the level of players they have access to with the club soccer programs in the area made it no surprise. I thoroughly enjoyed that year, though.

3.0 Clemson to Sam Houston State

3.1 Clemson, Physics BSc.

I finished my senior year at Seneca High School, and graduated with Honours and a 4.89 GPA on a 5.0 scale. Taking 5 Advanced Placement classes, I got an A in all except Chemistry – which, admittedly, I was vastly underprepared for after taking only one year of chemistry prior. I made a 50 on my first exam and still turned that class into a solid B. I actually made a 4 on that AP exam. AP Calculus was a joke. I made a 97 in the class, but failed my AP exam in spectacular fashion. Ms. Crain was a sh*t teacher. I ended up taking 6 AP exams, since our AP Literature and Composition teacher thought we should just take the Language and Comp exam as well. I made a 3 on an exam for a course I never took, and failed the exam for a course I received a high-level A in. Nonsense.

AP Literature and Composition, taught by Wanda Knight, in hindsight, was the most rewarding class of my high school career. She was a cold, hard, bitch sometimes – I don't think she realized it – but dammit if she didn't make you work for every point you got in that class. To this day, some of my proudest academic achievements are from her class. She gave me a 9 on my first practice AP prompt. It was a short story about some kid climbing a tree, getting more comfortable as they climbed and settling into the views. Or something. I made up some bullsh*t about it being a metaphor for growing up and easing the fear of adult life as we mature. Turns out, she loved it, and I realized – likely for the worse – that the stuff I pulled out of my ass might actually be pretty good. I managed to write an entire years' project, the Curriculum Unit (one which we were assigned in October), during Spring Break. I paid for it -- the procrastination -- by working 13-14 hour days reading and quoting and analysis and teasing. Turned in 127 pages (that's a lot for a high school kid) and got a 96 on it. I also made a 5 on that AP Lit and Comp exam. My sister is still pissed about it. I digress.

I graduated highly, with honours, and qualified for the Palmetto Fellows Scholarship awarded to students finishing one of their last three years in the top 6% of their class and scoring a 1200 or higher on the SAT. Palmetto Fellows provided tuition expenses to any public university in South Carolina. I had my heart set on USC, but my dad explicitly said "you are not going to be a cock unless you're in the Honors College." I did not apply to the honours college; thus I did not become a Cock. I was accepted to Clemson University, at the time ranked in the USA's top 25 public institutions, to major in Physics. I did not get recruited to play golf. I started playing competitively far too late and reached a satisfactory level of performance even later, rendering my playing resume completely inadequate for college golf selection. I did get two offers, one from Southern Wesleyan University and another from either Brevard or Montreat college in North Carolina, but neither school – nor their respective golf programs – was worth giving up Clemson on a full academic ride…golf or not.

I had met, through sheer coincidence and geographic proximity (Seneca Senior High School was 8 miles from Clemson, and the University golf team frequently qualified and practiced at Cross Creek Plantation – my home club) Larry Penley, the Head Coach for Clemson University Golf. My golf was not up to the standard needed to play for Clemson, but I knew – and everyone who saw me hit balls and play knew – I had potential and could easily get to the needed standard after a few years of hard practice and competition. I asked Coach Penley if, given my full academic scholarship, I could practice and play with the team to try and earn a scholarship sometime later

in my Clemson career. He, from what I remember, loosely agreed and said that basically I could be a "walk-on" i.e. someone who is not recruited to the University for sport specifically but makes it onto the team. Maybe he didn't agree to anything, but in spirit I remember my intentions specifically that Coach Penley was going to have me walk-on to practice with the team. When I got to Clemson, and the semester was starting I received an email from Penley, after several of my own, informing me that he was not having any walk-ons this year as his squad was full.
I was devastated. I was, in fact, so devastated that I dropped Physics and switched into the PGA Management Program at Clemson (arguably the best in the country) after a meeting with Rick Lucas, the venerable Director. I still can't tell you why, exactly, I gave up Physics to pursue something in golf. All I knew was that I needed to be in an environment that would facilitate my game and its improvement – and if it wasn't Clemson's golf team, which it obviously wasn't going to be, then it was PGM.

3.2 A Year in PGM

Once I was settled into the PGM program, I started meeting the guys. Gus, Michael, Tyler, Roosen, Andrew, Jacques – so many great dudes that all wanted to make a living in golf. I felt a little bit of an outcast, given that these guys had specifically come to Clemson for PGM and they all lived in the same dormitory together. I switched in last minute, having a specific scientific disposition, and lived across campus in what were meant to be upper-class apartments (I got in because my best friend and I requested shared housing, and his status as a sophomore removed us from freshman housing eligibility). That dynamic likely kept me from being able to fully invest in the PGM program, socially, and would have contributed to my transfer later in the year.

The program was welcoming, and all the Juniors and Seniors who had internships at all the revered courses like Baltusrol, Winged Foot, and Congressional were always quick to share their experience – they humanized it. They made U.S. Open courses, the sanctuaries of the elite, relatable to a 19-year-old that'd never broken par. My cohort was a riot, as well, and the house parties were righteous. Couple those infamous PGM SuperBowl watch parties with a few of the boys' fraternity hazing and that made early morning lectures interesting – particularly presentations. We learned, in classroom setting, about the intricacies of the rules of golf and their interpretations. We studies mechanisms and philosophies of teaching; communicating advanced biomechanical ideas in layman's terms for beginners. Eventually, we even had to give a beginner lesson, graded, in front of the PGA professional at The Walker Course. That was harrowing, as it seemed all of my acquired skill and resources up to this point were ultimately invalid in what I was

trying to explain to Michael. I believe we ended up making the connection between throwing a baseball and the weight shift in the swing – he was struggling with tops due to a reverse pivot.

For the summer, we had to find courses to host a 3-month internship. This program required 15 months of internships – done in an initial 3 month and then subsequent 6 month periods. These internships were designed to put into practice and cement what we were learning as part of our PGA Training Program. I struggled to find the necessary combination of both a course that would hire me for 3 months and affordable housing for such a short lease and on such short notice. With options running out, I went to Willowbrook Country Club in Tyler, Texas, and lived with my Aunt and Uncle for 3 months. This provided both the affordable housing – free! – and an excellent golf course at which to work. Willowbrook was no Augusta National, but it was beautifully manicured, with slick greens, and an impressive short game practice facility. This was somewhere I could spend 3 months while trying to get myself ready to try-out for the Clemson team at the end of the summer.

I played a round of golf with my uncle's father-in-law, my dad, and a friend of my father – a neurosurgeon in town. My uncle still holds, to this day, the course record at Willowbrook. I holed out for eagle on the first par 4, and then birdied the next par 5 en route to a summer-opening 68. I shook hands with Dad – so proud – Andy, John, and went into the pro-shop. Ryan, the 1st Assistant at the time, jokingly asked "so what did you shoot, 68?" To which I replied, meekly, "uhh, yeah." He and Chris – the Head Professional – asked me if I played for Clemson. They assumed I did, after a 68 on a course I'd never seen before. Between you and me, that was only the 3rd or 4th time I'd shot in the 60's. They both then told me that, while they respected the program I was a part of, that if I wanted to play college golf and wasn't getting a shot at Clemson I should call Coach Terry.

3.3 From Clemson to JuCo

Coach Sandy Terry. Tyler Junior College. I do not remember the details of the first conversation between Coach Terry and myself, but it went along the lines of…Ryan already told Coach about me, that I would be calling, and that I wanted to play college golf. Coach told me that I would be playing in a try-out of sorts at Eagles' Bluff on in two weeks – what I later found out to be against another hopeful kid. Nerves. Holy. Nerves. After being so disappointed and deflated by the experience at Clemson (golf team hopeful, not PGM), I finally had the chance to try this. This, being "College Golf." The dream, and the next step towards something more in golf. A chance to

prove to myself, more than my peers, that even being a late starter I belonged on the stage. Something for which most people did not think I would be good enough, though they usually had the decency to communicate that sentiment indirectly. I put the sword to the stone, and practiced like hell in between my shifts at Willowbrook CC.

The day came. I ate, what I remember to be the outrageous savoury decadence of my uncle's southern-friend biscuits'n'gravy (an American dish – nothing like the nightmare you would imagine with English biscuits), and then put my clubs in the back of my car and set off for Eagles' Bluff. At the time, I was driving a racing green '95 Jeep Cherokee Sport that my parents had gotten me for the internship at Willowbrook, to be sold for minimal loss at the end of the summer. My hands were sweaty on the steering wheel, and while I recognize that this was mid-June in East Texas, the heat was not wholly to blame. I can still feel the ribbed black leather steering wheel cover under my fingers, visualizing the blank expanse that is Highway 155 South between Tyler and Noon-Day. The sun beating through the windshield, overcoming an A/C unit that would struggle to cool a car in winter meant the windows were down, wind blowing through my hair. The drive was uncomfortably long, around 40 minutes; far too long for a 19-year-old to spend contemplating the potential outcome of a one-time tryout.

I arrived at the gates to Eagles' Bluff, told the security guard I was meeting Coach Terry for a tryout, and subsequently waved through. Very odd, I thought, for a gated community this far away from civilization to have a security guard. Nevertheless, driving through the neighborhood I saw glimpses of the trial to come – greens that glimmered in the sun, sloping and undulating. Severe. That sheen on the grass indicated grain, prevalent on Bermuda grasses. Grain also meant that if you were lucky enough to leave yourself a downhill putt that was also down-grain (putting with the direction of blade growth) you would be entirely unable to stop it. The only thing stopping that ball from rolling into eternity would be the 4.25" hole cut into the surface. I knew this only from my brief time at Willowbrook since there were few courses in Upstate South Carolina that had anything other than bentgrass greens. Bentgrass has no grain. Continuing on, I pulled into the parking lot and turned off the engine. I took a deep breath. I was excited, but very, very nervous.

Coach Terry was an unassuming man; tall, slender in frame, a small paunch in the midsection, and a trademark mustache that rested in the shadows of his Tyler Junior College bucket hat. He spoke with the smoothest of East Texas accents – a slow drawl that soothed the air around. He told me

to head to the range and get warmed up. On the range was another kid from somewhere in South Texas…maybe Houston? My swing felt all over the place, and I blame the adrenaline. Heading to the putting green, I rolled my first putt 6 feet past the hole. These greens would be fast. Immediately, my sharp introduction to the speed of these greens put me in a conservative, very aware, frame of mind. I rolled a few more putts, becoming more familiar with the speed of the greens while never quite reading them well. Then, it was time. We were called to the first tee. I know that I shook this boy's hand, identified my golf ball, and wished him well; it was habit. I know I did this. The details, however, are a complete and utter blur. I put the peg in the ground, lined up my ball, and went through my routine. Before I knew what had happened, my first drive was away…*goddamn* it was away! A shudder of nervous energy pulsed through my body in an instant, and I relaxed. This was my first taste of it; serious, competitive golf. I'd learn this was an insatiable addiction.

The first hole at Eagles' Bluff is a down-then-uphill Par 5, ideal line to be played down the right side with a draw – missing the fairway bunkers at the top of the hill and using a draw to catch the slope. I hit 5-iron into the back right portion of the green, and two-putted for my birdie. The rest of the round is a complete and utter smear of preshot routines, nerves, and impact with the driver. I do not remember the final putt, but I shot 73 or 74 and Coach Terry shook my hand and told me to wait a minute. The other boy left, after something in the low to mid 80's. I was receiving a scholarship offer, full tuition. He couldn't offer housing, given their status as a D2 NJCAA institution, but I was being offered tuition. I will not pretend to quote what Coach said, as to be honest I do not remember the exact words. Funny, how the mind can be so overcome with emotion that words truly go in one ear and out the other. The gist of what Coach said, however, was that he knows I can play and he was impressed with my ball-striking. He knows I'm raw, and that I need experience, but I also shot a comparable score to his best players' qualifying scores on this course. I was shaking. It's happening. The next series of events may not be true to chronological order – as again, I was an emotional wreck of nerves and excitement – but each happened. I called my dad as soon as I got back to my uncle's house. His reaction was startling. In fact, I don't think I've thought about this conversation in years. I needed to block it out.

> *"Dad, I played a tryout for TJC today. It went so well – I shot 74 on this tough course, with like 3 or 4 three putts. Coach Terry wants to give me a full scholarship. Tuition. Full."*
>
> *"What? Wait…what? Why were you playing a tryout for TJC? Is that part of your internship?"*

"No, erm…after that 68 at Willowbrook, Ryan said he'd have Coach Terry – he coaches at TJC, and they've got the best JuCo team in the country – call me and talk to me about playing in College."

"James, you've got a full academic scholarship to Clemson – Clemson is Top 25 in the US. TJC is a JUNIOR COLLEGE."

"Dad, he's sent a bunch of players to Division 1 schools. It would just be for two years to get experience and get recruited."

"I don't…James, what the HELL are you thinking? ARE YOU KIDDING ME?!"

"Dad, I want to play college go-"

"—YOUR FUTURE! ARE YOU KIDDING ME?!"

"…Dad! This is what I want. I want to play Division 1 golf. This is how I do it."

"…I can't – you go sit down with Coach and have him tell you how to go from TJC to Division 1."

Now, this recollection makes my dad sound like a bit of a monster. How dare he attempt to throttle his son's dreams?! Well, he is absolutely not a monster. The farthest from it. He's been supportive, encouraging, and a source of constructive criticism that has kept me on track my whole life. Put yourself in his shoes. He, with my mom, spent 19 years nurturing me, guiding me, watching me make excellent grades without trying, develop a love for science and music and a curiously analytical mind. Now I legitimately want to give up the security of both the Clemson degree and the PGM Program (not to mention already abandoning what would have almost assuredly been a stellar career in Astronomical Physics) to attend a two-year Junior College. For what? To live some fantasy of playing college golf? I get it. He was shocked, and had to come to terms with what registered to most sane people as a thoroughly irrational decision. I sat down with Coach Terry, and he told me that his players – those with my level of talent, who take it seriously – often go to New Mexico, Baylor, Stephen F. Austin, San Diego, Oklahoma, Arkansas State, Louisiana-Monroe etc. Now, sure, these schools aren't the University of Texas or Stanford, but they are NCAA Division 1 institutions. The competitive dream. Eventually, my father acquiesced on one condition. If I did not get a scholarship after TJC, I was not going back to school.

I accepted my scholarship offer, and went back to Seneca for the summer to practice and pack. We lost our dog, Monty, that summer. A delightful Welsh springer spaniel we got as a puppy during our time in Bishopstone, outside Salisbury. He was happy, loving, and the right amount of

goofy. Monty got me through high school – I was a wreck. When he was about 8, he got cancer and held on for as long as he could. The vet, two weeks before I got home, said that Monty had maybe a few days left in this world. He held on, and I got to say goodbye to my best friend in our driveway two days after I got home. I slept downstairs with him, where it was cool, for his final night at home. On the floor of my dad's office.

3.4 Two Years at TJC

3.4.1 The 2008-2009 Season

My parents drove out to Texas to move me in at the end of August 2008. I had been assigned the brand-new Ornelas dormitory – finished two weeks before we moved in – at the bottom end of campus. We got everything moved in, on the top floor, and then went to my uncle's to pick up my Jeep. He promised to keep an eye on me, since my parents were still living in Seneca for another year. That night I got back and met the team: Cody, Cody, Sean, Stefan, Mark, Chance, Blaine, and Jordan. Cody, Cody, and Blaine had just won the NJCAA National Championship in Phoenix in May, so they showed us their rings and we all agreed that we'd repeat. Introduction team dinner was at the Country Tavern, near Kilgore – Blaine's choice. It was no secret he was a bit sweet on some of the girls who worked there, and they loved him. The food, Texas-style barbecue, was ethereally good. No wonder he loved it.

Qualifying started the following week, and it was a grueling affair. At least three times per week, sometimes four on weeks where we did not travel, we played 18 holes and kept score. Our scores were recorded and a running average maintained. Coach Terry picked his travelling squad from these averages – one bad round and you could easily be out. Then again, one bad round takes you out of a tournament all the same. I consistently qualified in the #1 or #2 spot, with Cody Blankenship and myself often trading places depending on who had shot lower on the day. Our first tournament was Paris CC's – hosted in the melting pot of culture that is Paris, Texas. I read Dr. Bob Rotella's book, *Golf is Not a Game of Perfect* on the bus ride up, and had a very mediocre practice round. The next day, in my first college tournament, I shot 73-68 and finished 3rd. I still have no idea how I managed that, but I was off. They awarded little "All-Tournament Team" plaques to the Top5 in most tournaments. I have a substantial number of these from my career at TJC.

The qualifying continued, and Stefan, Cody, and I separated ourselves from the pack. We loaded up for our next event, Mary Hardin-Baylor, and set off for Temple. I do not quite recall where

exactly I finished in this event, but I took a phone call after the tournament, on the way to Golden Corral, that I will remember forever. It was my mother. My grandfather, Bill, had passed away a few minutes ago. I'm welling up writing this, in fact, recalling the emotion that hit me so hard and so fast in that bus. The team disembarked the coach and I stayed in the bus and just cried. Cried, and cried, and cried. I'd never dealt with a death in the family before, and the physical exhaustion from the tournament stripped me bare. I took off my black TJC hoodie and just balled into it. Grandpa Bill was my biggest cheerleader – Jamie (Hi-mee, like a facetious Spanish pronunciation) he used to call me. "If you make just one birdie every three holes, you'll shoot 66!" He never got to see my play in college, or break par. It devastated me. I didn't eat; I couldn't. I walked into the restaurant and sat down, puffy faced, and drank water. When we got home, I shaved my head. I don't know what that was supposed to do, I was just a 19-year-old clutching at straws.

The rest of the year went fairly well. I played ten events, travelling as a starting player to every tournament, finishing the year with a win – which came in horrific weather, and against several top-class golfers from Lon Morris CC (Wes Worster, Jaime Garcia, Jason Hamilton, and James Searson…essentially a solid Division 1 team!) – and several top 10s. The team crumbled at Nationals in Alabama, leaving my middling T19th performance as best on the team. My first season playing for TJC was successful, by many measures, though it was more about finding my feet and building a level of comfort.

I remember very little from my classes the first year other than being a fan of my Introduction to Psychology professor Otis Webster. One day, in the spring of 2009, Dr. Webster agreed to meet with me in his office. I asked him if there was anything that could explain my feelings of personal-sabotage in my golf, feelings that I was subconsciously crippling my innate talent with inexplicable decisions, poorly-timed disastrous shots, and mental management breakdowns; thus, preventing me from reaching my potential. He said something simple and profound – "the fear of success is more debilitating that the fear of failure. Success brings expectations, and lifts us to uncomfortable places. Failure brings us excuses and comfort." That message stuck. It resonated. There was a part of me that was afraid of playing well, and winning, because for some reason there was some residual personal sentiment that I didn't deserve it. I wasn't "pedigree."

3.4.2 Summer of 2009

I spent the summer of 2009 practicing, playing, and working at Willowbrook CC. Moving back into my aunt and uncle's, since my parents were planning an imminent move to Tyler, I rose early and

went to bed late. Soaking up the warm Texas sunshine practicing my short game, putting, and playing as much golf as my work schedule would allow. I knew that my driving was a bit of a weakness that last season, so I resolved myself to sort out my game off the tee.

My parents indeed moved back to Tyler, in a house not 800 yards from my aunt and uncle. Settling back in, I now lived with my parents for my second year at TJC. The year I turned 21, no less. My friends in South Carolina, those I was closest to throughout high school – the guys I grew up and matured with – were beginning to forge their own lives without me in it. I'd always thought that we would be the closest of friends our whole lives. Reflecting back on that now, it was foolish. They lived together in dorms and apartments, while I spent all my time five states away absorbing every ounce of golf I could get my hands on. We grew apart with vicious rapidity.

3.4.3 The 2009-2010 Season

So much positivity reflecting back on this season, even though it was winless and devoid of much individual recognition. I was beginning to fuel the fires of science once again as well, so I was taking multiple science classes and making efforts to get pre-medical course requirements satisfied. Physics, Chemistry, and Biology were back on the books! I dove in, and excelled. I took Inorganic Chemistry in the summer of 2010, however, so only Physics and Biology concurrently this year.

The golf began to click. I consistently qualified #1, with Stefan – my sole remaining teammate from our frustrating maiden season – as a fiery #2. We were, essentially, two #1's. Coach Terry made a point to discern. We started every tournament and blazed a trail of All-Tournament Team accolades through the Southern Mid-West, with our best outing arguably being the NJCAA District Championship at Squaw Valley Country Club. I opened 71-65 and Labbo opened with something like 75-70, and though I flamed out he finished with 65 to secure 2nd individually. We finished the season Top 10 in scoring average in the nation (NJCAA) and ranked as the #1 and #2 players, respectively. NJCAA PING 1st Team All-Americans – the ultimate validation of my efforts. That plaque, held only by players voted by coaches in the division, is limited to 6 individuals every year. It is a small, exclusive club to which Labbo and I belong – a venerable meritocratic brotherhood.

Recruiting was an interesting journey. I received offers from UNC-Charlotte, Sam Houston State University, Abilene Christian University, and an awkward proposition from UT-Tyler. UNC-Charlotte was my first choice as they had the strongest golf program. Charlotte practiced and

played at Quail Hollow Country Club, the site of the PGA Tour's Wells Fargo Championship. However, I forewent their offer given that I would be paying $7-8k per year and on the information that Charlotte was "in a crap part of the city" from my brother-in-law and sister. Sam Houston State caught my attention, after an official visit in December of 2009. The school itself was not spectacular, but the academic and athletic scholarship offers combined resulted in a $1500 refund each semester; that extra money was tough to turn down for a 21 year-old looking to keep debt to a minimum. Later in the year Lander University and Francis Marion University both offered full rides, however, these were both NCAA Division II schools back in South Carolina. I had left my life in South Carolina, so there was a subconscious aversion to returning and an intangible pull towards fulfilling the dream of playing Division I golf on a scholarship. I signed with Sam Houston State the day before we left for District; who knows if that 65 would have turned into anything else. The timing of that decisions has always been a source of regret, though the Coach at SHSU applied enough pressure to get my signature.

3.4.4 The Summer of 2010

The summer of 2010 saw me reach a milestone in my personal golf career; qualification for my first Texas Amateur. Luck would have it that the qualifier for the Tyler region was at Willowbrook Country Club, so Cody – a teammate from my first year at TJC – came to Tyler and stayed with my family. My uncle Mike caddied for me. Mike was a former NCAA Division II golfer with incredible natural talent and a sublime short game. His attitude towards the game was (and still is) a beautiful marriage of the cavalier and sensible confidence. Why be afraid of hitting a shot if it's the right one? We teed it up that day, Mike on the bag reading greens and keeping me cheerful and fresh, and finished with 68 to win the qualifier and make it through. I hit three fairways. That I shot 68 that day is both a testament to Mike's green-reading ability and my propensity to get myself out of trouble – perhaps stemming from recent years of watching Tiger and Phil Mickelson play golf on television. Cody also qualified, so we made plans for the 100th Texas Amateur at Royal Oaks Country Club in Dallas.

My old teammate, Jordan, offered to caddy in the first round of the tournament in lieu of my father who was unable to get the day off work. When the tee times came out, Jordan was giddy. Why? Apparently, I was playing a few groups from Jordan Spieth, a young phenom from South Lake. The experience at Royal Oaks was unfamiliar for a player such as myself who had strived for competition at such an event. I walked into the clubhouse and registered for the tournament, officials waiting with a bag of gifts for the player: a Texas Amateur commemorative golf shirt, a

ball marker, a pitch mark repair tool, a fresh USGA Rules of Golf booklet and a hat. All engraved with the TXGA or 100th Texas Amateur insignia. The hat didn't fit, and they never do. One size fits all? Really? I disagree. Our guest speaker at the Player Dinner was Lee Trevino, one of the all-time greats. From the Dallas area, Lee was a speaker with modest roots. He frequently equates pressure to "playing for a hundred dollars when you only have ten in your wallet." Two things he did say, that have really stuck with me, are as follows –

> *Dance with the one that brung ya. If your swing GOT you on tour, why isn't it good enough to PLAY on tour?*
>
> *Equipment contracts are only valuable if you couldn't make that much money by finishing in the Top 10 twice with your own clubs.*
> *(Lee Trevino's Speech, 100th Texas Amateur Championship Player Dinner)*

The first quote refers to the incessant drive to improve, and tinker, that golfers tend to have. We are constantly trying to fix things that may or may not be broken. In searching for constant adherence to these "textbook" embodied positions, we break down and reconstruct our swings at the drop of a hat. Dance with the one that brung ya. The second quote specifically refers to the enticing nature of equipment contracts, in which a player takes a sum of money or an annual financial disbursement to play a certain number of a company's clubs – but as Lee says, if you can play better with your own and make the same if not more money, why switch?

The first round, what I remember of it, was a disaster – Jordan was too encumbered with the scenery, particularly Jordan Spieth, to actually caddy for me in a useful way. This may be a harsh evaluation, and to be fair I played wholly crap, but something in that relationship was not working. I called my dad, and asked him to caddy for me the following day – he excitedly obliged. The second round did not provide the fireworks needed for me to make the cut, but alas, after a solid enough round of 72 I bowed out of the tournament and returned home to practice the remainder of the summer and finish Inorganic Chemistry with the grades necessary for pre-med consideration – an A. I had made A's in both Physics and Biology 101 and 102, knowing that I'd just need Cellular Biology, Microbiology, and Organic Chemistry to qualify to take the MCAT after Sam Houston State. I got the grades, and packed my bags to head to Sam Houston State.

3.5 Two Years at Sam Houston

3.5.1 Junior Year at Sam Houston State University

This year started with an immeasurable, life-altering hiccup. I moved into my apartment, living with three other SHSU golfers – all sophomores – and settled in. We were a week early, specifically to play golf, drink, and meet everyone. I liaised with the Pre-Medical Program coordinator at Sam Houston State, who informed me that I could not play golf and be in the program – there would be too much work. I'm sorry…what? Too much work? Is that not for me to decide? Coach told me that I would have too many laboratory sessions each week in pre-med to be able to fulfil the details of my scholarship. If I'm in lab every afternoon, I can't qualify. What do I do? I enrolled in Business Administration, and took the necessary science credits as electives. Physics and Cellular Biology in the midst of Accounting, Micro and Labour Economics, Principles of Marketing, and various courses in Management. Now THAT was in inordinate amount of work. In the first two weeks of my time at Sam Houston State I had already made a seemingly small decision that has completely and utterly changed the course of my life.

Workouts started the second week. Monday to Friday at 6.30am. They began with conditioning on the track, and gradually over the course of the semester we shifted into the weight room and then split time on the track and the weight room. This was my first experience with organized weight lifting. I enjoyed the workouts, but not the 6am wakeups. The university provided complimentary protein powder to help with recovery, given the daily grind of golf.

Qualifying started that same week, though it was vastly different than at Tyler. Qualifying at Sam Houston State consisted of an initial 8 round tournament, 144 holes, and the Top 5 finishers at the end of the tournament were the travelling team to UT Arlington's event, the first of the season. In subsequent events, the travelling team had to shoot cumulative scores of 225 or better for the 54 holes (75-75-75 or better) otherwise you were dropped from the team in favour of the next man up. I opened with a 77, after a 9 on the par 4 7th, and recovered to finish 1st or 2nd by the end. The nerves on that opening round were akin to the nerves of playing the tryout at Eagles' Bluff. Was I ready for this? This is the dream; can I go get it and make the most of it? Can I even play golf? The nerves made me question whether or not I even knew what I was doing. I settled after the first round, and a side-bet with my roommates helped me focus on something other than qualifying for my 1st Division I tournament. The team was set, and in early September the Sam Houston Bearkats were off to Waterchase Golf Club.

I shot 68-71-72, I believe, to finish 7th individually. I was ecstatic – first Division I tournament and I've finished in the top ten. The next morning, at workouts, I was flying around the track running

my three miles. That finish had given me such an indescribable high, and all I knew was that I wanted more. I wanted to feel that again. Two weeks later we travelled to Tulsa, Oklahoma, to play at The Golf Club of Oklahoma. I finished 10th there, after a 78-71-72 (or something close to that) safely securing my spot the following week. The high wasn't the same, though. There was something electric about finishing 7th at UT Arlington, but that same electricity was gone from this finish. I knew I could do better. The following tournament was Louisiana Tech hosting at Squire Creek Country Club. Those, no joke, are the fastest f*cking greens I have ever played on. There was, unfortunately, a non-zero number of times I actually putted the ball off the green, and had more three putts than I can count. We all shot over 225 and so qualifying reset for the next event; our home tournament, The Harold Funston Invitational. We took home that title, with a resounding performance from our little freshman spark, and I racked up another top 10.

The next three events, two UTSA hosted and one Texas Wesleyan, were tournaments to forget. Two of them sent me back to qualifying and the other saw a lackluster 54th place finish after consistently mediocre golf (76-74-73). In fact, the entire spring of 2011 save Victoria and Conference were tournaments to forget. I managed a 4th place finished at Victoria on the strength of a closing 68 and then a 10th place finish at the Southland Conference after a mid-tournament 67 got me back into it. I finished up with exams and then packed up to head back to Tyler for the summer. I loved my roommates though, and Justin, Albert, and I were developing a close friendship. In fact, all of the guys on the squad were bonding well – some more than others, given they had an additional year with each other – and we played several games of golf together and managed to organize a house party or two. Additionally, we developed friendships with several of the guys and girls in the PGM Management Program there (same type of program as Clemson), though there was always some tension between the Golf Team and PGM. I think several PGM students were a bit bitter about not being able to try and play for the team, and the odd remark would indicate compensation for lower levels of skill.

3.5.2 Senior Year at Sam Houston State

After another summer of practice, and another successful Texas Amateur qualifier – this time a made cut at the 101st Texas Amateur at Austin Country Club – I got back to Sam Houston State for my senior year. I had spent a month and a half in Clemson working with Dick to sharpen the swing before this year. He was encouraging and happy, and we made the switch from a one-plane move to a two-plane move. He believed this would allow me to utilize my natural hip speed and give me more freedom to work the ball – at the price of consistency, he warned. I spent hours,

upon hours, upon hours on the range at The Walker course ingraining this new move and playing Cross Creek Plantation to see the results. I liked what I saw, as I was longer and my irons had control I had never seen before. The drawback was that when I got the timing wrong, and it happened too frequently, the results were more than disastrous. it was just a reload. Still, we persevered and Dick still believes this move gives me the tools to compete at the highest levels.

The stakes were high. This was supposed to be my final year in college golf before taking the leap and turning professional. I settled back into the apartment and buckled down. No more science classes, just business and golf. Oh, I forgot to mention something. I dropped Cellular Biology like a ton of bricks after our 3rd exam, realizing that my grades had a negative correlation to the length of time I spent studying; a trend not going in the right direction. It was only later that my father told me I could likely still have gotten into medschool with a C in Cell Bio. We started workouts as usual, early 6.30am wakeup call, and qualifying for UTSA at Briggs Ranch began. I managed to make every team this year, save the UALR tournament at Chenal, which is a story entirely unto its own. I played well at Samford, finishing 9th, though the remainder of the season was fairly unspectacular. Saying that, I finally broke through and won my first DI event – the Don Benbow Butler Invitational in Jacksonville, FL. It was spring break, and the worst part of the entire trip was that I couldn't even drink a beer to celebrate afterwards. I was 23, legal, but NCAA regulations stipulate no alcohol can be consumed during any portion of an NCAA sanctioned athletics trip.

The following week, I played horrific at UT's tournament at UT Golf Club. Worst 54-hole score since my first year at TJC playing Harbor Lakes. I played so badly, that even hot off of a win, I was dropped from the team the following week for UALR. I was devastated, because this was the first tournament missed in my entire collegiate career. Coach gave me the chance to qualify as a medalist (an individual who competes solely in the individual portion of the tournament) but my mental state was not warmed to this idea. How dare he drop me after I won? I mean, yeah, I played bad, but I was riding an emotional rollercoaster of elation and confusion after finally winning. I had to play head-to-head against Kort, oddly enough just strokeplay, to determine who went. Kort beat me, and I wasted no time stewing over what an assh*le coach was. The following tournament, Victoria, we broke a Sam Houston State record for single-round score – winning the tournament in spectacular come from behind fashion. My final season at Sam Houston State ended with a whimper and controversy. Coach kicked Jordan, our #4 player, off the team for making a poorly-timed inquiry into transferring. This subsequently torpedoed any chance we had at Conference, and we all, regrettably, phoned it in. I was ready to be done, out of Sam, and in

Ireland. My parents had moved to Malahide two months prior and an apartment was waiting above my dad's chiropractic clinic. I would live there and work at the Island Golf Club while getting ready for European Tour Qualifying School. Certainly, I did not have a stellar career golf-wise in college, but my grades remained the most important and as such golf often fell by the wayside. I knew I had the talent to make it professionally.

4.0 Lost and Confused in Texas

4.1 Caddying Where the Pines Whisper

Then, it all collapsed. My parents had to plan an emergency move back to the States, something was severely wrong with my father's business acquisition, and my plan to move to Ireland and make a run at the European Tour vanished into thin air like the smoke off a winter cigarette, lingering just long enough to burn your eyes. I was lost, confused, and terrified. I despised the corporate world and what I knew of it, and just wanted to be able to chase my dream with my teammates. Unfortunately, chasing a dream in golf requires financial resources, the likes of which I did not have. With my parents landing on their feet in Florida, I went back to Tyler for the summer in search of jobs.

My uncle worked for Hewlett-Packard and managed to get me an interview in entry-level sales and marketing at their Plano office. He bought me a suit as a graduation present, and we set off for the Dallas Metroplex in late May. The interview was interesting, and the first of its kind for me. I was asked to sell the interviewer her own pen. I bumbled through some description of the pen's features, when in hindsight I should have just taken her pen and asked her to "write this down for me…[Oh, you need something to write with? Here…]" We create our own demand. I never got that job. Hewlett-Packard ended up needing massive layoffs and she ended up taking the job for which I was interviewing. Cruel. The next week I secured an interview at Brookshire's Grocery in Tyler. I showed up in my suit and tie, ready to rumble with this next interviewer. "Your resume is impressive, and we like hiring student athletes. Unfortunately, you may be overqualified for this position – given that we only hire managers from within, you would need to start in Stocking. However, I would consider you overqualified." What? No job. I was overqualified to be a shelf-stocker and apparently over-dressed for the interview. Erroneous on all counts. After scouring the classifieds and job-postings, I came up empty. I had graduated from Sam Houston State in May of 2012, during the worst of the recent recession. I was the 2012 Southland Conference Student-Athlete of the Year and I couldn't get a job at a grocery store. Desperate, I placed a call to Whispering Pines Golf Club. Brandt Kieshnick used to play for Sam, in

the 1990's, and he was the 1st Assistant there. Several guys from SHSU worked there as caddies during the year for some living money, so maybe he would hire me?

Hired on, I went back to Huntsville for two months to caddy. I would make about $100-120 per loop, and I worked 4-6 loops per week. It wasn't much, but it was enough to keep me going. The work was honest. Caddying at Whispering Pines – forecaddying, specifically – was essentially interval sprints and ball spotting in a hundred-degree Fahrenheit weather. After eighteen holes of caddying, I could eat anything and everything I wanted and I'd lose weight. Heat exhaustion was a real danger along with copperhead snakes and whatever other hells lurked in the pine woods of East Texas. Usually the group of golfers we caddied for would offer or insist that we rode on the back of their buggies from the 15-16th onward –we of *course* refused, but some groups were insistent.

> *"Son, I'm not paying you a dime if you run another f*cking yard. Get on before you kill yourself."*

One day, I drew the bag of a man named Marc Cleere. A delightful character, we discussed passions and education between shots and my interval training. After discovering I played golf at Sam, graduated with a 3.84, and was named Southland Conference Student-Athlete of the Year, he very politely and very seriously asked "why don't you have a real job?" Erm, because I can't get an interview, sir. He was determined to fix that, and told me he would make a phone call to the HR department at Ferguson. Ferguson Enterprises, Inc. specializes in toilets. Well, no. They sell a range of plumbing, HVAC, building, and waterworks supplies. A few days later I received an email to apply for their Sales Management Trainee program. Two weeks later, I had an interview at the Ferguson branch in Spring with the Sales Manager and the General Manager of the Houston Division.

So, you want to sell toilets? Respectfully, Sir, I'll sell whatever the hell you want me to – I need to start a career. I interviewed well, remaining calm and interjecting the necessary humour to keep the mood light. I asked one very important question to Michael Payne, the GM.

> *Sir, my golf is very important to me. Not just a hobby. It paid for college, and I still believe that I have the game to turn pro one day. If I qualify for a major tournament – a U.S. Amateur or Texas Amateur – will Ferguson accommodate my desires to play in these? High profile events that could be exposure for Ferguson as well.*

I left that interview under the impression that, while not all tournament would garner extra vacation days and time off, if I were to play in a major event Ferguson would work with me to ensure I could participate. I was excited to see what happened, certain that I nailed that interview.

4.2 Midtown to Montrose, Ferguson.

I most definitely nailed that interview, and two weeks later received an offer of employment. I started 13 days from that date, but surely how hard could it be to find an apartment in Houston? Really freaking hard. Turns out it is almost impossible to find an apartment that an unemployed 23-year-old fresh graduate can afford, let alone qualify for. So, against my own better judgment and the screams of a mother's despair, I found a room for rent in Midtown – $500 a month, bills included. In hindsight, it was a terrible decision, and I am fortunate to have made it through those 7 months without serious harm to my possessions or myself. It had a closet, a mattress on the floor, and a table for my computer. I needed nothing else; there was even a garden out back where I could sit with a pack of cigarettes, a bottle, and write songs until early in the morning. Taking a chance, I paid the deposit and moved in.

The commute was miserable. Summers in Houston should by law require working air conditioning in cars. My Porsche 944, which I forgot to tell you I bought in May of 2010, did not have working A/C. I arrived to work already sweaty but this was fine given that I spent the first 6 weeks in the warehouse. I learned receiving, shipping, stocking, and inventory processes at a ridiculous clip. Quintin, my boss during receiving and inventory work, made me feel at ease. He joked, worked hard, and didn't reduce you to rubble after a mistake. Keep making the mistake, though, and he'd drop you. I learned quickly under his supervision. The warehouse boys started inviting me to get beers with them after work. Supposed to spend 3-6 months in the warehouse, Ferguson moved me to Counter Sales at the Heights branch after 6 weeks.

Counter Sales was fun and fast-paced. The constant challenge of both mastering the PoS software, identifying the correct parts, and occasionally helping a customer figure out what they needed was a thrill. I spent Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's at the Heights Counter. Tim, Ruben, Jordan, Jordan, and Tyler were quickly becoming family. I even cooked a dinner for some training-cohorts and my girlfriend at the time, followed by a night out in Midtown. In early April, I found my apartment. Single-bedroom unit in a small complex just off of West Alabama. Sure, Montrose was the "gay" area of Houston, but that just kept crime rates low. Moving in as quickly as I could, I fell in love. The drawback was Ferguson promoted me to Inside Sales Support a few weeks later,

meaning I now had to commute back to Spring – 40 minutes each way with no traffic, and in Houston there is always traffic. No matter, this place was mine. IKEA furniture, a salvation-army sofa, and a small one-person kitchen. Perfect. I'd get home from work, throw my headphones on, hop on my BMX, and ride. I explored most of inner-loop Houston on via bicycle within two weeks, and then ventured beyond the loop when I'd have a Saturday off. When I got home, I'd shower and then collapse in a heap on my outrageously large and comfortable sofa. I'd ride my bike to the bars, which was always a fun trip home.

4.3 Leaving Houston

I did that a lot, actually. One day I woke up and realized I hated my life so much I was quickly becoming an alcoholic in no uncertain terms as a coping mechanism. Here's how I got there. I woke up at 5.15, left at 6, arrived at work at 7, took an hour for lunch, and got home at around 6.15-30 after an hour plus commute each day. I spent my days looking at a computer screen, in an office with no windows, with a phone wedged between my ear and my shoulder half the time. I smoked, yes, but mostly I smoked so that I could go outside. Otherwise, I was inside an artificially lit office for 10 hours, five days a week. The crazy thing is that for so long I was fine – I loved my job. It paid well and had amazing benefits for a young bachelor. With some reflection, I've managed to coordinate the day I discovered a profound hatred for my life with a singular event.

In May of 2013, I entered the U.S. Amateur Public Links Championship qualifier at Memorial Park Golf Course. This was the public-golfer's version of the U.S. Amateur, reserved specifically for those players who do not have the benefits of membership at a private club. The qualifier was on a Monday, so I took one of my precious days off to play. Why not, right? I'd been playing a little on the weekends with Josh and Ben, occasionally Michael or Richie – making waves with the managers! The game wasn't spectacular, but it was sharp enough to enjoy the day. I enjoyed the day, and won the qualifier with rounds of 68-70. First USGA Championship I had ever qualified for. I brought news of this to my coworkers and my bosses at Ferguson, and the mood was electric – this tournament came with a Masters Invitation to the winner. People talked about watching me on tv next year, and the customary "don't forget about us when you make it big!" Dad and I planned the week – it would need to be a Friday-Friday trip, given that we were driving to Laurel Hills in Virginia. I was approved for the time off, wished luck, and in mid-July Dad and I set off. The month previous I had also played in the Texas Public Links Match Play, finishing 3rd as a semi-finalist. I was riding one of those highs that only golf can give you.

4.3.1 The U.S. Pub Links

We set off without thinking about it and put Jimmy LaFave on as we crossed into Arkansas; Jackson Browne sang us through Tennessee, and Dawes got us through West Virginia. Arriving in Virginia we were both nervous and excited and clueless. I'd never been to a tournament this big before. The USGA staff knew who I was before I did. There were Titleist Pro V1's and ProV1 X's on the range – they even asked you which you preferred and gave you a bag accordingly. Righteous stuff. The practice round was a blur of perfect greens and manicured rough, though to be perfectly honest it was hotter than Texas. Stifling. We relished the air conditioning of the car after golf and the Thoburn's house each night. Off to a shaky start, I fired an acceptable 72 in the first round. This left me in 54th, and the top 64 qualified for the Matchplay. The following day I somehow managed a 68 while swinging with what felt like two hams and a bag of cats. 17th place. I was in. First USGA Championship and I was on to Matchplay. How long would this dream last? Could I make it a magical week?

No, it turns out that when you sit behind a computer for 60 hours a week and don't practice your short game, some little sh*t from Arizona beats you 5&3. Fair play to him, he was 17 and already signed a full scholarship offer from Arizona State University. Kid was going places. Disappointed but ultimately proud of the performance I had put in that week, dad and I head back to Texas. When I got back to Houston and showed up to work the following Monday, I was informed that I'd used up all my vacation. They hoped I had fun, and that I shouldn't plan anything else until after the New Year when vacation hours reset. It was July. That day sucked.

The next day was the day I woke up and hated my life. So, I spoke with my old coach, Dick, and made arrangements to line up a part-time job in Tyler. This corporate gig had to go. I was killing myself. My eyes had deteriorated to 20/40 and 20/30 from 20/10 and 20/13. I had to wear glasses to drive. I was having panic attacks regularly. I quit. In September, I put in two weeks' notice, packed up my apartment, and left. A part-time job at Vu-Ryte, Inc. and a membership at Cascades Country Club were waiting for me. I was going to chase the golf.

5.0 Back to Tyler

5.1 Vu-Ryte from Wrong

A long-time family friend owned the company I was going to work for, and he knew what my goals and aspirations were with golf and why I was moving back to Tyler. Our philosophical differences aside, he is a wonderful man and taught me a lot of critically important lesson. Details Matter.

That was a mantra at Vu-Ryte, Inc. and I am ashamed to admit it took significantly longer than it should have for that message to resonate with me – especially as a golfer. Tom used to ask me, usually right after I'd screwed something up because I was daydreaming about the afternoon's practice –

> *"Do details matter in golf? Does the position of your thumb on the club make a difference to the shot?"*
>
> *"Oh, huge difference. It completely changes the dynamics of the club-ball interaction – "*
>
> *"James, it's no different. Details. Details Matter. Come on."*

I eventually got the hang of Quickbooks and managed not to bankrupt Tom's company, though it strained our relationship slightly given that I was under the distinct impression he was either bipolar or on a power trip constantly asking me to look for parts that were impossible to manufacture within the specifications and the prices he was looking for. Nevertheless, I made it back to Tyler and out to the Cascades Golf Club. I had played here several times, and knew the head professional at the time from Willowbrook – Jake had been hired a few months prior and was instrumental in facilitating my "membership" ($200 a month for unlimited use of the course and practice facilities). I also started working with my mentor/caddy Kyle. Kyle took me under his wing because he wanted to see me succeed. A former Asian and Australasian Tour Professional, Kyle had an invaluable amount of experience that he parlayed to me. More often than not, our partnerships were not fruitful given my inability to stay out of my own way. I grew frustrated with the tepid nature of my improvement, and "fixed" my golf swing almost every week; thus, I had no semblance of consistency during this period which was supposed to be the year I buckled down and made substantial strides towards a game that could make a living on the Tours.

On a more positive note working at Vu-Ryte, Inc. proved to me that while the B.B.A I had from Sam Houston State was of little more than foundational value in a business setting – given that each business has their own culture, their own software, and their own methods an individual must learn and adhere to – it confirmed that my communication skills and my abilities to improvise were stronger than ever. I like to think I worked hard, always managing to find a way to get orders fulfilled and shipped out. The girls in the office and I did everything: inventory, packing, shipping, receiving, accounting, receivables and expenditures, ordering, and advertising. My experience from Ferguson, though comprehensive in the warehouse procedures of that company, provided only a confidence to be able to learn the less automated methods at Vu-Ryte.

In the end there was always going to be an awkward work dynamic. Tom had known me since I was in diapers – he and his wife had been friends with my parents since the early 1990's, if not sooner. They still went to the same church. My parents returned to their social circles after a long, European separation, and this meant going back. I went on occasion when the weather was too poor for golf, though that was not terribly often in East Texas. Tom treated me well, but he was hard on me. At the time it frustrated me, to no end. Reflecting back on that I know now that he always knew I could do better than I was; at work, in golf, and in my life. He helped light a fire.

5.2 New Swing Coach

I changed swing coaches in early 2014 on the recommendation of my caddy. However, it was not as much a change of coach as it was simply finding a coach that I could get to more often than every other year. Steve was down in Houston, and part of a Golf Centre there. I drove down to meet Steve with my dad in the spring. He is a calm, down to earth, and extremely knowledgeable individual. Watching me hit several balls before making suggestions, he noticed my alignment was off and that my club needed to be more on plane to create consistency and impact conditions that would lower my ball flight. "90 feet" was an early mantra of ours. A Tour player's ball flight, Steve said, has an average peak height of 90 feet. This results from the most consistent and powerful impact conditions – hands pulling the club through and to the left, allowing the clubhead to meet the ball at a descending angle. A central tenet of this theory is this; as the hands move forward, creating more shaft-lean towards the target, the clubface begins to lower in loft but also face right. Swinging left offsets this rightward tendency while minimizing the rotation of the hands at the moment of truth – consistency under pressure, or so it would seem.

I dove in. I loved this numerical, objective, data-driven teaching. I can *see* numbers, and knowing what numbers I should have makes practice easy. If the numbers are right, the swing is right. Right? Erm…yes and no. I practiced, and practiced, and practiced. Grooving these new moves, learning how to get the club there with my own body. Then, for some reason, I started hitting a big cut. This in itself is not a problem – lots of tour professionals play with a cut ball flight. The issue is that Steve said I should still be hitting a draw. Mentally, I was a pretzel. I could not divorce my mind from the marriage of the ball flight and the numbers. My ball flight was perfectly playable! In fact, it is likely more consistent than the draw I constantly pursue. Nevertheless, it gnawed at me, and eventually I broke down – hardly even able to make contact. I shot 80 in my U.S. Amateur Qualifying down in The Woodlands, in what was supposed to be my last big

tournament before Web.Com Qualifying School. I'd taken a swing that shot 68-70-72-68 through the U.S. Public Links and turned it into one that struggled to break 80. What the hell had I done? Dejected, the next week I drove to Golf Club of Dallas for the U.S. Mid-Amateur Qualifier. Hitting the ball literally all over the golf course, I somehow managed to shoot 69 and qualify. This didn't help, rather it just confused me. Golf was no longer a source of joy but frustration and disappointment. I wasn't going to be ready for Tour School, and I worried I'd left Ferguson for nothing (other than my sanity). In the end, I abandoned the Bowman swing and just tried to hit the golf ball again.

5.3 Failure to Launch

I withdrew my entry to Qualifying School. The entry fee was $2700 and a refund of $2400 was offered to competitors who knew prior that they wouldn't be able to compete. So, I spent $300 to save $2400 – that was my mindset. Was giving up my dream worth $2400? I still don't know. What I know right now is that I was not ready for Qualifying School, and even if I had made it I would not have been able to make it on the Web.Com at the time. I was crushed, and heartbroken – often thinking about what Otis Webster waxed in that office several years prior. Was I truly afraid of success? Was reaching and living my dream something to be afraid of? Could it be that, until I broke this dream down into goals, it would only ever be a dream? I was lost. In a single, master stroke that took the better part of a year to orchestrate to culmination I had destroyed my life; stuck in Tyler, working a part-time job, and not going to Qualifying School. My trajectory was in free fall.

Google Chrome became intimately familiar with the NCAA employment website. As an assistant golf coach, I could still be involved with golf – I did always love teaching and coaching – while maybe having a chance to play some on the side. I was scrambling for anything I could do to give myself an opportunity for happiness. I applied for everything. University of Colorado, Boulder. University of Washington. University of South Florida. Nova Southeastern. Georgetown. Nothing. I applied to William and Mary, oddly enough a school that creeped me out when I was taking visits during my senior year at Seneca. Tom was friends with the Athletic Director at William and Mary and told me he had put in a good word for me. I felt confident about this one, to be honest. I wanted to be a college golf coach, eventually, anyway. Teach young men and women how to play this beautifully rewarding and mind-numbingly frustrating game at a high level while maintaining educational and life trajectories through academics. I was qualified in this regard, being named the 2012 SCSAOTY – best GPA and scoring average combination at a Southland

Conference school. At least, I thought I was qualified. I never heard back. From any of them. Apparently, I needed a graduate degree to be considered for anything more than a graduate assistant coach, and of course by the end of July all of those had been filled already.

Post-Grad Scholarships at English University. Surely, this was an accident. There was an advertisement for graduate scholarships available at University A. This was supposedly a good university in England? I finished my drink and walked into my dad's office.

Dad – Have you heard of this University?

In England?

Yeah.

Yeah! It's a really good school. Very posh. Why?

Well, I just came across a post on the NCAA website that they're offering Graduate Scholarships to former NCAA athletes who want to do a Masters.

Really? What do you have to do? It would be a great school to go get a Masters from. How much would it be?

I don't know – should I email the AD?

Yes. Yes, this could be good.

So, I emailed and received a response at what must have been 3.30am local time in Greenwich. They were interested, and asked me to forward over a playing resume. I was made an offer a few days afterwards, and much to the dismay of my uncle and my best friend Chap – I was going to England for a year.

6.0 MSc at University A

6.1 Economics to Marketing

Originally, I had applied to University A for an MSc in Economics. Dad was tremendously excited about the doors that an Economics MSc from this university would open for me – I was, in hindsight, substantially less so. The first few weeks back in England were wonderful, though this was nothing like I was expecting. Sure, I'd lived in Surrey and Wiltshire for eight years as a child but this may as well be a different country. They drive on the left, there's a lot of roundabouts, and the lack of pickup trucks is startling but the accent is different. Had I never heard this before? After thinking about it, I realized that we had never been north of York during our time in the U.K.

Furthermore, we'd only been to York maybe twice to walk around the Minster, drink some tea, and head back south. I loved it here. My first night there involved dumping my suitcases, walking up the street to "The Brothel" (housing for a number of female athletes from the USA – amicably nicknames by themselves) for a few introductory beers, then walking down to the club. I distinctly remember getting home at 2.30, realizing there was nothing to eat, and walking back to begging the kebab shops for food. I managed to secure a soon-to-expire cheesecake and went home a happily drunk young man.

After spending years and years driving anywhere and everywhere for anything and everything I relished walking from my little terraced house into the city and back. My feet hurt every day and it was wonderful; the type of hurt that lets me know I've done something. The same ache from golf. My roommates were also post-grad athletes and also Americans. Two from California – L.A. and San Diego, and one from Paducah, Kentucky. One exceptional fencer, a volleyball player, and two golfers. It was an interesting mix and we all got along well enough, though our WiFi was absolute dog. If you think yours is bad, we struggled to all write emails at the same time. Pitiful.

We started classes and I immediately knew something was wrong. Econometrics, Finance, Micro, and Macro Economics? I didn't even know what Econometrics meant, let alone did I have a foundation in it. The economics classes I had taken at Clemson and Sam Houston were numerical, sure, but Labour econ – my last course at SHSU – was mostly based around concepts and ideas. Not formulas derived from multivariable calculus. I couldn't do this. I recognised that I could not teach myself calculus and perform at a level worth the price of what I was paying to be here in Economics. I called our coach. He made some calls, and got me switched into Marketing. Marketing I could do – it's the four P's, right? Some consumer psychology? I'm a fairly critical-thinking kind of guy, and I'd heard there were a lot of girls in that class as well, so I would fit right in. Eventually, I learned that Critical Marketing Theory and Strategic Marketing can be ass-kicking and that Global Marketing isn't as straightforward as it sounds. Arts, Tourism, and Heritage Marketing took me to Paris for a week. I thoroughly enjoyed earning that MSc.

I submitted my summative assignments for the Epiphany Term in April, managing to then convince a favourite professor into supervising my MSc Dissertation. After a few dissertation meetings, she began planting the idea that I could do a Ph.D. with some of the ideas I wanted to pursue. She gently reigned my enthusiasm by reminding me that 11,500 words seems like a massive amount, but in the end, it would not be enough to dig into everything I wanted to. I took my command

and decided to wage a three-pronged attack on Marketing in Golf; an investigation of advertising, attitudes, and networks in the game. I kept chewing on the idea of a Ph.D. and eventually became tantalized by the absurdity of the potential for James Glenn to be Dr. James Glenn, Ph.D. On a 6-day jaunt to Barcelona for Primavera Sound 2015, I wrote my Ph.D. research proposal with the effusive lateral assistance of cheap rioja.

6.2 Golf in the U.K. – an Introduction

A few days after arriving in England, Coach took the Americans and some returning University Golf Club players up to Gullane for a friendly game against some old boys and each other. I was to play Sami, an incoming fresher who played off +1. When we arrived at Gullane, we went inside first. This was odd, as usually in the States we pull up to the course, put our shoes on in the parking lot, then head to the pro shop and straight out to the range to practice/warmup. We sat down, had breakfast and coffee, and met the lads we were playing. I'd not had a tremendous amount of exposure to the social side of golf off-course in the States, other than with my teammates and maybe a beer after the round while the money is counted at Cascades. This was unassuming – just talking, a few jokes, and Coach telling us what to expect here. We finished our coffees, and then went to change shoes. During warmups, I noticed the ball behaving differently on the greens. Having never played links golf before I was unable to quantify or measure what this difference was – I just knew it was something. The ball seemed to release longer. It would check, sure, but then it would softly release for several feet farther than I thought it should. What type of grass was this? Rye? Bent? No, it's too firm for bent. We headed to first tee without fully realizing the experience we were in for this year.

Gullane is a blur, though I can tell you Sami absolutely stripes it. The entire day was filled with birdies and doubles. I become far too familiar with gorse, immediately developing a distinct dislike for the bush. It was crude, and punishing – a tiny little oasis of teleport-your-ball-to-another-dimension – amidst wide expanses of rye grass. The fairways ran. Fairways in Texas didn't run. Whatever it was – soil, grass type, softness – these fairways were a highway for a well-struck bullet with a 2 iron. Speaking of bullets, my ball flight was entirely too high to play this type of golf and it would be too high for at least the next two years. I needed to reprogram the way I played golf and actually hit the golf ball; high when needed, low as stock. I currently did the opposite. There was no grass near the greens either! My favourite shot, the cut lob that would fly high, soft, and check up a few feet from its landing spot was a foreign entity here. The ground would not allow that shot, pure and simple. Over time, I learned to play the ball along the ground everywhere –

and in retrospect realized how destructive the incessant “high and soft” attitude is to a short game anywhere, even in the States.

Back in the city, a few days later, we played Club A Golf Club for the first time. Well, Grant and I did – Brian had apparently landed the week before, gone to Club A, jetlagged his way around and won their 36-hole scratch (no small feat, given my experience finishing 2nd in that event the last two years). Playing with Tom, the 1st Team Captain, I wanted to make a good first impression. We got to the club and went into the pro-shop. I met Fletch and Kylo for the first time – knowing immediately that I would like these guys. There was no coffee or breakfast here, just business. What little I did see of the clubhouse seemed awkward; an atmosphere of something stuck somewhere in time yet unsure of where it is. I would later come to find out this was due to the Committee running the club – the youngest member of which may be 50 – and their attitudes towards change and the modern game.

The first is a short par 4, usually a 5 iron off the tee in the summer and anything you want in the winter. Finding the middle of the fairway, I gave myself 105 yards into a back pin. Pulling the 56* wedge from the bottom divider of my golf bag, I went through my preshot routine: step 3 paces behind the ball, pick my target, trace the target line down the line to the ball, and choose a spot on the ground 10 inches in front of the ball to line my club and body to. I lined up, then took my grip. A final look at the target, and then the swing. I felt my hands initiate a fluid movement of the club, my arms, chest and shoulders backwards and up. Halfway back, the shaft falls onto the plane of my left arm and shoulders. Lately I had been feeling the club a little across the line at the top (pointing up and to the right of the target at the top). I started the downswing with my feet, a little bump of the hips, and then pull the club down into the ball and left around my hip. The ball is flying true, straight at it – a bit high but I was struggling with trajectory control at the time. It landed right where it should, about 2 feet short of the pin – it would take a small hop then spin back towards the hole. Except, it didn’t. It bounced right over the green and into the rough. WHAT. WHAT HAPPENED?! THIS IS MADNESS. This was my introduction to Club A. Soaking wet in the winter and bone dry in the summer, it took me a year to learn how to play it.

6.3 UAGC Year 1

There is little to remember from my first season playing for Uni A. I lost my first 5 matches in a row then won my next 4 and halved another. To be fair my second match I lost on the 18th and I was four under par. Got beat. I had several middling performances in the BUCS Tour Individual

events, as not only was I figuring out how to play links golf and how to play in 4 layers, I was rebuilding a swing and a love for the game that had been extinguished by my own folly living in Tyler. The weather was horrific – I had never played in such consistently poor conditions. The Dundonald Tournament – my 2nd in Scotland – almost gave me frostbite. I put rain gloves on playing the 5th hole and couldn't take them off due to the cold. My hands had swollen and if I removed the gloves they wouldn't fit back over my hands. I played with icicles. The highlight of the year was the R&A Foundation Scholars Tournament, played over the Eden and Castle Courses at St. Andrews. Usually played over the Eden and Old Courses, this year it was moved to accommodate the Open Championship as it was 2015. St. Andrews hosts the Open every 5 years.

Disappointed about the change but still thoroughly excited to play St. Andrews, Brian, Grant and I booked ourselves into the Saturday morning ballot on the Old so that we wouldn't miss this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to play The Home of Golf. We got on, at 7.15am that Saturday, and paid our £112 each to play. Leaving our accommodation in Dundee, we arrived at the Links Clubhouse about 45 minutes before. As we came up to the tee, the jitters began. I still don't know why, but I've never been so nervous over a first tee shot. Even last year, playing in The Amateur Championship (2nd most prestigious event in the world) I was not as shaken over the opening tee shot at St. George's – which is infinitely harder. The first hole on the Old Course, for anyone not familiar, might be the widest hole in golf. The 1st and 18th share a fairway which must be 100 yards wide. Still, I shook. Taking a 2 iron, I somehow managed to swing and rifled one down the left middle.

I was away, playing the most famous golf course in the world. Every step I took had likely been the same step taken by Jack Nicklaus, Seve Ballesteros, or Tiger. I threw a pitching wedge into the first green about 8 feet away and holed the putt for a birdie. Most of me wanted to just walk off the course – it could not get any better. The rest of the day is an absolute blended mess of overcast and drizzle. We hit the famous tee shot on the 17th over the hotel and then drove into the Valley of Sin on the 18th. I lipped out for 70 in front of literally seven tourists, settling for 71. Under par on the Old. Later that month I managed to finish 10th in the BUCS Finals, the first Uni A golfer to ever finish in the Top 10 in that event. A signal of things to come.

6.4 Club A Scratch Team

Towards the end of April, I was approached by the Captain, Steve Rose, about playing for Club A's Scratch Team. A team of 7 individuals that compete against other clubs in the Union of Golf Clubs

weekly in head-to-head team matchplay events – similar to the University, though this was awarded only on points rather than wins. In BUCS Leagues, whether you win 3.5-2.5 or 6-0, your team is awarded 3 points for a win (exactly like the Barclays Premier League). In UGC leagues, a team can win 14-0 and they will have 14 points, rather than 3 for a win. As such, results away from home become much more nuanced than simple wins and losses. I jumped into the team and played as many matches as I could, though I was away for the first at The Lytham Trophy. Though I left at the end of June – when my housing lease expired – Club A managed to earn promotion from Division 3 to Division 2 and working their way back in the right direction. I played no County fixtures for Club A because I was not yet playing for the Club; no-one had thought to inquire about the American who only went 4-5-1 in his University matches.

6.5 The Lytham Trophy, 2015

Coach told Brian, Grant, and myself about the Lytham Trophy early on in 2015. Apparently, we could pay a £90 entry fee and would be guaranteed at least three rounds at Royal Lytham and St. Annes. Bargain! I couldn't even sniff the gates of a U.S. Open venue back in the States, but here I could play – if I got in – an Open Championship track for only £90. We waited for the deadline to pass and the draw to be posted. The email finally came in one day while I was waiting to get my hair cut in Supercuts on North Road. James Glenn had a tee time at Royal Lytham and St. Annes.

I soon realized what type of tournament the Lytham Trophy was – usually the 11th or 12th most important amateur event in the world of golf each year. Category A in the World Amateur Golf Rankings. I started to get nervous, but more excited nervous than worried. I remember taking a picture of the Lytham and St. Annes shield, hanging on the side of the clubhouse, when I arrived for my practice round. Tourist. The greens were smooth and fast, much like those at St. Andrews. My excited nerves quickly turned to terror when we got onto the course for the practice round. Bunkers. There are literally bunkers everywhere. You can't even see most of them as they are hidden behind the contours of the course – the architect of which was truly an evil, evil bastard. Most of the bunkers in the fairways require significant creativity to simply get out of, let alone advance towards the green. To make matters worse, the fairway rolls out into all of the bunkers. You can specifically play to avoid them and still go in them. Royal Lytham is devilishly, terrifyingly well-designed.

My first experience in the Lytham Trophy was special for only the reasons that I was able to play the course. No recollection of who I was paired with since the experience of that wind and the brutally unforgiving green complexes left me largely traumatized. I birdied the 18th hole the first round to shoot 76, the next day firing a forgettable 84 and missing the cut. Honestly, I was relieved to have made it out of Lytham with my life.

6.5 Summer of 2015 – Tyler, Texas.

Following the Lytham Trophy, Primavera Sound, and the first 7 team matches for Club A, I returned home to Tyler for the summer to collect my data and write my MSc dissertation. I had a plan – interview 25-30 people, snowballed, about their experience with advertising in, their attitudes towards, and their networks in golf then write the hell out of it. After finishing my dissertation, I would take a month or two to bartend, practice, and breathe – unless I was accepted into the Ph.D. program. I had run for and been voted Club Captain of Uni A on the contingency that I returned for Doctoral study. Starting the job search after graduation seemed foolish though it might have proven difficult to acquire employment prior to being awarded the degree. I'd missed the openings for Assistant Coaches this year, so I looked at what jobs I would enjoy doing. Bartending kept coming to mind.

I arrived back in Tyler on the evening of Tuesday, June 30th, 2015. On Thursday, July 9th, 2015 at around 11:33pm – my life would change. Forever. After enjoying a week of golf, afternoon margaritas, and a backyard pool of the perfect temperature I agreed to be the driver for a night at Cowboys. This was the country-dance bar in Tyler and, to be honest, it had been a hot minute since my last two-step. Thursday was always Ladies' Night at the bar with cheap drink specials and preferential treatment given to women. I'd been out in the Northeast for the last 9 months, dancing to the charts, so some down-home red dirt country music sounded like a good dose.

I hadn't worn boots in months. Thank God I didn't. I wore black slim fitting trousers, black oxfords, a blue button-down shirt, and a waistcoat. Positively England-in-Tyler. Staying back on the outskirts of the dance floor, thoroughly enjoying watching my friends strike-out, I noticed a girl in an off-white blouse. Slim, but fit and fiery. She was wearing blue jeans and dark, silver-dusted square toed boots with crosses – very "cowgirl-chic." She had dirty blonde hair, with hints of a past red colouring, and absolutely perfect smile. Her beauty put Aphrodite to shame. I knew then and there that, without question, I would not be talking to that woman. Are you kidding me?! Way out of my league. I've spent the last 9 months talking to Durham girls and Northeastern

women – the nuances of communicating with the All-American beauty had not yet been recovered from the depths of my communicative abilities.

Then it happened. I turned, after distracting myself with something less depressing, and there she was. Approaching me. Erm…what do I do? I mean, don't get me wrong I'm comfortable talking to women, but this was no woman. This was a damn goddess among us mere mortals.

"So, are you 21?"

"What? No, err, I'm 26."

"Oh, well, your stamp says you're 21."

At this point, I knew what was happening. She was talking to me (I know, it took a few moments to register). It terrified me, but I drew on all my experience missing big pressure putts and hitting snaphooks out of bounds in big moments, and did the complete fucking opposite.

"Well, they should have age-specific stamps. Irresponsible letting everyone think I'm 21."

I managed to keep the conversation going long enough that even despite my friends' best efforts, she gave me her phone number. The rest is history and I married that woman May 20th, 2017.

The rest of the summer consisted of me trying to write my dissertation as quickly as possible so that I could spend time with Amanda. I wrote the first draft of my dissertation in two weeks, August 15th, so that I could take a trip floating the Guadalupe River down near New Braunfels. We picked up her friend from College Station, stocked up on supplies in a Walmart, and found our campsite around midnight the Friday. I met more of her friends the following day as they drove down from Austin to float with us. Her co-worker was nice, and the co-worker's boyfriend played a mean guitar from what I remember. Later that night we met up with an old SHSU teammate of mine at the Ryan Bingham show in New Braunfels. Two weeks after that trip, I accompanied Amanda down to Baton Rouge on a few days' business trip and got to meet even more of her friends – fitting in almost immediately because I'm a huge nerd.

The summer ended with a successful MSc Dissertation submission. The only drawback was that I had been given an unconditional offer of acceptance to study towards a Ph.D. in Marketing at the University of Durham. I sent the application the day before I met Amanda.

7.0 Ph.D. in Sport and Consumer Culture

7.1 UAGC Year 2

Arriving back in the UK in early in September to compete at the Stirling International at The Dukes, the first BUCS Tour event of the season, I missed Amanda terribly. I finished a lackluster 17th. It was new love, but it was different – more powerful and genuine than I'd ever felt before – and I was terrified that the distance would kill us. We made a schedule before I left – we had regular Facetime dates, every Monday and Friday Night, and even cooked dinner "together" on Sundays. I played and recorded covers of her favourite songs in Garageband on my iPhone and sent them to her every Tuesday – sometimes I slipped an original song in there. I firmly believe that Facetime got us through that first year. I treated our FaceTime dates as if they were critical practice sessions, knowing that just like in golf each one that we missed would push us farther from our goal. I wandered through my first Ph.D. year mostly just waiting to see her face and hear her voice – and thus arrived at my 9-month review unprepared, having spent the better part of the last 9 months bartending to save up for an engagement ring. I was given 12 weeks to resubmit over the summer.

The second season playing for Uni A went remarkably better, though we fell short at the finish line, finishing 3rd in the league. Boosted by a young Ecuadorean international, Juan Migel Heredia, the performance of both Uni A and myself improved. I often played with Juan and given that we were housemates there was an extant bond that we leveraged to consistently pull out wins week after week. Ultimately, however, Juan and I could not overcome the culture of Uni A – socialization first, performance whenever it's convenient. As Club Captain, this frustrated me to no end. Constant disregard for the culture I was trying to build wore me down. It was a culture of taking golf and the things that can improve one's golf seriously. Snide comments on Facebook and mockery from the rest of the club eventually left me with nothing to care for. I rescinded the devotion from Uni A and would no longer waste my energy on people that so very clearly indicated they did not want it. We lost to a Scottish challenger in the 1st round of the playoffs, at home.

Individually, this year saw my first individual win in the U.K. I took home the trophy from the BUCS Midlands Tournament at Little Aston Golf Club, though to be fair I am still not a massive fan of that golf course. I closed with a 69 to capture the title by three strokes. There was that feeling again! Ecstasy and elation, taking a while to sink in. Several days later I was finally able to accept myself as the winner of the tournament, finally convinced it was not a dream. The trophy stood

on my windowsill for a few days before acquisition by the University Athletics Department. It stands in their prominent glass trophy case as the first individual BUCS Tour win for a Durham player. At the end of the season, I finished 3rd at the BUCS Finals, three shots behind Juan Miguel. He played utterly flawless golf on a windy final round at Crail to take that title; two shots clear of favourite Andy Wilson and three shots clear of myself and Mathias Eggenberger. I had finished the season on top of the BUCS Order of Merit, but at this time the Order of Merit served only to qualify a player for the Finals – the BUCS Champion was the winner of the Finals.

7.2 Individual Golf in 2015-2016

In September Natalie and I won the County Mixed Foursomes. I played on a whim, but thoroughly enjoyed the company of such an experienced golfer. Natalie has won the Club Championship at Club A seventeen times and thus has such a calm demeanour under pressure. We were under plenty of pressure that week. In our opening match, we were 4 down with 5 to play and won the final 5 holes, many thanks to Natalie's putting. We took down the home team, Hartlepool, with Graeme Storm protégé the favourite by a long way. A win over Club B left us largely in the clear for the final, with only Beamish to defeat. A 5&3 win in the final secured both the title and my future County career.

Later that year I returned to the Lytham Trophy with my dad caddying. For the last several years my father has not caddied for me, at all, because our philosophies about how to play the game have not synced well. However, this year I just wanted my Dad there to experience it. It's a tough field, a brutal course, and I thought the calming presence of having my Dad on the bag would assuage any preconceived notions about game similarity. The 1st round was a whirlwind, bogeying the 18th to finish with a 1 over 71 and sit in 4th place. To this day, Dad still says that's the best round of golf he's ever seen me play. In true form, however, the next day saw the slow creep of inaccuracy inflate my score to a bulging 80. From 4th to MC; what a fall. I hung my head and returned home, leaving my parents in Harrogate to enjoy the rest of their vacation.

In June, I won the Seaton Carew Salver, the annual 36-hole tournament at the former site of the Brabazon Trophy. A few days after the win, the Nothern Echo asked to write a piece on the American in the Northeast. It was fairly unflattering, inflating the importance of minimal results and suggesting I had been "dominant" on the Northeastern stage. I was trying to make the most of my time here, and was looking for sponsors to potentially turn professional at a later date – but what they wrote was a resounding half-truth. My first County season had been middling, taking

four points from eight available; three foursomes wins and a lone singles win against Cheshire at Club A.

That summer I returned home and took my dad to the Texas Mid-Amateur Matchplay at Northwood Country Club. Northwood is a typical Dallas Country Club in that it is super private. Playing a yellow Srixon z-Star XV, I tied for medallist honours in the qualifying round and then advanced to the semi-finals on the strength of my short game. One thing that links golf has taught me well is to keep the ball on the ground; I managed to keep myself in many matches, eventually succeeding when the opposition would simply get frustrated that I wouldn't go away. Nothing spectacular just solid golf. I should mention that I proposed the night after getting knocked out in the semis; the nerves managed to hold off until after we had gotten in the car to drive home. Then my hands began to shake.

7.3 Club B

I joined Club B in March of 2016 on a whim; a fleeting recommendation of Dave who was running the catering there, and my buddy Brett who had left Club A to go back to Club B. After a quick visit to the club and a meeting with the Secretary, Digger, I paid my deposit and joined. £30 a month wasn't bad for a second course, especially when it opens up doors to play for the Teesside Union Scratch Team and Club B's Scratch Team. Their team competes in a much stronger league with far better courses than the North Union. In April, I met the boys playing for the TSU Team – some of them I'd recognized from County events before, like Kyle. Others I'd never met before but became friends with all the same. Daniel, Kingy, Tommo, and Thomas all play together fairly often, and that was a group I would soon join.

The first time I played Club B was the same afternoon that I joined. It was cold and early March – the tees had not been put back on the grasses yet, and there were several temporary greens. Nevertheless, I shot 64, and word began to spread around Club B that I had shot 64. Likewise, word had begun to spread around Club A that I had also joined Club B. It was apparently a quarrelsome issue. The Captain and Vice-Captain wanted to be sure that I would be playing for Club A in County events. I assured them that was the case; I had joined Club B as a secondary course for practice and the TSU Team. Over the next year my allegiance began shifting, and 2017 was my final year at Club A. Club B wanted me more, and didn't take my contributions to the club on the course for granted.

Playing for Club B also qualified me for the Teesside Union Scratch Team – a district team that competes against 5 other districts in Yorkshire. I got to play a few nice courses, but more importantly I got more and more familiar with my teammates; competitors on Wednesday evenings playing for Club B. I've grown close to Tom and Sam, both County teammates of mine was well. The Union has not, however, assuaged my distaste for some of golf's more tedious traditions – the most contentious of which being the Old Boys methods with which they organize NYSD Championships and the TSU League schedule. Surely there is some reason, other than Bill being President of the TSU, that Eaglescliffe finish their season with home games every year? That is not an inconsequential advantage, particularly given the differential and unique nature of each course.

7.4 County Golf

Immediately after the final of the Mixed County Foursomes the President of the County Golf Union approached me and asked if I would be interested in playing for the County. Erm, certainly. That would definitely interest me! He put me in touch with Jonathan Ward, the County Secretary, and I attended the Squad Meeting in March 2016 at Barnard Castle Golf Club. When I got to Barnard Castle, I went upstairs and immediately recognized a few faces. Andrew, a familiar BUCS opponent who plays for our rival University, and Rhys, another opponent from UCLAN. The Captain came in as we ate our bacon sandwiches and drank our coffees explaining his strategy for the year and what he hoped to get out of the squad. He looked for us to be more cohesive and together, a unit rather than 12 individual players. He's organized a short game session with Graeme Storm that morning and Graeme was sitting with us all eating and drinking coffee. We would keep the day competitive with a £5 in winner-take-all stableford after Stormy's session. Out on the practice green, Graeme Storm blew my mind. He explained how to use the bounce of the wedge in the short game and how we were all likely doing it very wrong. That day, valuable embodied cultural capital was transmitted from a truly elite player (Storm won the South African Open on the European Tour the following season) to aspirational amateurs. Some did not understand, or appreciate, the information so they discarded it and continued. I relished it. I struggled with it, and took a long time to familiarize myself with it, but in the end, it fascinated me that I could have been doing something so important so wrong for so long.

As mentioned above, the actual season for the County was exceptionally average for myself. I returned the following year in 2017 and had a dramatically better season – winning 2 of 4 foursomes matches and taking all 4 singles matches. I bettered competition from Cheshire,

Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Lancashire. I went on a run in June where I was -21 for the last 72 holes I had played. After the tremendous struggles early in the season, and crushing heartbreak, I rebounded and was ready to go for Qualifying School in September.

7.5 Heartbreak, Elation, and Peru

April of 2017 was an emotional rollercoaster. Having finished in the top 4 of each BUCS event, winning two, in the fall of 2016 I had a seemingly insurmountable lead at the top of the Order of Merit. The spring schedule brought frustration and with it an increasingly unpredictable golf swing. I needed one finish better than 4th to essentially lock up the Individual Title. We had won the league under my 1st Team Captaincy, and regretfully been knocked out of the Championship at home in the quarterfinals. I finished 5th at Dundonald, 7th at the English and Welsh Championships, and missed the cut at the Finals. I lost the Order of Merit and felt absolutely, comprehensively defeated. I felt, truly, as if I could no longer play golf. My putting abandoned me. My driving was erratic. My iron play constituted nothing more than uncontrolled flailing at the golf ball. On top of all of that I made stupid decisions on the course. There's a spiral of negativity that is tough to break yourself from. For the first-time, golf had broken my heart. Usually my heartbreak came from not being able to play, but in this instance golf had broken me. I saw myself in pieces on the floor, wondering which to try and pick up first to put the puzzle back together.

The only joy that April brought was a trip to Peru to play in the Manuel Prado Cup – representing the R&A Student Team with Andy – and the knowledge that I'd gotten into the Irish Amateur at Royal County Down. I played fairly well in Peru which I will attribute to the sheer joy of the experience. The week in Lima was truly special. A few big numbers kept my scores from being better than just respectable but overall the week was a success. Friends were made and relationships fostered. The cuisine was exceptional, if limited, and thoroughly explored. The Maynooth lads brought that traditional Irish humour that broke through whatever gloom was brought on by week-long bouts with diarrhea.

I'd put a small piece of myself back together after Peru. My game had started to improve, my confidence with the putter was at an all-time high, and I was actually hitting it ok. I made the mistake of going back to Lytham – again. Lytham is where confidence goes to die. It took whatever small piece of myself I'd carefully put back together and broke it like grains of sand in one of its 240 bunkers. An embarrassing, utter collapse of ability. I blamed my irons – which

actually may have been not entirely misplaced – and deserted the MP-5's upon the return home from a third consecutive missed cut at Lytham. I went to Ireland with 2010 Cobra MB's and Rifle Project X 6.5 shafts. The experience at Royal County Down was spiritual – it is well and truly the best golf course in the world – and documented in my journal. I played 71 holes without a double bogey, finishing 13th after a lone double on the 72nd. I'd have finished solo 5th with a par, but alas such is life. I went home to get married and sold my irons.

I would write at length about my wedding but truthfully, I can only say this – I did my best not to pass out at the altar from nerves and a racing heart, and when I turned to watch my wife walk down the aisle I cried. I remember nothing else with distinction from the rush of adrenaline and the emotional highs of the day. I cannot even remember the food. My groomsmen consisted of only one person who I cannot attribute to knowing either through golf directly or indirectly via my life's changing trajectory, and that's because we were best friends before I left Clemson; long before I ever started playing golf competitively.

7.6 Golf on the Honeymoon

Leaving out much of the boring stuff that newly-wed couples do on their honeymoons, Amanda and I actually ventured out to play some golf! Surprisingly, she was up for a round at a local club in Lake Geneva and, being an addict, I jumped at the opportunity to get on the course with the wife; I'd left my clubs in Texas, though, and did not realise how tough it would be to play with clubs that are not only *not mine*, but of standard rental quality. It was a trainwreck! I still managed to best the wife, even giving her 54 shots and hamstringing myself with this shag-bag of shite, and actually had a lot of fun. She suggested we stop off for crazy golf on the way back to the lake house, so she could "get even." I obliged.

I want to make a clear note of how difficult I actually find crazy golf—the fact that I whooped Amanda, again, notwithstanding. It is golf (well, putting. It's putting), but not really. You can bounce the ball off of walls and logs and whatever is there—no penalty—and sometimes there's a distinct advantage in being able, mentally, to just hit it as hard as possible; given that you are putting on artificial greens usually laid over poured concrete there is little rhyme or reason resembling putting on an actual golf course. I'll bend down to read a putt, conscious of how ridiculous I look, and then the ball just gives me the finger and does its own thing. Infuriating. About the only advantage I have in crazy golf is that I have a good putting technique and can at least hit the ball where I want to—even if that target is nowhere near where it actually should be.

Crazy Golf is foreign to me…a tremendous amount of fun, but very foreign. Mostly, I think I struggle being able to play crazy golf as it is intended, rather than treating it as a microcosm of golf and, essentially, a miniature golf course proper. I'm not even sure I know how crazy golf should be played, given my extensive socialisation into competitive full-size golf.

8.0 The 2017-2018 Season

8.1 BUCS Golf

What a disappointment. Stefan got here in September and we looked strong – not nearly as strong as last year, but if he and I played well all season we only needed 1.5 points from the other 4 to win each game. Bottling the first two matches, we struggled to a few draws and finished the season in 3rd place behind UCLAN and Northumbria. Our 3rd best player withdrew from University, our 4th best player is a drug addict, and our 5th best player broke his foot during the winter holidays. Trainwreck.

I've managed to start the BUCS Individual season with three respectable performances – one of which is a win on technicality. I'm leading the Order of Merit again, and the individual season resumes in Trevose on March 3rd. We shall see.

8.2 2017-2018 County Golf

At our Christmas meeting back in December, I was voted the County Players Player of The Year – a very sincere and meaningful award. My efforts towards bonding with and supporting my teammates has not gone unnoticed! The winter took a while to thaw out, but once the season started we absolutely destroyed everyone not named Yorkshire and Lancashire. Stefan turned in a truly MVP performance that season, and we regrettably fell short losing by a combined 2 points out of 36 to Yorkshire and Lancashire. Our venerable Captain, Howard, retired after this season.

8.3 Leaving Club A

I've left Club A. Moving my handicap to Club B, I have declared it as my home club for this season – all county events and cups will be played for Club B. This did not go over well at Club A and there is now a tangible cold in the atmosphere when I am working the bar. To be fair, I've not set foot on that golf course since November 29th, 2017 – today is February 14th, 2018. The course is consistently in poor condition during the winter because it is open when it should be closed for play due to weather. It is consistently in poor condition during the summer because of the winter! It had gotten worse, and worse, and worse each year I have been in the North. Playing a course

that facilitates missing putts from 4 feet is not conducive to building the confidence necessary to succeed at the highest levels of amateur golf and the professional game. In the end, it was the greens. It was always the greens.

Another determining factor was the level of support received last year when I made a final push for sponsorship towards European Tour Qualifying School. Several people indicated they would support me, financially, and help get me over the line with the entry fee. When the time came to raise the funds, all I received were pats on the back and well wishes. Club B have already agreed to start organizing fundraisers for September, and it's February. Like I said earlier…Club B wanted me more.

Recently, however, other developments are making it increasingly difficult to maintain any sort of connection with Club A. I still play for them, given the connection with the University, but I moved my home club like I said. Now, it is coming to light that for the last few years one prominent member has been sexually harassing the girls and women working in the kitchen—of which I have been privy to small snippets here and there—and the committee at the club are simply sweeping it under the rug. "Bad press for Club A, so we can't do much about it unfortunately" seems to be the going line. Unbelievable. Get me out of this place. Turns out, I was called to testify as a witness in the case; all for naught, as the defendant was acquitted after several members from Club A likely committed perjury on the stand. Remember, as a catering staff and bartending employee in minimum wage capacity I was often invisible to the well-to-do upper caste of the club. They don't realise that we all know, and heard—day after day—their comments and their misogynistic dismissal of the accounts of their employees; in favour of keeping their 'buddy' out of trouble. Disgusting.

8.4 The Ganton Incident

A few weeks ago, I went down to Ganton with some friends from Club B. Myself and a few others from the University made a nice fourball playing behind the Club B members who had treated us to the member-guest rates (£15 is an absolute steal for a round at Ganton). On the 10th hole, we noticed there was a group of two waiting behind us, but we didn't think much of it. It was cold, but still a lovely day, and furthermore this group was not pressing us or waiting on us hardly at all—until the 13th green. We stood aside as we exited the 13th and offered to let this group play through us. "No, no, we've had enough. We've been waiting for you on every tee, every fairway, and every green since the 10th (a fabrication), so we are heading in. You could do well to learn

some etiquette." I'm sorry, what?! No, sir, my apologies, but this encounter is not out of the ordinary, and no you were not waiting for us on every single shot since the 10th. What a load of bollocks, truly. One of the Club B boys, on the way back, didn't seem surprised. "What a tosser. For the most part, the members at Ganton are so laid back you could hardly get a stir out of them, but the odd few are just right old pricks. Think they run the world." This seemed to fit the narrative. I was of the mind that, in fact, his outburst—witnessed by the four of us playing, and being very careful to mind our P's and Q's given the honour and opportunity to even play Ganton—was in fact itself a violation of golf etiquette. A real moment of illegitimacy. Usually on the other side of this argument, I'd like to note that the R&A only last year even gave anything less than a fourball rights on the golf course (As in, being legally allowed to ask to play through, etc.). Unbelievable. I grow tired of golf at times.

8.5 Winning BUCS

I held on. Not because I performed brilliantly under the closing stretch of the season but mostly because Stirling's best player was injured for part of the season and could not mathematically catch me at the Finals even with a win. I knew going into the week I would have to finish 5th or better if he won, which he did. The story of the final hole is incredible, and one of the few times I have intentionally abandoned a golf ball (well within the rules, by the way!) to serve my own purpose.

The first three days were various degrees of crap, but this final round was something else. I played exceptional golf, and to be honest I really deserved to be about five or six under; instead, I was only three because I kept lipping putts out. Frustrating. Coming down the stretch, however, I began to get a bit shaky. I knew I had played my way into the lead for the Order of Merit (the lead for the tournament was well beyond the reach of any mortal man at this point), and standing on the tee box of the 18th hole our coach came up to me.

> *James, I don't know if you need to hear this or not. You need a double bogey to win the Order of Merit.*
>
> *What?*
>
> *Yep. Martin (the guy chasing me) is already in at +6, and you're +3 currently.*
>
> *Oh. Ok then.*

With what I mistook for relief from the burden of pressure, I promptly blasted a drive into the woodland on the right side of the hole—potentially out of bounds. I teed up my provisional and striped it down the middle, thankfully. As I went to look for that first ball, the coach came back as I was just about to walk into the trees to search. He encouraged me "not to look for that first ball too hard." He was right. I wasn't going to win the tournament, and all I had to do in order to validate an entire season's worth of struggle, perseverance, and heartbreak was to just make a double bogey here. I took a cursory look on the outskirts of the trees in case my ball was playable—nothing. I left it. I walked to my provisional, played up, chipped on, and then holed a very nervous 2-foot putt for the 2017-2018 BUCS Order of Merit. It was a good, weird, stressful day.

9.0 My Cultural Capital

9.1 Introduction

As an introduction to the analytical portion of this autoethnography, this section provides a synoptic overview of who the researcher is, where he came from, and where he is going. I will attempt to give an exposition of my collective cultural and subcultural capital resources and discover how golf has shaped these throughout my life. Explored in other chapters, we know several scholars' current interpretation of cultural capital is that of a more fluid, adaptive resource critical not for general societal stratification but for legitimate competition within fields of consumption (e.g. Prieur and Savage, 2011). It proves difficult to reflect on one's own endowed, inherited, and embodied resources without a particular frame of reference. The extant literature does frustratingly well inhibiting any certain absolute parameters to define the concept, even something as simple as "musical preferences" or "verbal acuity," true to Bourdieu's vision of the concept – though tremendously debilitating identifying my own cultural capital. Searching through Holt's research with Bourdieu's Theory of Tastes in America (1997, 1998) did little to help in this regard, though his frameworks for striation of consumption will be of use later in nuancing the consumptive habits within the field and working cultural capital across symbolic boundaries (Peterson and Simkus, 1992).

Before giving an account of my musical preferences and whether or not I eat bleu cheese (spoiler: I don't), I thought it interesting to note something in particular. According to Holt (1997, 1998) and I would assume Peterson and Simkus (1992) – who use strikingly similar definitions for occupational classification – I rank firmly in the upper quintile of individuals with regards to being a High or Low cultural capital individual. With a score of 13.5 (out of possible 15) I would rank as

the 2nd highest HCC in Holt's sample. I happen to like a lot of things in a lot of different ways, which according to DiMaggio (1987) indicates a large social network with positive correlation to socioeconomic status – i.e. "well educated people do and like more of almost everything" (Mehus, 2005). What does this mean? Does a HCC individual with a score of 13.5 possess high status in every field by default? Perhaps only in the individual's dominant field of consumption – i.e. if they are a writer, do they have a best seller? If they are a musician, are they in a successful band or 1st chair in a philharmonic? What does that number mean? I have no idea.

9.2 Who Am I – Education

I'm at this moment in time a 31- year-old Ph.D. candidate at this University, from East Texas, with an unhealthy affinity for golf. I have a Master of Science in Marketing from Durham, a Bachelor of Business Administration from Sam Houston State University, an Associate's in General Studies from Tyler Junior College, and a diploma from Seneca High School. Studying and spending an extraordinary – really, even ordinary – amount of time on my schoolwork has truthfully never been a priority, though I have always managed to score mostly exceptional marks. Certainly, I could have scored more exceptional marks with more effort, but the difference between a 94 and a 99 in a high school module did not concern me much. My sister was the brains between us, graduating what should have been Valedictorian of her high school class. She ended up Salutatorian after a substantial amount of insidious "rounding" by the system – the girl who won Valedictorian did it by a few rounding points, and her father was a prominent teacher at the school. I was never near the valedictorian stratosphere because I simply didn't care enough about grades – an A is an A in my book. To be fair, the level of application I gave to high school, apart from Art, was appalling. I'm modestly ashamed of it now in reflection.

Saying that, I took to science. Physics and chemistry fascinated me – early on in the experience Chapters I mention that enrolled at Clemson as a Physics BSc. I loved that we could explain the relationships of such complex ideas like photons, electron movement, gravitational pulls, pressure, and accelerative forces through mathematics. After struggling on several take-home projects, such as building bridges out of toothpicks and wood glue, constructing egg-nests from straw and masking tape (to withstand a 40-foot drop!), my interest intensified. I made a 50 on my first AP Chemistry exam (in America that is failing) and thus it became my favourite class. AP Chemistry, and Mr. Marcero, challenged the legitimacy of my intellect and I rose to that challenge. Classes that gave me no issues were boring, and if I could learn them too quickly I discarded them even faster. I am absolutely certain that same struggle is what keeps me absolutely addicted to

golf; it can never be mastered, and each new day only presents a new series of challenges. The following journal excerpt describes a recent experience in Malaga that mirrors exactly the sentiment I echo regarding scholastic challenges.

> *The truth is, had I beaten Victor today it would have done little more than taint my perception of UPGM Malaga and reduce Victor's stature. Sure, I could have shot 64 and beaten him 4&3 – but I'd have no drive or fire to practice. If anything, I'd be angry and confused as to the fickle nature of my putting and likely never get it right again. So yeah, NOT shooting 65 was the best thing to happen to me today. (Personal Journal, 21st January 2018)*

I graduated from Sam Houston State with a 3.84 in Business Administration, and in hindsight I am certain that I phoned in my undergraduate degree so that I could focus on my golf and enjoying being a legal adult. I made an A on my Managerial Accounting midterm – I took that exam still drunk from the night before. My professor knew it, but rather than admonish me, Dr. Strausser actually suggested I switch into an Accounting major. If I was able to make a 96 on an exam hangover-drunk then he told me I must have a proliferation for the subject material and could be great accountant. Mulling it over, I politely declined, and drank my way through my senior year. The writing was on the wall, and I could see the relative uselessness of this degree in the future and felt a growing distaste for a system that made me choose between an early dream of mine (NCAA DI golf) and education. Writing this just sent a shockwave of shame and disappointment over my physical body.

Coming to the North originally as an MSc in Economics, again as referenced above, I switched into Marketing. This is the most prestigious university I have attended to date, and given that I see only the singular Ph.D. in my future, likely will be the most prestigious university I ever attend. The dynamic between this university and the Northeast is odd, however, with much of the prestige of it carrying more weight in the south of England.

9.3 Who Am I – Taste

9.3.1 Music

I attribute a diversity of personally legitimized tastes through my upbringing, experience in the home, and subsequent socialization in both the subculture of skateboarding and golf – an omnivorous consumer, participating in wide variety of consumptive preferences with discernment I struggle to accurately originate. I listen to just about any type of music regularly except awkward timed jazz, rap, and grime. Phases of conscious musical preferences are fairly cyclical for me,

moving through folk, metal, EDM, and classical playlists on my Spotify. In actuality, I have everything saved in "my music" and often shuffle the collection – occasionally hearing Five Finger Death Punch followed by Vivaldi, in turn followed by Deadmau5 and then Jeffrey Martin. I've played musical instruments since I was about 6 or 7, when I eagerly ran around the house "playing" the recorder. Transitioning to violin, keyboard, and guitar, I took lessons in all three. Music theory never quite stuck, as I enjoyed playing more by ear than reading off of sheet music – it always felt forced, whereas without a sheet I was free to create anything pleasing to my ear. The violin and keyboard fell to the wayside, but I stuck with guitar; teaching myself to play my favourite songs through tablature rather than score and eventually started writing my own songs. Much of my later childhood and teens was spent in my room playing along with Ozzy, Iron Maiden, Metallica, and AC/DC. I'd play Aces High or Rime of the Ancient Mariner for hours; whereas Perry Mason was my mother's favourite – my mother played the drums, and is still known to absolutely rock the set from time to time.

Fitting with the studies of DiMaggio (1987), Peterson and Kern (1996), and Holt (1998) these omnivorous tastes developed during my youth as I branched out away from what was culturally legitimized by my parents' generation. The rich harmonies of the guitar trio in Iron Maiden, the lightning arpeggios of Yngwie Malmsteen, and the righteous lead of Randy Rhoads drew me to what I loosely define to be metal. There are sections of songs by these bands, such as the end of Rime of the Ancient Mariner by Iron Maiden, that still to this day make the hair on my neck stand – I've heard them at least a hundred times. Before golf became a serious endeavor, I spent long hours dreaming of one day being on stage ripping the fretboard of my guitar apart with "face-melters." Occasionally, I still daydream about it. There was a substantial obsession with the song-writing of Jackson Browne, mostly in my late teens and early twenties – Sky Blue and Black in particular. Interesting to note, my dad facilitated my introduction to Jackson Browne and was the same age, teens to mid-twenties, when Browne became a mainstay in his musical tastes. Perhaps this is nothing more than a simple validation of the reproduction of tastes in the primary socialization site of formative years (Bourdieu, 1984; Larea and Horvat, 1999; Lareau and Weininger, 2003).

9.3.2 Food

My palate is receptive to almost anything other than blue cheese, to be frank. Contrary to Holt's (1997, 1998) proposed modes of consumption, I am an objectively HCC individual according to traditional classification with weight placed on formal education; I eat food for function and

pleasure and there is no aesthetic or exotic consideration in my food selection. My favourite meal, to this day, is my mother's meatloaf and mashed potatoes. However, I prefer that meal only when I am at my parents' house. When abroad, travelling, or in any foreign locale, my tastes partake of whatever is available; there is no motive to "anchor" myself to my native dishes in preservation of capital or identity (Bardhi et al., 2010).

I flat-out refuse, in an overtly childish manner, to eat anything containing bleu cheese – even the smell causes retching. A few months ago, at the Club A Christmas Dinner, I was on shift to help serving and plating for 40 in the dining room. They were to have soup, the entrée, and then dessert. The soup, to my delight, was – by all measures other than my personal tastes – a marvelous broccoli and stilton. An elaborate 43-minute dance between serving, clearing, and not vomiting ensued prior to the Ladies' complaining about their beef.

9.3.3 Golf

With regards to golf, my tastes for the field developed early on in the American Country Club environment with later refinement on the links of the U.K. Other than my scoring clubs – irons, wedges, and putter – I care little about the physical aesthetic of the club. If a driver consistently puts the ball in the fairway, a long way from the teebox, I will play it happily with little to no preference for colours, material, intricacies of head shape or design, or profiles. Similarly, if a fairway wood can clip the ball off the turf and consistently launch it 260 yards towards a green, no aesthetic element concerns me. However, my irons and wedges are very particular – and Holt's work (1997, 1998) perfectly describes these consumptive tendencies. A basic functionality, often provided by forged irons and wedges, is met along with a distinct appreciation for the feel of the club working through the turf after contact with the ball. Mizuno irons achieve this to levels only recently matched by their competitors. Once this feel is met, which is impossible to translate into words on a page, they need a particular aesthetic – slim top lines and small profiles, accentuated with gentle forge lines indicating the weight placement on the back of the clubhead. My current irons, the Mizuno JPX 900 Tours, are on the limit of acceptable aesthetic to what I would play – regardless of the stereotypical social connotations, I want my irons to communicate the level of embodied capital I've spent over a decade acquiring (DiMaggio, 1987; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985; Holt, 1997; 1998, Arsel and Bean, 2013). Once my level of skill-capital was sufficient to utilize and appreciate forged blades, nothing else was good enough. Wedges follow the same mode of consumption; I look for sleek, understated lines that serve to only accentuate the tidy teardrop silhouette.

My preferences for putters adheres to the same principles and materialist vs aesthetic factors as irons and wedges, but with substantial more emphasis (Holt, 1997). The putter is the club golfers score with; physically designed to roll the ball into the hole. It is the most important club in the bag. I formerly used a 2016 Scotty Cameron Newport with a pink Iomic grip, and similar to Footjoy Classics and blades, Scotty Cameron Newport putters communicate a particular status in the field of golf. This putter shape – kin in style to the PING Anser – is the most PGA Tour valorized shape in history. Tiger won his 14 Major Championships using a Scotty Cameron Newport. It must inspire confidence, and thus functional competence is not sufficient. The aesthetic aspect itself works to reproduce and reaffirm the capital it endows. This principle applied to everything I wear or use on the golf course.

Finally, taste in golf courses can be a distinctive factor in the field – and thus I consider it a part of my capital resources. I have a particular taste for golf courses that promote an individual style of play; that is, I prefer courses that do not require singular certain shots to play its holes. A course with a tremendous amount of water is an example of a non-preferred course, whereas an open, running links course is example of a course I love.

9.4 Evolution of Cultural Capital

This section looks to outline how my cultural capital resources have developed over the years with critical experiences and decisions. There is evidence that consumers are searching for new experiences to supplement their capital resources, and participate in transposable "classificatory schemes" in multiple fields (Jarness, 2015). Furthermore, cultural experiences play a pivotal role in the development and shaping of an individual's capital resources – though the literature mostly focuses on familial socialization in relation to academic achievement (Lareau, 1987; Lareau and Horvat, 1999). Here the researcher looks to dive into how experiences, including those outside the familial and scholastic, have influenced the acquisition and deployment of capital resources.

9.4.1 Childhood

It is true I was fortunate enough to be born into an upper-middle class family environment, and one that included frequent and extensive travel. My father was a Chiropractor, though now he has transitioned into Functional Medicine – he was infinitely intellectually and morally superior to the career that put me and my sister through school. My father should have been a neurological surgeon or a quantum physicist, as reflection on my childhood gives me the distinct impression he

was bored with his career; not in a malicious sense, but in the sense that he was rarely challenged by his work. Always fascinated by the latest developments in quantum mechanics, particle physics, and neurological breakthroughs, he shared a lot of information that I had to pretend to understand. An exceptional chiropractor, he defied any and all of the negative stigma associated with the practice. I am convinced, however, that the constant conflagration of negativity perpetuated by institutionalized practitioners on the "un-proven" and "fringe" science of chiropractic medicine wore him down. He has a Bachelor's degree from Baylor University and a D.C. from National in Illinois. His father ran a vocational school certifying electricians.

My father grew up on the Gulf Coast of Florida in the 60's and 70's; surfing, taking joyrides on his dad's motorcycle, and being a brat. He used to listen to the radio every night, discovering new music of his age much in the same way my generation uses Spotify or, in the States, Pandora. However, in 60's Sarasota, there was only one radio station for music. My dad always recalls with childish excitement listening to his radio, on low volume to keep my grandmother from hearing him – it was past his bedtime – and underneath a bedsheet, to the latest music. He discovered and became intimately familiar with Jackson Browne, The Beatles, The Beach Boys, The Rolling Stones, Pink Floyd, and Bob Dylan through vacuum tubes, frequency, and a flashlight. The following day, he and his classmates would discuss the songs from the night before.

> *Woah! Guys, did you hear that new Dylan song last night?*
> *(Dad, sometime in the 1960's)*

Growing up, my house always had music playing. Either soft whispers of Bob Dylan, Jackson Browne, Jimmy LaFave, and Eric Clapton – among a vast number of others – or the jamming of Derek and the Dominoes, Cream, The Beatles, B.B. King, and other blues artists. Christmas and the holidays had themed music, and we went through a brief spell where Christian music played through the house on Sundays – and in mom's car to and from school – because it was "wholesome." I can trace my current tastes in music back to Jackson Browne, Bob Dylan, and the Beatles. Whether it be metal, EDM, folk, or standard rock, music that I like has an intangible quality – something in the way the harmonies and the lyrics combine to wind their way through the major and minor tonalities of the human condition. Listen to Jackson Browne, Solo Acoustic, Sky Blue and Black. That is my music.

I started listening to metal and punk rock mostly to fit in to the skateboarding subculture I subscribed to as a 9-to-16 year old. It was not socially acceptable to be a fan of the bands of my father, with exception to some Pink Floyd, as a skateboarder – even as terrible as I was. I wore

the Etnies, the Element t-shirts, and the studded belts. My friends and I used to sneak out of church Youth Group on Friday nights to go skate around downtown Seneca. I threw myself into that subculture with such vigor I hoped it that being a member of the skateboarding community would overcome the transient nature of the rest of my childhood.

On my sixteenth birthday, I counted. We had lived in twelve different houses, in three countries, and three States. The longest-lasting friendships I had growing up, prior to moving to Seneca, SC, were two-years. I learned to make and discard friends quickly, otherwise I got hurt. Communication skills improved rapidly, particularly switching between languages as a young child – speaking Dutch in school and at my friends' houses, and English in the home. I developed an omnivorous consumptive palate, though not directly by choice. If I didn't learn to appreciate what people liked in Cobham, then Salisbury, then Woking, then Sarasota, the Clemson – I'd have been an outcast. In Surrey, I learned that highbrow taste – wines, music, parties and such that my parents went to – were valorized in both the local and the expatriate community. My most vivid memories of this stem from the preferences of golf courses played by my dad's friends like Fox Hills, Burhill, and Wentworth. While many of their companies paid for these memberships these were still the courses preferred by the individuals. Salisbury was significantly more country, and so valued a more outdoors lifestyle – Land Rovers, dog walks with Barbour jackets and dark green wellingtons, and houses converted from renovated barns. Back to Woking, I invested heavily in the skateboarding subculture and so began to appreciate punk rock and grunge – Green Day – along with loose fitting clothing and rebellious attitudes. I was also homeschooled – therefore required no social validation of my preferences other than that of my best friend at the time, who introduced me to Iron Maiden and took me even deeper into the skateboarding subculture – his cousin was Mathias Ringstrom, at the time a famous vert skater. A subsequent move to Florida enabled me to use that capital from skateboarding to fit into a niche of friends and adopt skimboarding culture as well, while musical tastes needed to shift from classic metal to heavier modern rock, such as Anberlin. South Carolina required an appreciation of Country music, though I discarded that taste for the longest times – instead opting to deliberately pursue status as an outcast through communicated affinity for Relient K, Yellowcard, and Secondhand Serenade. It should be noted that, at no time, did I entirely abandon any set of previously adopted tastes; I merely adopted the local tastes as dominant – in another sense beginning to develop a middling cosmopolitan taste regime (Arsel and Bean, 2013; Prieur and Savage, 2013). Moving from Texas, to the Netherlands, to Surrey, to Wiltshire, back to Surrey, to Florida, to South Carolina, and then back to Texas certainly rounds out the tastes.

9.4.2 Golf

In general, the game of golf has comprehensively shaped my cultural capital resources: my preferences, skills, and behaviours changed considerably through an increase in participation in the field. When the decision was made to take my pursuit of golf seriously, I spent a substantial amount of time on-site at Cross Creek Plantation – a private country club in Seneca, South Carolina. Golf clubs, mostly private country clubs, in America are far less egalitarian than those in the U.K. Spending countless hours at the facility, whether it be on the driving range, the putting green, or the course itself, afforded an opportunity to full immerse myself in this exclusive culture that was golf – it fostered a foundational familiarity with a nuanced and delicate habitus.

The etiquette of golf can be described in primitive terms, though the description would necessarily lack the delicacy of which the nature of the habitus deserves. Such a primitive description may read like this:

> *Speak at a non-offensive volume when in the clubhouse. Remain quiet while other people are playing a shot. Play your shots in order. Shake hands before and after your rounds. Put the flag back in the hole if you are first to hole out – likewise pull the flag if you are nearest the pin on the green. Drive your golf buggy at a 90* angle to your ball in the fairway and then return to the buggy path. Wait on the tee box for everyone in the group to play their tee shots. Have a drink with your playing partners after the round. Speak about appropriate topics in the clubhouse.*

Yet, such a description entirely misses the point. To quantitatively define the habitus of a field violates a central tenet of the cultural capital concept – it manifests in myriad forms devoid of any absolute quality (Bourdieu, 1984; Lamont and Lareau, 1988; Prieur and Savage, 2011; Prieur and Savage, 2013). After reflecting on this throughout the research process, I've recognized a distinct familiarity with a foundational level of cultural capital offered by the field – universally applicable to a wide range of fields an individual may participate in. The habitus of golf and the subsequent non-skilled embodied capital began to seep into other areas of my life; some significant, like education, and some mundane, such as behavior and physical dispositions when walking down the street. In education, a recognition of the respect a legitimate golfer communicates with everyone in the field reflects a transmission of effective means of communications with academic authority – teachers, professors, deans, and presidents. In walking down the street, I've noticed distinctly that the deferring nature of physical dispositions in golf – by which I mean the courteous habits embedded in the etiquette – has developed my physical behavior to the surrounding community; usually moving out of the way of an oncoming individual, sometimes at my own

disadvantage, or opening doors for anyone I can. Holding a door for someone is no different than tending the flag.

My later experiences with golf, including a substantial amount of travel around the U.K., continental Europe, and some travel to South America, reveals the incredible universality of golf across whatever other cultural divides may exist between these places. From the relative modesty of NJCAA golf in East Texas, Durham County Scratch events, and BUCS Individual events to prestige of the USGA U.S. Public Links Championship, the R&A Foundation Scholars, Lytham Trophy, and the Amateur Championship the cultural capital and habitus of golf remains remarkably constant with respect to how the game is played. The clubhouse environment may change with the culture, especially in contrasting Durham County to Lima – illustrated in potential through Ceron-Anaya's (2015) study on social reproduction in Mexico City. Lima and Mexico City are not the same, of course, but the culture of golf is similar – Lima Country Club may to this day still be the most exclusive golf experience I have had. After overcoming the disparity culture shock, it was a relief that I was able to communicate with my caddy – dearest Walter – through application of golf's habitus and the non-verbal communication skills learned from golf.

9.4.3 Critical Decisions

The first critical decision I made was giving up soccer after my freshman year at Seneca to play golf. Had I not decided to play golf, my life would be immeasurably different. Playing that year, and struggling, planted the seed of addiction and consequently fostered a dream that I could play at the NCAA Division I level. A non-zero (read: significant) percentage of that desire to play and earn a scholarship came from my rebellious nature of a drive to prove others' wrong – when it came to opinions of me. I proved them all wrong, and got my NCAA DI scholarship and succeeded, but now I have nurtured an addiction to a game that dominates my life. I'm trying to prove myself right now – fighting against the Impostor Syndrome in my golf as well.

My second critical decision was leaving Clemson University for Tyler Junior College. In taking the opportunity to chase the dream of DI and a life in golf, it became less a subconscious rebellion and an objective and consciously driven passion to drastically alter my life trajectory. I did not want to end up living in Clemson the rest of my life – I loved my friends, and left behind a wealth of emotionally charged social capital – as the transient nature of my childhood would simply not abide.

10.0 Golf In The Field

This section of the autoethnography provides a mixture of notes, observations, journal entries, and reflections from golf played during my time in the field for this Ph.D. These entries serve to provide access to the compilation of data from which the analysis chapters draw, and are organised chronologically by type (tournament/social/practice) rather than as general chronological reflections as previous chapters in this autoethnography.

10.1 Tournament Golf 2017

10.1.1 The R&A Foundation Scholars Tournament, April 2017

The Eden and The Old Courses, St. Andrews Links

Always a special event on the calendar, this is my third time at the R&A event. The first one was special, because I played the Old Course for the first time with two former teammates—forked up 112 pounds for a frozen early morning round at the Saturday before the event started on the Eden. What a dream. The following year, my parents came to St. Andrews for the event, and I managed to grab a picture on the balcony of the R&A clubhouse with my dad overlooking the 1st tee and the beaches of St. Andrews; despite my terrible choice in trousers, I love that picture. This year my fiancée, Amanda, gets to be here. She's an absolute show stealer. Though, she is *very* concerned about her choice of clothes and whether or not they are appropriate for the golf course and the meal; I mean, *very concerned.* I tried to explain that as long as she wore some non-denim trousers, comfortable walking shoes, and a jacket she would be fine…that did not abide. We travelled to this event with Ken and Theo, and Theo's girlfriend—living here with him. Amanda, myself, Theo and his girlfriend shared an AirBnb in St. Andrews, because the R&A had no provision for players with wives or significant others and the four of us did not entertain the notion of sleeping in a hostel with the other players; probably would have been absolutely fine, but…who knows. Amanda and Michelle did not seem thrilled—the AirBnB was excellent value anyways.

The tournament itself is wonderfully run, with a practice round on Sunday, 36-holes on the Eden Course Monday followed by the traditional Reception in the Clubhouse, and the final round on the Old Course Tuesday. All paid for by the R&A for its scholars. I should mention to be a scholar you must first apply for the scholarship at the beginning of the autumn term, satisfying the requirements of being a plus-handicap golfer and full-time student in the U.K. The R&A are making a big effort to develop amateur golf in the U.K. lately, and they recognise that University sport is one way to do that—however, I'm not sure if a 750GBP bursary is enough to keep the best young players from chasing NCAA scholarships in the States. Anyways. Theo, Ken, and I check in on

Sunday and head to an early afternoon practice round tee time. The course is fantastic, if a bit bland. The Eden is one of those courses that doesn't stand out visually but plays beautifully; traditionally rolling links fairways, everything is in front of you, plenty of options off the tee and into the greens, and bunkers that make you question the nature of reality. The greens were, as usual, consistently good—not spectacular, but good. Regretfully, we do not get a practice round on the Old, likely for two reasons. The course is closed on Sundays to allow residents of St. Andrews the chance to walk the grounds (every Sunday), and any other day would cost the St. Andrews Links too much money in lost green fees. Sigh. Besides, the Old Course is special the first time you play it, but after that it loses some of its luster. The layout of the course means you just hit the ball left off the tees and towards the middle of the greens, generally flat and forgiving as they are. I had an interesting 36-hole pairing waiting for me the first day, as I was paired with a brilliant young woman from Birmingham University who participated in Home Internationals and another young female golfer from Ireland.

The Reception was fantastic as it always is. Theo forgot a tie, though, and the R&A kindly *gave* him one to then "please put on before entering the reception, sir." He kept it. Looking around, everyone wearing suits and ties—not black tie, of course, but sharp ties and jackets. The women mostly wore dresses or formal trousers and blouses, and this is such an area of contention—what does jacket-and-tie equate to for women? The R&A didn't make much of an effort in the guidelines for the event as to what those attending, who happened to *not be men*, should wear…is this something most people already know? There was definitely a broader range across the informal-formal spectrum for the women than the men, and I don't think that's terribly fair. The inside of the R&A Clubhouse is truly a walk into the late 19th century and early 20th century. Wooden clubs, silver placards, and old trophies line the walls meticulously cleaned and presented in illuminated glass cases—The Claret Jug begin the crown jewel amongst Old Tom Morris' driver and a replica of Bobby Jones' putter, Calamity Jane. They had a replica of the Claret Jug out for students to hold, admire, and take pictures with; most people wanted pictures with it, but for whatever reason I do not. I had the chance the last two years and I still don't—I almost feel it's bad karma to hold a trophy, even a replica, that I have not yet won. One day I hope to get my hands on it for real. The food was delicious and the drinks were free, as usual, leading many of us to be well and truly drunk before the end. The food consisted of quail eggs, haggis balls, fried plaice, and other heavy hors d'oeuvres rarely soak up enough to work, and when the R&A House Whiskey blends are on offer—not a chance. Ah yes, the R&A drinks. Usual spread, Gordons, Smirnoff, and Bacardi—but the wine and the whiskey are R&A specials, blends created specifically

from distillers for the clubhouse. Apparently, my Dad thinks the R&A Clubhouse might be the hardest building to get into in the world beyond the White House—membership required, and membership infamously hard to attain. Coming from my friend who played for Loughborough, whose father is a member, apparently you have to be nominated by 20 existing members, supported by 10, and held accountable to 5 others, and *after that* you sit on a waiting list for 8 years. Ridiculous. On a more salient note, though, the Reception provides students on R&A scholarships the opportunity to meet and network with R&A Members—apparently the collective membership that determines some of the rules and governance of the sport.

Amanda trekked herself out with me, and managed to last 18 holes—she and Michelle then left me and Theo on the course with our groups and went into St. Andrews to 'shop.'. Shudder. I played middling, at best, but enjoyed the company of the two women I was playing with. They played well, but did not seem too interested in carrying on conversation—at least, while Amanda was there. Once Amanda left, both women became interested in when our wedding was and if I was nervous, how we met, how long we'd been together, etc. I assume some of their coldness would have been due to Amanda serving as some form of gallery or spectator, though admittedly I guess Amanda can be intimidating—even for me, at times—given how self-assured and stunningly beautiful she is. The following day, I played with two men instead, and for whatever reason our conversation seemed to flow better from the 1st hole. The usual tee-box talk and then short-introductions down the first hole and into the green, afterwards moving into discussions of what we want to do with our lives after university and how the school year is going thus far. The most memorable part of the day, in the 2nd round, was driving the 18th and holing the putt for eagle to finish the tournament T-9th. I even got a round of applause from the dog walkers who paused to watch us tee off, before moving on to their warm tea in the hotel nearby afterwards.

10.1.2 The 2016-2017 BUCS Finals, April 2017

Princes Golf Club

Shortly after the R&A Scholars' Event, I went down to Kent for the BUCS Finals—a 72-hole Championship to cap the 2016-2017 season and determine the BUCS Individual Order of Merit winner. I was leading the Order of Merit, and felt good about my game at the time. We all drove down in the estate, absolutely loaded for bear. Three golfers, three suitcases, and three golf bags. We stayed in a Holiday Inn Express in Ramsgate, as did many of othe other teams, just off the coast of Kent. There wasn't much there, other than a McDonald's a few hundred feet away and the option to order take-aways in to the hotel. The morning of the practice round, we drove down

and then played our round—all absolutely exhausted form the six-hour drive. The practice round, then, served as just a formality…seeing the course, getting a feel for the green complexes, and the general layout of the course. Some very tough holes on the back nine of course could prove troublesome if any wind whipped up (which it did). I hit the ball awfully, which I thought nothing of because we were tired and just trying to get the round over with before the following day when the tournament would begin its 18-36-18-hole format. Lloyd and Todd met Ken, Theo, and myself down there. The pro shop is, like most other pro shops at destination courses (Princes is actually a very well-ranked links course just across from Royal St. George's, so usually groups will schedule to play both).

The following day, we arrived at the course—the usual 'BUCS' banners flying in the morning breeze. It wasn't so much windy, but cold and promising warmer weather that wouldn't come. The course was tremendously firm, meaning that shots had to be played with extra precision as they would run into trouble that normally would be out of reach; shots that were simply good, or even average, became bad and worse as the firmness of the course meant your ball was reaching places it could be tough to plan for. I played poorly, carried over from my practice round, but at least enjoyed my pairing with Dylan and Keith from University C—we were paired according to our handicap and placement on the Order of Merit. I don't recall much of the conversation during that round from the absolute grinding shift I put in to get the ball around in 75 shots—needing an 8-footer for birdie on my last hole to salvage what was otherwise a dreadful day. Dylan and Keith both played well, but nothing spectacular—we all scored terribly, they just missed putts whereas I scrambled. After the round, I waited for Theo and Ken—similarly discouraged—and we departed back to the hotel. Dylan and Keith walked to the on-course condos where the entire University C contingent was staying; perks of playing for that program, I guess. They have a 3-minute walk whereas we have a 25-minute drive.

The following day was miserable, and the only saving grace being my pairing with my teammate Lloyd and a rival university and Teesside Union opponent from Club B. Lloyd and Nick played well enough to make the cut, and I struggled to my first missed-cut in three years of BUCS golf. I was shattered. No part of my game was working, and I genuinely questioned why I play golf. I was embarrassed and deflated, doubting that any of the capital and status I had acquired over the previous three years still meant anything. The fact I missed the cut was so shocking that many other players actually came up to me as I sat outside the clubhouse, languishing, asking me what had happened. These were people that were trying to beat me, and here they were expressing

concern over my poor play. Dylan and Harry, from the study, notably two of those. I'm grateful, but no less lost. I don't even remember the drive back to the hotel or the following day, despite being at the wheel, because of the cloud of emotional anguish hanging over me. Such a crushing feeling.

The next day I am embarrassed of my own behaviour. I made an effort to get out on the course, my first time having missed a cut—which I made the narcissistic point of telling everyone I saw how much I enjoyed missing the cut so I could watch—to watch my teammates, Ken, Theo, and Todd, in their final rounds. I had forgotten for a while that our coach said that the two best finishers at this tournament would go the Boyd Quaich later in the summer, and when I remembered I got angry; how could I have let myself play so poorly? The Boyd Quaich is a fantastic invitational tournament played on the Old and New courses at St. Andrews in July—when the weather is *perfect.* Disgust. Theo and Ken played strong, with Theo making a charge for the title before one of University B's players decided to turn on the silly-golf and shoot an absolutely flawless -5 67 to win by two. At that point, Theo and Ken were going to the Boyd Quaich.

10.1.3 Campeonato Aficionados Manuel Prado, April 2017

Lima Golf Club (Peru)

This tournament might be one of the most significant of not only this research and fieldwork, but of my lifetime. I received an email from the R&A one morning in February while I was sitting at a table in an England Golf conference in Newcastle. I had to actually double and triple check what the email said.

> *Dear James,*
>
> *I am writing to invite you to take part in the above as a member of an R&A Foundation Scholars two man team.*
>
> *The event is played annually in Peru at Lima Golf Club and will be an all-expenses paid trip from 16-22 April 2017, depending on flight times.*
> *It is a 72 hole stroke play event with both scores each day counting for the team.*
> *In addition there is an individual prize.*
>
> *Accommodation will be arranged at the Country Club Lima Hotel, 5 minutes from the course, Transport to and from the course will be arranged as well as caddies, range balls and club storage.*
> *I hope you will be able to accept this invitation and if you have an queries before responding please telephone me on +44 1 334 460000 in office time or email me at any time. I would appreciate an early reply.*

Sincerely, Alison White.

WHAT?! Obviously, they hadn't withdrawn my invitation after a tragic spring BUCS season, but at the time I felt as if I'd finally validated all of the work I put into my golf and my studies over the last few years. I didn't even realise I was on the radar to get an invitation into this tournament. Soon after, my partner—also my County Foursomes partner—found out that our friends at University B and Irish University were also putting teams in. This was going to be one hell of a trip. The day of the flights came, and I nervously loaded my bags up into the taxi and headed to Newcastle Airport for the 6am flight to Amsterdam where Andy met me. Andy and I get along famously, so we just had a nice catch up and a chat about the tournament as he went last year, before discussing how the summer plans are panning out. Andy is trying to get himself back into his national amateur team, but he notes a serious discrimination in the management towards any players from "north of Manchester, not from Yorkshire." What a shame, Andy has a phenomenal talent and is a fiery competitor draped in the perfect amount of apathy towards the outcome of his shots—you know that he wants to win, but it just genuinely looks as if he doesn't care where the ball goes. I aspire to that one day, because that feeds back into your routine and your psychological approach. We boarded the plane and land in Amsterdam about an hour or two later.

In Amsterdam, we met up with the Irish lads and the Uni B boys, all starting to feel weary from the early morning travel arrangements. Some of those boys had not yet flown such a distance, and were a bit wary of a 10-12-hour flight across, essentially, the Atlantic, but I assured them of two things: firstly, everything was fine because air travel is so heavily regulated you'd be more likely to get hit by a bus outside your front door than go down in a place, and secondly that if you *did* go down then you'd likely pass out from the change in G forces and therefore wouldn't feel anything anyways. Other than immense dread for several minutes while accepting your inevitable death. Off to Lima!

I have never been as happy to have a window seat as I was on the descent into Lima. We caught clear skies, and our altitude gradually lowered as we came over the Andes—breathtakingly beautiful, colours strewn across jagged edges and ridges of mountain that stretch far beyond the horizon. This was a foreign world, and I spent the entire week in awe of both how similar and how different Peru is from the places I have been. Shortly after landing in Lima, we collected our bags and headed out where a large bus was waiting to take the tournament players to the hotel; thankfully, all of our golf bags arrived without issue (I've had nightmares about clubs not showing

up on trips specifically for tournaments…essentially rendering the entire trip a waste of time). The drive from the airport to the hotel was both eventful and nothing—stuck in a bus, but trapped in such fascination at this new culture that I tried to soak up everything I saw. I was overwhelmed and tremendously happy; travel is one source of joy for me that only playing my *very* best golf can match.

We arrived at the hotel, in the centre of Lima, after dark and so I could not appreciate the disparity around us until the morning. Alison wasn't kidding, either—food was included, and the entire week we had breakfast, lunch, and dinner covered at the hotel. It got a bit stale, given that we only had 3 starters and 5 mains to choose from, meaning that by the 4th night you'd basically had everything twice, but it was so damn good it didn't matter. Lomo Saltado, how I yearn for thee. We made a point to eat most of our meals together, not just Andy and myself but the entire contingent from BUCS. Chris and Andy cautioned all of us against drinking water if it was anything other than bottled—especially ice. Unfortunately, we all had small cubes of half-melted ice in our drinks that first night which we only noticed after it was too late. Hilarity ensued, as we all became intimately familiar with whatever bathroom was nearest when the moment struck.

The first morning, I woke and went down for breakfast. Before eating, I grabbed a coffee and went out front to have a cigarette and take it all in. I set my coffee down on the bench, pulled a camel light from its pack, and stared at the marble flooring beneath my feet as I flicked my lighter. Putting the pack away and grabbing my coffee, I turned around and looked up. On my left, high rise apartment buildings stretching for a half-mile, and on my right the same. Trees planted tightly in rows across the road, which seemed to outline a *massive* fenced off rectangle of 10 or so city blocks. There was a slight haze in the clouds above, and so I turned to the doorman and asked "Llovera hoy?"… "nunca llueve en abril." Never rains in April? Good, because I forgot my waterproofs. More to the point, this hotel is supposed to be right across from the golf course—so, where is it? After 5 minutes, I realised the golf course was the fenced off city blocks. Truly, hidden away from the city even though it dominates the middle of it. Crazy. I spent a few moments outside in the cool air, returned for breakfast, and went inside to get ready.

All the players loaded up on the bus and we set off to the course. It took all of 4 minutes. As we unloaded, a beautiful putting green and small, high-fenced driving range sat before me. Around the putting green were 15 flagpoles, all flying the flags of the teams who are playing. Cecilia took our names, and our team (R&A Foundation Scholars Team), and we delivered her a gift as Alison

instructed us. There will be a reception for the players tonight, which we are expected to attend but it will be a casual affair introducing us to the tournament and each other. The Pisco Sours will flow, apparently. One thing I note is that all players use the same brands; there are no South American or local golf brands. Titleist, PING, Taylormade, Footjoy, Mizuno…the Venezuelans had them, the Colombians had them, the Ecuadorians had them. We had them. Strange for me, to see these brands so prevalent in such an exclusive practice in this part of the world. But, then, we met our caddies. These caddies would take care of us for the entire week—both practice rounds and all four tournament rounds. Six days. I felt…awkward, because I had been thrust into a role I've never had before. I've never had a real caddy—I've been the caddy. The knowledge that the R&A had provided Andy and I per diem, and I would use that to give Walter a substantial tip at the end of the week, eased my guilt a bi but a lot of it still felt wrong. Caddy-player relationships are more partnerships, especially on tour, but this feels almost like servitude. I don't like it. Walter, however, is unbelievable. A fantastic caddy, and I enjoyed our partnership all week.

The course is incredible, excellent mixture of long, short, tight, and wide holes. The fence is prominent, however, as it stands like a solid, awkward reminder that this course occupies the middle of the city rather than a more natural environment. Walter is probably the best greens-reader I have ever met, and my putting improves because of it. He recognises my broken Spanish, and offers to speak in English as much as he can, but I make a point to try and rekindle my former fluency in the language and communicate with him that way. Funnily enough, there is no Spanish word for 'fairway' or 'green' as meant—'verde' means the colour, which wouldn't make any sense. So Walter and I spend all week teaching me golf-appropriate phrases to use, such as "Vuela!" for when you want a ball to 'get up' (go farther!) or "Baja" when you want it to 'get down' (stop going so far!), which gave me and Andy a small means to communicate verbally with all of our caddies and opposing players when paired with South Americans. Walter also taught me "puta madre" which, I won't translate, but is the *de facto* expression of frustration at, usually oneself but also a bad break (bounce or other such). I distinctly remember the laughter when, after promptly snap-hooking my tee shot on the 7th into the trees, I expressed such frustration—there was also a hint of approval from my Venezuelan playing partners and our caddies. It seemed they appreciated I was getting into the culture and embracing it, unlike many others there that week. It seems inconsequential but I find it critical that golf, and even something so arguably inappropriate as swearing, provide such fluent means for communication. When I angrily said just-under-my-breath "ahhhhhhh puta madre!"…those Venezuelan players, my caddy, their caddies, and I all seemed to bond, even just for a second. Brilliant.

Rafael, one of the Ecuadorian players we were paired with in the 4th round, and I sat down the night after the round to have a few beers and talk. He played at a community college in the states that competed against mine, and a very good one at that. He was only there for one year, and he made a point to explain how racist the coach, his teammates, and the people in the community were—constantly making comments about him being "Mexican" despite the fact that he is, again, from Ecuador. He tells me that I should look for jobs in South America because "Americans or British with degrees from Universities are highly desired." We talk about one of the players from Costa Rica, who seems considerably older than us, and I ask if he ever tried to play professionally. "Nah man, The amateur life in South America is so good, he doesn't want to give it up! Why would he? Amateur tournaments, you get to stay in hotels like this…once you turn pro, you're paying for everything. Stay in shit hotels, eat shit food. Trying to survive. Same reason Juan (my old teammate the previous year at Uni A) hasn't tried it. There's no incentive if you don't have a lot of financial backing." Rafael is, however, turning pro later this year—members at his club have indicated they will sponsor him.

After the round, I give Walter the gifts the R&A sent with me. It is all unsold merchandise from the 2016 Open Championship, similar to what we were given at the R&A Foundation Scholar's Tournament. There's a part of me that finds this tremendously insincere on their part, handing out unwanted merchandise dressed up as "gifts." But the gesture from me, as I give them to Walter, is sincere as I can be. He was a rock this week, and his calm, collected, serence, and disciplined encouragement helped lift me out of a slump I've been in for several weeks.

The rest of week went by much the same, and regrettably the reception the first night—though a loose and liquid affair—seemed like other events staged in the tournament to almost mask the local culture. Yes, we ate ceviche (and yes it was amazing). Yes, we had Pisco Sours. Yes, we played golf at Lima GC (a truly awesome course). But, it wasn't until the Irish lads and I stepped outside of the box the tournament had organised that Lima really came into its own. We went out for drinks, got kicked out of a casino, and I took a taxi at 2am to find myself a lomo saltado (the Peruvian version of the late-night 'kebab')…to which many people expressed the privileged "you did what?! YOU WENT OUT ON YOUR OWN? AT NIGHT??" It was awesome. The morning of the last day I went surfing in the Pacific, broke my toe on the beach (it's all rocks, by the way), and cleaned sand off my feet in the airplane.

It genuinely doesn't rain in April, though.

10.1.4 The Lytham Trophy, May 2017

Royal Lytham and St. Annes Golf Club

Upon return from Peru, Theo and I both head down to Lytham St. Annes. We both got in, which is awesome because even though it beats me up I still love playing Royal Lytham—never has any course offered such a feeling of accomplishment following a round of one-over par. Neither of us have been playing well lately, and neither of us are entirely sure why, but we both agree "you never turn down a chance to play Royal Lytham." This sentiment we would both come to regret. We arrive at Royal Lytham after a leisurely three-hour drive, and head inside the clubhouse to register for the event.

The inside of the clubhouse is dimly lit, with light filtering in from large bay windows overlooking the first tee but dominated by dark red wallpaper and carpet. One lad makes the mistake of thinking he could wear his golf shoes inside "just for a moment to sign the sheet?" No sir, absolutely not. He is escorted to the door where he is then watched as he removes his shoes before allowed back in. Like the R&A Clubhouse, the walls of Lytham's clubhouse are lined with cabinets holding old trophies, clubs, and awards—the centrepiece being a replica of Seve Ballesteros' Claret Jug, when he famously won in 1979 at Lytham after hitting his tee shot on the 16th into a car park. Notably, no food or drink is provided for players on site; players are welcome to pay for breakfast and lunch—at extortionate rates—in the clubhouse before and after they play. Thankfully, Theo and I had stopped on the way so we went to the professional shop to get water and drinks and then to the first tee for our scheduled practice round. The shop is covered in clothing and accessories carrying the Royal Lytham logo, as many people will come to the shop just to get gifts for themselves or others without being members or even playing the course. In fact, the members at Royal Lytham have their own logo that anyone *not* a member cannot purchase. Somehow, I bagged a nice navy fairway headcover for my dad for his birthday but only on the promise that he would never, ever, ever use it if he played golf in the U.K. Don't worry, he lives in Virginia.

A Royal Lytham member greeted us on the first, welcoming us to the club and hoping we "enjoy the experience." He kindly reminded us that we were only allowed to play one ball during the practice round, and anyone seen taking more than one shot from any tee or into any green would risk disqualification from the tournament—something I have *never* understood, given that

practice rounds are meant for players to learn the course and decide their strategy…how can you possible know what to do the following day after one shot? Pace of play, however, dictates this must be sensible. The practice round reminded me that this course is, again, brutally difficult. It always seems to be more difficult than I remember, a true feat given that it is without a shadow of a doubt the most fearsome course I have ever played. The bunkers, all 214 of them (they filled in 40 bunkers since last year, but for the life of me I can't tell you which ones), are absolute death unless you manage a good lie in a greenside pot. Fairway bunker? Chipping out sideways, or forwards if you're lucky enough not to be up against the lip. I've always been told just "keep it out of the bunkers" and I'd be fine—Theo was told the same—but this strategy falls apart at the slightest whim of the course, such as the fairway on the 13th deciding that , are absolute death unless you manage a good lie in a greenside pot. Fairway bunker? Chipping out sideways, or forwards if you're lucky enough not to be up against the lip. I've always been told just "keep it out of the bunkers" and I'd be fine—Theo was told the same—but this strategy falls apart at the slightest whim of the course, such as the fairway on the 13th deciding that *yes, your 200-yard shot will indeed roll out 265 into that trap you were specifically keeping it short of.* The one joyful experience Theo and I managed to extract from this day was the ASDA pizza station. For only 4 pounds, a 14" monster could be yours. We feasted, just as Lytham had feasted on us.

My playing partners for the first two days were the same, as tradition states you normally play the first 36-holes of any serious or elite event in the same groups—your times just alternative between early and late or morning and afternoon. I was drawn with a talent Welshman and an Aussie. The Aussie is spending his summer in the U.K., playing as much golf as he can get his southern hands on and many of the same events that myself, Wales, and Theo had picked—Lytham, The Irish Am, Scottish Am, Brabazon Trophy, Berkshire Trophy, and the European Am. What an opportunity, though it must require some significant financial backing to pursue. Wales and I are discussing how much we are looking forward to playing Royal County Down a fortnight later, as currently the course is rated #1 in the world; he's heard there are eight blind tee shots. That…is a lot. Theo and I both play tragically over the first two days and return after missing the cut.

I met with coach almost immediately upon my return home; we both agree, the shafts in my club don't fit my swing, so it's little wonder I struggled so mightily at Lytham. That course is demanding at the best of times, and basically unplayable with clubs that don't fit. Whoops. Lytham has just

become the annual evisceration of my golf game from which I slowly rebuild as the summer goes on, rounding into form as the season ends. Maybe I should stop playing it.

10.1.5 Irish Open Amateur, May 2017

Royal County Down Golf Club

This was a special week. I wasn't sure if I would get in, based on the assumption that everyone who was available from the top 1500 WAGR would want to play as it's on the #1 course in *certainly* Europe if not the world. But I got it, and as soon as I did, phoned my dad. He's flying over to meet me, caddy, and generally help me through the week. He'd booked a little bed and breakfast somewhere 20 mins south of Newcastle, and that was a whole host of excitement later on.

We arrived in the car park of Royal County Down around 2.00pm the day of the practice round, as I was told that the tee sheet was pretty free after 1.20pm so I could just meet up with people and play. As we got out of the car, we took it all in. First thing I noticed—dunes. Giant dunes everywhere, and wispy grass lining slivers of fairways winding their way through; I'd never seen anything like this. Oddly enough, there is no driving range…so they've appropriated the "executive" course, otherwise very brazenly known as the 'ladies' course and used a flat portion of the fairway to stage a makeshift driving range, where player hit out onto the holes; instead strewn with yardage markers. We worked our way into the professional shop, as is customary for me to acquire a yardage book or course guide and perhaps some essential equipment (i.e. golf balls, tees, a glove, etc.). It is customary for my dad, however, to peruse the professional shop for various accessories, e.g. hats, that he can add to his increasingly impressive collection of memorabilia and apparel from prestigious venues around the U.K. and the U.S.A. The putting green is…well, the putting green is awkward. It's on a massive slope, which means only slivers of the green are flat and makes practicing pace and lag putting not only difficult, but meaningless. There is another green, much larger, about 40 yards away but it isn't mown to the same length as the greens on the course…so practicing on that is just as meaningless, if not detrimental. Odd, very odd for such a reputable course, given that the greens on the course we would later find out are mostly flat, with the occasional tier or slope—*exceptional*, but flat. I wandered up to the tee box and met up with my two playing partners, and away we went.

What a golf course this was. It's not often that a golf course, being in essence just well-manicured grass laid out amongst natural terrain, can live up to any reputation—let alone the reputation of best in the world. This one does. It is so wildly out of the ordinary, discordant from expectations

but in the most pleasant way. Eight blind tee shots await the golfer playing Royal County Down—one of them being a par 3! These shots are hit over and around dunes, with generous enough room for landing on the other side but also a tremendous amount of treachery in the form of bunkers; inescapable and unavoidable. The fairways, once and if found, are firm and fast rewarding shots played in the traditional links manner—screaming, low to the ground, hiding from the ferocity of the wind above. A 'bullet' 2iron can easily go well beyond even the most well-struck drives that creep above the dunes. I mean, I hit into a bunker 310 from the tee box on the third after a 2iron found the stripe. The driver came up 40 yards short of it. The greens, then, were spectacular. If you were to look at them, from a distance and even up close, you would not be impressed. They are not covered, every square inch, with lush millimetre blades of rye; they appear sparse, almost half-dirt…but my goodness. The surfaces are the best I have ever played on. Every green, the same speed. Predictable, true, rolling exactly as they should. Even from longer range, where on most greens the putt would bounce from the force of the strike—roll. Pure and straight. The true rarity of this course is in the quality and consistency of the greens; most courses force you to rely on each green being the same speed, unfortunately offering surprises from time to time that provide southerly influences on the score. No surprises here. Nothing but pure, unadulterated consistency. Thadd once said, "the one thing I look for in life is consistency," well, here it is. Such a relief to actually be able to adjust your green reading because you *know* the greens are giving you good information. Mercy me, the view from the fourth tee box back across the course towards the clubhouse is *breathtaking*. On a clear day with crisp blue skies, the drama of the course laid out in strips of safety sought amongst the oceans of gorse and towering dunes, against the backdrop of the Morne Mountains falling into the Irish Sea is something to behold. The picture, below, does not serve it justice.

The tournament itself is a bit of a blur, but I distinctly remember playing with a Scottish prodigy in the 3rd round, my buddy Jordan telling me "that lad is pegged to be the next star. He's good." To be honest, I wasn't that impressed. He was good, but nothing he did was spectacular or made you think 'yeah this kid will be on tour.' He made good decisions, though, and was very disciplined in how he approached the course. He also had a caddy—not his father, not a buddy, but a proper caddy. Pretentious little miser though. On the 16th, my dad and I were twenty yards off the green, giving our scores to the official who *had been standing there for every group in front of us*, when his caddy came over and "you guys are on [my player's] line, need you to move.". Oh, right. What's this kid going to do when he's playing in front of galleries—that, you know, also happen to be just off the green, behind tee boxes, and next to fairways? So, we moved, sharing cursory glances with

the other players essentially communicating the sentiment, "is he serious?" A bogey on the 18th hole that day would see this prodigy beat me by only one stroke on a day when I felt I hadn't played all that well—one small measure that helps me believe maybe I am good enough to give this a go (professional golf) after all.

10.1.6 Scottish Open Amateur, June 2017

Western Gailes Golf Club

Travelled to the Scottish Amateur with Theo—we travelled together a good bit this summer, before he went back home in late-June. The drive to Western Gailes was always a beautiful one, depending on the way Google Maps would decide to take you. One year, Juan and myself were taken up through the middle of Scotland, which was terrifying and frustrating and beautiful all the same when you crest over the borderlands on a clear spring morning and see the mountains *far* in the distance dusted with snow. Theo and I had the pleasure of taking the M6 up from Penrith and Carlisle, onto the M78 and into Glasgow before turning off towards Dundonald and Ayre. Theo and I had booked into an AirBnB with Nathan, one of my practice round partners at the Irish Amateur, who had already played his practice round when we arrived—so we took off to the course.

Western Gailes is situated directly between the coastal railway line running up from Prestwick and Troon, along a sliver of links land joining the coastal dunes to the farmland. The first four holes turn north, and the fifth hole turns back maintaining the same direction until the short par three 13th. The 14th hole turns back towards the clubhouse and the 18th finishes in front…a favourable wind would be a huge advantage playing this, whereas a nasty northwest wind (blowing across the course from the southeast) would make the 5th to the 13th holes immeasurably difficult; the 5th, 11th, 12th hole being par fours over 470 yards…meaning that wind would render some of those holes unreachable with anything but the most piercing of true strikes. Thankfully, we avoided that wind. We played our practice round with Andy again, and a young Scottish golfer who played for Chattaheechee University in the southern United States. Our goodie bags, given to use in the mobile Scottish Golf tournament office, contained a yardage book, SGU pitch mark repair tool, an SGU poker chip ball marker, some Cadbury roses (delightful addition), and Carrick Neil branded golf tees.

During our round, Andy and I discuss the national golf team and selection process. He says he was the first player from north of Manchester to be selected for the national squad in the last ten to

fifteen years, but was dropped from the squad when decided to fulfil an internship requirement in order to attain his MSc. Furthermore, Andy was the only player on the national squad that was attending University or school; everyone else, every other player was a *full-time amateur golfer*. I emphasise this phrase because it is one I heard frequently in the field, usually from working-class or players that had full-time jobs in reference to certain other players in tournament fields or their matches. For example, one from Club A would say "I took him down 17,but he's a full-time golfer. He's supposed to win!" or, on the contrary, "I should never have beat him (when the working golfer would win) man, he's a full-time golfer!" This expression describes a very particular scenario, usually one in which a talented young player has a few-years-window in which to pursue golf at the highest level and the financial abilities to facilitate this; either from their parents or the national golf association helping them. Andy was one such individual for the next year and a half, though Andy did not invoke this expression so…disdainfully. It was more a statement of fact. Similarly, our new Chattaheechee friend recounts his drop from the national squad, though not for attending university specifically. He was dropped immediately following his victory in the national boys' matchplay championship! National team golf and team selection must be very subjective—which strangely runs against the fundamental nature of golf wherein usually the best scores decide who wins and who gets selected.

Furthermore, from a social standpoint, Andy explains his decision to play for one club over another this year. While having played for Club 1 for a few years already, he decides to play for Club 2 for a number of reasons. Firstly, he built a relationship with this Club 2 during his time at university—the home club of his university team. Secondly, Club 2 is much closer to where his lives with his girlfriend rather than where Club 1 is to his mother's house. Thirdly, the social elements of Club 2 are more amendable to Andy than Club 1—"Both clubs, the lads have money. At Club 1, they *act* like they have money. At Club 2, no-one really talks about having money even though you *know* they do." Also, Club 2 has more people Andy's age to socialise with…"younger lads, already been on a few nights out with the boys from Club 2. Don't get to do that with the lads from Club 1; not really my age." Thus, Andy communicates the importance of being able to socialise with his teammates and other golfers at the club outside the bounds of the golf club itself. These things are important to us golfers in the Northeast.

The tournament itself was shorter than I would have liked. After firing a mind-numbingly easy 68 in the first round, to leave myself in 7th going into the second round, I seemingly forgot how to hit a golf ball the next day. I shot 80 and missed the cut, returning home ignominiously with Theo to

return to thesis work and even more practice. My playing partners were excellent lads, no issues to report with etiquette or rules or general social conduct. We minded our shadows, took due diligence when playing, helped each other find balls in awry places, and stayed courteous on the greens. Interestingly, I ended up being paired with one of them later this summer in the Boyd Quaich. The entire week was dominated by the disappointment of leaving my new wife, Amanda, in Texas immediately following our brief honeymoon and the passing of my grandfather Vernon—while on my honeymoon. My emotions are a little out of sorts at this moment.

10.1.7 The Amateur Championship, June 2017

Royal St. George's and Princes Golf Club

The most pressing observation from this tournament, beyond being the most prestigious amateur event I ever played in, is an exchange that occurred between myself and a rules official on the 12th tee box. It was a hot, sunny day down in Kent and I was desperate for some water as I left the 11th green—there was supposed to be water provided at certain stations but this one, nestled near a hut in between these two holes, had none. I sprinted across another fairway to find lukewarm bottles of water and then rushed back, cognisant of the time spent finding this water so hurriedly went through my pre-shot routine and teed off. A rules official drove up on a buggy as we departed the 12th tee.

> *Official: Just so you are aware, you are now a hole behind.*
>
> *JG: Yes sir, we are only slightly out of position as I just had to go find some water as there was not any in the designated station at the last green.*
>
> *Official: That is not my concern. Make up the time, otherwise you will be put on the clock.*
>
> *JG: But, we have been waiting on the group in front of us all day to this point?*
>
> *Official: Not my concern, young man.*

I'm sorry, it's not your concern? It's 26 degrees Celsius and a sweltering day on the beaches of Kent. Player safety isn't your concern? I was flabbergasted. Then again, Royal St. George's wasn't anything to write home about so my perception of this encounter might well have been tainted by my own disappointment of my play and the reality of this venerable course being a frustrating tour through the dunes.

Otherwise, the event was spectacular. Signage and media presence everywhere—a Rolex clock on every tee box! I was paired with a lovely Dutch player and an Englishman, and the Dutch player shone in the first round. A flawless, bogey-free 68 around Royal St. George's was a beautiful display of golf, navigating even the toughest stretches with a calm demeanour. I was frustrated by the draw, having been given the hardest course on the calmest day—of the 93 players tied for the top 64 places (as only 64 and ties advance beyond the 36-hole stroke play) over 75 of them had played Princes instead. Luck of the draw, I guess.

The following day was another to forget. I struggled to level par through 27 holes, knowing that I needed a -4 that day to advance. I teed off second on the 10th hole, and promptly lost a ball that should have been easily found—the gallery on the blind hole was preoccupied with finding the Dutch phenom's ball and thus mine went unnoticed. I collapsed, unravelling into an 80 and subsequently turned tail and drove back North a few hours later after signing for my self-destruction.

10.1.8 The Boyd Quaich, July 2017

The New and the Old Courses, St. Andrews Links

I finished my presentation at the Academy of Marketing Conference in Hull, and got into the car. I was already packed, suitcase and clubs in the car, I just needed to pick up Lloyd on the way to St. Andrews—he was meeting me up north. The drive was a lot of fun, we caught up on what he's been doing this summer (surprise, writing his dissertation!) and then arrived in St. Andrews at the University Halls where the Boyd Quaich players were being housed for the week. These dorms were nice, *very* nice, and provided a glimpse into the cushy life those St. Andrews students have! The next day, Lloyd had to buy some ProV1's on the way to the course—15 pounds for what would normally be 10, but he simply said "I don't mind it really, because these have the logo on them. Anything with the St. Andrews logo is always going to be a bit more expensive, you know? "

I was paired with Harry and a former playing partner from the Scottish Am earlier last month. Harry plays well, and gets himself into contention while us other two both struggle; David finished with a birdie to remain sane, at least. I can't help but notice that my swing is loose and uncontrollable, or at least it feels that way. But I am hitting the ball a long way…sometimes, though, it goes a long way *right.* Not good. A triple bogey on the 16th kills any hope I had of a good round, which is heart-breaking given the amount I grinded and stayed patient to get to that point with a respectable score. To make matters worse, it rained on us later in the round—I am

frozen and miserable, because even July in Scotland can be cold. For the first time in a long, long time, golf is the *last* thing that I want to be doing. I have interviews that I need to transcribe, but I am kind of shocked that I genuinely feel this way. Was not sure it could ever get to this point, but hopefully once Amanda gets here then the clouds will part.

Playing the Old Course, the following morning, was glorious. The weather was perfect, the course was perfect, and for a while I took advantage and got myself back into the tournament and looked like making the cut. I stood on the 16th at -3 on the day, and promptly hit one over the fence and O.B. Why? There is so much room left, yeah it might be rough but there is SO MUCH ROOM. I must have said something stupid to myself like "Ok James, time to hit a good one." There were no good ones that day! Idiot. Another triple bogey takes me over the cutline and a quick trip home ensued. The company, however, of Harry and David was sublime—absolutely lovely lads that enjoy a bit of craic and a good chat while never once interfering with anyone's game.

Lloyd also missed the cut, and so we return south. The head of St. Andrews golf, however, did cheekily mention that if I ever wanted to transfer to St. Andrews for the remainder of my Ph.D. that I would have a spot on the team waiting for me. I'll admit, I thought about it. For a *long* time.

Appendix B: Participant Descriptions

This appendix serves to provide more detail regarding each participant in the research with regards to their sociocultural backgrounds and motivations for playing golf. Each heading lists the participant's pseudonym, age, sex, and handicap (category, not exact).

A2.1 Club A Participants

Bradley, 20s, M—Category 1

A young schoolteacher from the South, Bradley started playing golf fifteen years ago to bring another sport into his repertoire and so that his father could spend more time practicing his own game. Initially just hitting balls, Bradley began to appreciate the difficulty of the game and became more competitive – last season lowering his handicap from 7 to 2, an impressive feat. Bradley now plays on the Club A Scratch Team, though last season often filling the Reserve role. He started

out playing his golf exclusively with his father on weekends, though the past two seasons have seen him expand his playing partners to friends, their fathers, and other Scratch Team players playing as often as he can – several times per week during the spring, summer, and autumn. Bradley plays golf for the challenge, competitive drive, and to get his handicap as low as possible; the measure, he believes, of "how good you are." In other areas of his life golf helps him deal with disappointment, particularly in being a Mathematics Teacher, and sharpens his sense of self-awareness and ability to reflect on his performances in the field.

Edward, Retired, M—Category 3

A keen sportsman in his younger days, Edward started playing golf early in his childhood at age 7 at Royal Lytham & St. Annes Golf Club, an esteemed Open Championship venue. He was, however, taught down the road at Lytham Green Drive Golf Club and developed his game at boarding school on the Isle of Man. In fact, he rather disingenuously states he began his golf at Lytham when he later admits that the professional would not actually teach him because he was left-handed. A retired former steel industry executive, Edward plays most of his golf with a clique at Club A rather brazenly self-identifying as "The Mafia;" many members of this clique being on the committee, including Edward himself. He began playing through a strong paternal influence, hitting golf balls on the beach near Lytham, and now plays for the lifestyle and social enrichment – stating directly that golf *is* his life. Edward credits golf with helping him learn the balance between business competition and sport competition, while focussing on the social benefit to his network of friends.

Kevin, 20s, M—Category 1

A young, industrious individual from the Northeast, Kevin started playing golf seriously when he was 15 as an amateur football career came to an end. Introduced to golf by his grandfather at a young age, at the club next door to Club A, a few good scores soon put him into the junior fold at the club. Like Edward, Kevin has his own clique of members that he plays with on a regular basis, including his father. This clique, unlike The Mafia, are outspoken but uninvolved when it comes to the committee and policies of the club; quick to criticize but slow to volunteer, though Kevin himself is reserved and polite. He plays golf for the satisfaction and praise that comes from being adept at the game, shooting low scores, and overcoming mental barriers. Kevin credits golf for teaching him the patience needed for him to learn new machining codes to succeed in the workplace.

Monica, Retired, F—Category 2

Monica began playing golf with her husband, a long-time member of the team at Club A, to get her children into the game as a means to spend more time with her family. Soon, she was swept up into the game, joined the ladies section, and surprised herself with her own competitive ambitions in the game. A retired accountant and administrative worker, Monica mostly plays with the Ladies' section at Club A, and finds her playing partners mixed up frequently though she does have a consistent group of four or five partners gathered from the fold. She enjoys golf with players of similar handicaps – if not a little better – and those who take the game seriously. A member of the committee at the time of the interview, Monica is involved in regulatory and political procedures at the club; management, strategy, marketing, and membership decisions. Driven by the competitive fire she has discovered, Monica plays golf now for self-improvement and owes golf for allowing her to discover this inner competitor she never knew was there.

Natalie, Retired, F—Category 1

A recently retired schoolteacher, Natalie has been playing golf for 38 years. After a stellar but shortened amateur career in youth football, she first picked up a club in 1980 in a field with a fellow teacher. After an introductory day at a nearby County Golf Club, sponsored by the County Golf Union, she decided to jump in joining Club A soon after. Natalie enjoys playing with those who view the game similarly to herself, in a competitive but very positive light, and usually finds herself playing with the same group of six ladies. Natalie has won the Club Championship a record number of times at the club, and continues to play for the Ladies' Scratch Team. Crediting golf with helping her ability to understand different personalities in her profession, teaching, and thus self-awareness in her ability to structure lessons and exercise patience to help her students get the most out of their lessons.

Oscar, 30s, M—Category 2

Leaving school as early as he could at 14, Oscar is a vibrant man with a flourishing career in tiling. Oscar joined Club A a few years prior to the interview. He began playing golf during a difficult stretch in his life; unemployed and soon-to-be-divorced. A friend's father introduced him to the game and soon Oscar was taking lessons at a driving range several times per week. Oscar mostly plays his golf on weekends with a select group of friends, and is relatively uninvolved with committee or regulatory proceedings at Club A given that he does not belong to the main clique comprising most of the committee members. Starting off playing golf for "something to do," he

now plays golf for the personal benefits, i.e. self-discipline, and the way it helps him think positively "…the sun will come back tomorrow. No matter how bad of a day you have, how horrible your personal business…golf has taught me that." Golf helps Oscar think positively in other areas of his life, though does not attribute this to any other field in particular.

A2.2 Club B Participants

Daniel, 30s, M—Category 1

Daniel is a firearms police officer whose golf career began at the age of 12 at nearby BC Golf Club. Introduced to the game by one of his father's football friends, he started, like many others in the Northeast, by hitting golf balls in local farmers' fields and short pitch and putt courses. A quick study in other sports as well, namely football and cricket, Daniel got hooked early on by a natural ability for the game and improving television coverage of his "idols." A member of Club B for several years now, Daniel plays most of his golf with the TSU Scratch Team – myself and with about 5-6 others. He values the ability of his playing partners, making an effort to deliberately state that he enjoys playing with others of a "similar standard." He plays golf now for a hobby, and something to keep him focused outside of work and his family. Golf helped Daniel develop a calm temperament under pressure; something he cites being useful in his work as a firearms officer.

Howard, 60s, M—Category 2

Howard has been a member of Club B for 35 years at the time of the interview, and is also a country member at Ganton Golf Club. At 26, Howard was introduced to golf by a friend from law school when he went down to stay with him in Bedfordshire and hit a couple of balls as his friend played. Immediately upon his return, marched into Club B and told the professional "I'd like to learn how to play golf." After some lessons with the assistant professional, a senior partner of the law firm, and a close relative of some founding members of Club B, discovered Howard's fledgling interest in the game and set about getting Howard into the club. His love for practice and a dedicated work ethic facilitated a promising start to Howard's club career, and he won a club medal soon after joining. Today, Howard plays most of his golf with a handful of charismatic committee members, two of which are also participants in this research, several times per week. They play both at Ganton and Club B during the season when his work and County Golf commitments permit. Playing golf for the spirit of the game and a love of the sense of mutual

respect, Howard credits golf with reinforcing certain ethical and moral requirements of his profession in law as a judge.

Kyle, 40s, M—Category 1

Playing golf for 22 years, Kyle is a purchaser for a roofing company that has been a member of Club B for those same 22 years. An outstanding cricketer and Australian Rules Football player, Kyle moved back to the U.K. after some time in Australia and soon took up golf as his family had some ties at the club. A few years later, an elite County player at both cricket and golf, he had to choose between the two as they were detrimental to each other; playing golf with a cricket motion and batting with a golf swing. Choosing golf, Kyle has had an illustrious career at the club capturing several Club Championships, course records, and over a decade on the County Golf Union squad. The composition of his regular golf groups has changed over the years, with some of his older friends moving on to different clubs and moving to different countries, though he plays with the same handful of individuals currently. Neither Kyle, nor any member of his regular group, are on the committee or involved with significant amounts of regulatory practice or political activity at the club. He plays golf because it is his life, as he has built an identity and an existence around the game, and he credits the game with providing employment and developing his communication skills.

Kathryn, 20s, F—Category 1

Kathryn is a young golfer who has worked her way into the national Girls team and has been winning a substantial number of Ladies' events in the County for the last few years. A 6th form student until recently, Kathryn will be attending university in the United States on a golf scholarship. Introduced to the game by her father, she attended junior coaching with her brother early on and found an early affinity for the game. She plays most of her golf with a friend from Cheshire, in practice rounds for tournaments, as she foregoes much club golf in favour of the national and international amateur circuit with her national squad teammates. She plays golf because, as the researcher has had to infer, she enjoys the challenge and it is providing an education for her—in the form of an NCAA Division 1 scholarship—though she struggles to explain how golf helps other fields of interest in her life – likely because her entire life, at this time, is golf.

Norm, 30s, M—Category 2

A carpenter from the area originally, Norm began playing golf when he was 12 years old in a beginner program run by the professional at Club B at the time; the first several years playing golf casually, spending time with his father. He began taking golf more seriously about 8 years ago, just before joining Club B. Norm plays most of his golf with the same group that Howard plays with, of which there are two more members and all of them are committee members of the club. A country member at Ganton Golf Club, a venerable north Yorkshire club with tremendous history and itself objectified cultural capital, Norm plays golf for the camaraderie with his friends and the challenge of personal improvement – noting that golf helps specifically in emotional intelligence, communication skills, and developing patience in his work and with his family and friends.

Oliver, 50s, M—Category 1

Oliver began playing golf 37 years ago when his father and grandfather introduced him to the game. They would bring him to the course to follow along and let him practice in local fields, where he caught the golf bug. Oliver became a Club B Team regular, playing for the TSU Scratch Team and County Cup Team for decades, also captaining the teams to league and cup wins. Formerly a county administrator, Oliver retired and owns a small dry stonewalling business operating mostly in the farms of the Pennines. He plays a substantial amount of his golf with his foursomes and fourball partner, and some social golf with other participants in the research such as Norm and Howard. Oliver plays golf today for the social and outdoors benefits, noting it as a great way to meet new people and stay somewhat competitive. Golf taught Oliver how to remain calm and patient in his managerial work for the County, in addition to providing some much-needed solace.

Thomas, 30s, M—Category 1

Thomas is an upper-level manager in the automotive supply industry and started playing golf when he was around 12 years old. After initially hitting golf balls in a field, like some other participants in the research Thomas took advantage of the beginner and junior teaching programs run by Club B and their former head professional; claiming to have only ever had that "one golf lesson in my life." Though his father did not play golf, he purchased Thomas his first club at a car boot sale. Now, Thomas sits on the committees at Club B and is actively involved in the TSU Scratch Team and other Club B teams, likewise a country member of Ganton. Thomas plays most of his golf with Howard, Norm, and a few others keeping the golf network very tight and strong tied. Thomas plays golf for the camaraderie and the competitive opportunities, crediting golf for

teaching him how to focus and sequentially work through assignments in his work life and other fields – such as house chores.

Zach, 50s, M—Category 2

A service engineer, Zach started playing golf at the age of 12 or 13. Given an old 5 iron and a 3 wood from someone he cannot remember, he began by hacking the ball around local fields and familiarising himself with how to strike the ball. After a year-long wait, he was awarded membership to Club B and won a major junior competition his first season at the club. Now, Zach plays most of his golf with a regular group of members that usually meet on Saturday and Sunday mornings through the winter and as often as possible through the summer, of which Kyle and Daniel are also a part. He plays golf for the intangible euphoria of perfectly-struck shots and the taste of success, along with meeting new people and staying competitive. Zach believes that golf enhances his overall life, though it is difficult for him to describe – a general social and communicative enrichment.

A2.3 University Participants

Brittany, 20s, F—Category 3

Brittany was a second-year undergraduate at UA, studying language. She started playing golf on the pressures of her mother, insisting she exploit some perceived athletic "gap" for Brittany to fill. Under the impressions that golf would be easy, she quickly found a coach and playing partner – one and the same. She played most of her golf with her coach, but does not play often, and when she was at university played most of her golf with other high handicap golfers in the University Golf Club. Golf is not terribly important to her, and she considers golf mostly as an opportunity to "get out and do something." She enjoys the opportunity to walk around and be in nature. Brittany uses what she learns from golf to stay more focused in other sports and breed confidence from being one of the only women to play the game where she lives – "sticking out."

Chris, 20s, M—Category 1

Chris is a Scandinavian National, from continental Europe, studying Arabic and Business at UB. He began playing golf at a very young age, around 3 years old, and though he picked the game up due to the influence of his father he credits Tiger Woods with being the driving force behind his quick and rapid affection to the sport. Tiger's success "lit the spark" inside of Chris with riveting performances and international domination, an inspiration only fully realised upon a later appreciation for the intricacies of the game and its habitus. Chris played most of his golf with

Harry, and a few other UB Performance Squad members, and played as often as he can though that amount varied depending on academic work and whether he was at UA or home. Chris believes that golf augments his social skills and has given him a distinct ability to network and interact with other individuals.

David, 20s, M—Category 1

David was an MSc in Management Finance student at UA, and learned to play golf with his mother who played professionally for a while. David's mother taught him to play on their local course, of which his grandfather was a founding member. A surprise addition to the UA Golf Program, David played off of a +2 handicap; stellar institutionalised golf capital in addition to the social capital of familial ties to his home golf club. David played most of his golf, like James, with the UA 1st Team during the winter and spring. At the closure of the BUCS season, David played less golf and focused on his schoolwork. He plays golf for the individuality of the sport, and never much enjoyed team sports. Golf means friendship, enjoyment, and relaxation away from stressors to David. He credits the competitive nature of golf with helping him succeed in sales and banking jobs before coming back to university – additionally mentioning how golf helped him learn to prioritise.

Denise, 20s, F—Category 1

A 3rd year undergraduate in Business and Management, Denise had been playing golf since early childhood. She started playing golf with her family, and her grandfather was a founding member of her club. Growing up Denise preferred handball but played golf at an elite regional level, and has juggled both sports until a knee injury recently in December of 2016 derailed her handball career. She played most of her golf with the 3rd and 4th Team players at UA, though when she is home she plays with her friends and family. Denise plays golf for the exercise, enjoyment, and as a means to learn the rules of other fields – rarely playing for more than three months at a time. Denise finds that golf helps her mostly in talking to other individuals and, as mentioned in the analysis chapters, learning the social rules and customs of other fields in which she competes.

Dylan, 20s, M—Category 1

A business student in his final year, Dylan developed an interest in golf from his father who is a former Captain at their Glaswegian golf club. From a working background, he began playing "once every blue moon" at twelve years old, when his father was a junior liaison officer at their club, and transitioned to "three times a day with my friends" one summer later. A quick study, Dylan went

from 54 to 28 that summer, and played to a handicap of +3 before turning professional in 2018. Representing his home nation for a few years after turning 16, Dylan decided to forego a scholarship to an NCAA school in the States to stay home and play for UC; rather than starting out as the best player on the team, Dylan knew he'd have ten players at UC better than him. Personal improvement, and camaraderie, drove that decision and with Dylan ending his UC career as the No.1/2 player, it clearly paid dividends. Dylan played most of his golf with his teammates, unfortunately not participants in this study due to academic and travel commitments, though several of them are also members of the same club back home giving Dylan some consistency in his playing partners throughout the year. While he started playing on the inspiration of his father and grandfather, Dylan now plays golf for the individual gratification and self-actualising opportunities. Golf, for Dylan, is also an opportunity for him to escape what he considers to be traditional cultural barriers to success – the Scottish pull of apathy.

Hannah, 20s, F—Category 1

In her final year at UC, Hannah was considered an elite golfer at the amateur level. Studying for a degree in business, Hannah was consistently near the top of every individual tournament she played in and represented her country for the past two seasons at least. She began playing golf simply because her mum and dad played, and in fact recalls a distinct intention to *not* begin playing. She was told to follow along with her father and sister on the course, and as she says "I didn't intend to […], I didn't want to […] – I didn't have the intention to fall in love with the game. It just happened." Aside from afternoons with her mother, father, and sister, she quickly learned that golf could be fun through junior coaching sessions with other keen youngsters – not unlike other members of this study. A source of significant insight into the gendered aspects of consumption and participation in golf, Hannah recognizes that her experience in golf as a woman does not always mirror that of her male counterparts; though, to be sure, she certainly faces them head on playing for UC's 1st Team. Sometimes the only woman on the squad, Hannah played for the best team in one of the top University leagues. Hannah credits golf with teaching her patience, time management, and augmenting her social skills, though she vehemently dislikes playing with people that have annoying "habits." At the time of the interview, it should be said, Hannah was (and may still be at this time) "falling out of love" with golf. The frustrations of certain parts of the game, notably putting, have tainted her experience and at the time it is something she struggles to overcome; in fact, she explains further that the love she has left for golf is keeping her from turning professional – she believes that turning her passion or hobby into her livelihood would strip it bare of the enjoyable social and familial aspects she still reveres.

Harry, 20s, M—Category 1

An economics major from Scotland, Harry began playing golf around 3 years old when the family went on holiday to the Isle of Arran. He remembers little more than that he just "loved it" and played all the time, even being a member of the local Arran club at 5 years old. Harry plays most of his golf, like Chris, with the UB Performance Squad, though at times he finds himself on the course with friends from class. He plays as often as he can during the year and usually more often during the summer due to weather and scheduling flexibility. Being one of their top players, arguably their best, Harry represented UB in international and national competitions. Harry credits the respect and discipline he has learned from golf to being of great assistance navigating unfamiliar social situations, likewise networking and developing new relationships.

Ken, 20s, M—Category 1

A South American at UA, Ken played golf at an American university in the NCAA's for his undergraduate. He started playing with his dad, a member at a local country club, and his older brother. Beginning, as many young players do, by learning to strike the ball on the driving range before moving to the full course. A successful career in NCAA Division 1 left Ken hoping to make an attempt at playing professionally, though unfortunately a sponsor agreement fell through and left Ken with few options. He decided to return to school to try and brighten his prospects. Ken played most of his golf with the UA 1st Team, though when he was back home he played with his close friends and national team; he represents them in international and South American competition. Ken plays golf for the joy of winning and the camaraderie he builds with his friends, using what he learns in golf to have the confidence to pursue his dreams, i.e. coming to UA to play golf.

Lloyd, 20s, M—Category 1

Studying for an MSc in Management at UA, Lloyd did his undergraduate degree at a university in the Midlands; competing against UA on frequent occasion. He started playing golf when he was 8 years old, though he was mainly playing football at that time. As he began to get more competitive, at 14 Lloyd had soon worked his way onto the County team where he lived. A fearsome university competitor in the Midlands, Lloyd accepted a scholarship to play golf for UA. Now, Lloyd consistently plays to a scratch or better handicap and was a vital member of UA 1st Team. At university, Lloyd played most of his golf with the UA 1st Team, though when he is back home Lloyd plays most of his golf either with friends or his older brother; an aspiring professional.

Lloyd plays golf, and prefers it today to other sports, because of the constant opportunity for self-improvement, the life lessons it provides (time management, self-awareness, and communication skills). He uses capital acquired from golf to exercise patience where necessary and fuel his personal ambition.

Thad, 30s, M—Category 1

Thad earned his MSc in Management at UA, Thad also completed his undergraduate degree in America on a golf scholarship. Starting a junior college, Thad then received scholarships to play at Division I and Division II NCAA schools; finishing his degree, working temporarily, and moving back home to South Africa. He started playing golf by caddying for his father in England, and did not actually swing a club for a few months after accompanying his father to the course for the first time. Thad quickly applied his athleticism from playing football, rugby, cricket, and skateboarding to golf and was a scratch golfer before the end of his teens. Thad played most of this golf at UA with either the 1st Team, his housemate, or when back home a close group of friends. In fact, he says that this group structure everything around their golf; an essential kick-start to their plans. He plays golf for the constant challenge of self-improvement, and for more intangible emotive reasons (like many of the participants). Thad also hopes to play professionally someday, and credits golf with teaching him how to converse and socially interact with others in unfamiliar or uncomfortable settings.

Todd, 20s, M—Category 1

Todd was a third-year undergraduate student in Sport Science, and a pivotal 1st Team UA player. Todd learned to play golf with his dad at the age of 8. He did not take the sport seriously, however, until he was released from the local premiership football club's academy at 16. Then, he transformed from a weekend player into a veritable golfer, even attending a golf specific academy in Florida for a year prior to university. He plays most of his golf with the UA 1st and 2nd Teams, though when he is home he plays with his friends. His father no longer players, but enjoys watching Todd go out for nine holes on late summer afternoons. Todd plays golf because he enjoys the responsibility of individual sports and being in total control of the outcome. He enjoys the feeling of achievement from setting and attaining goals, and the satisfaction from working towards something. Todd believes golf has taught him time management, dedication, and work ethic (possibly discipline) that he calls upon particularly with his schoolwork.

Theo, 20s, M—Category 1

Theo was studying for his MSc in Renewable Energy, having recently completed his undergraduate studies in mechanical engineering at university in California. Coming to UA on a golf scholarship, Theo began playing golf through junior coaching clinics and a friend's introduction. He does not credit his father for getting him started, though they "obviously" play as well. Theo learned quickly, taking advantage of afterschool programs and time for sport to lower his handicap and become adept at the game – winning several junior competitions against more formidable competition. Now, he plays most of his golf with the UA 1st Team while at university or his friends on the club team back home. Theo plays golf for the competitive drive, and "that feeling" when you are out there playing well. He states that golf "has been [his] girlfriend for 11 years now." In other areas, Theo credits golf with teaching him to respect others, follow a general etiquette, become kind, and control his emotions.

Victor, 20s, M—Category 1

Victor, from down near London, was studying for his BSc in Economics and began playing golf when he was 12 or 13. His father introduced him to the game, and is more of a social golfer despite getting victor initiated. Junior lessons, coaching sessions, and Saturday morning rounds with his father and friends is how Victor become adept at the game; though, like many others, often much preferring football in his younger days. However, once he started actually getting on the course, rather than the practice tee, Victor was hooked. He played most of his golf with the UA 2nd Team or his housemates, of whom some are one and the same, and plays, weather dependent, between 2 and 3 times per week. Victor started playing golf because he believes it is slightly addictive, always thinking that you "could've done better." Like many others in the study, Victor believes golf and the capital acquired from the golf field helps his communication skills – enabling him to build trust with others quickly and learn more from them.

Xavier, 20s, M—Category 1

The third, and final, participant from UC was a first-year who played as a borderline 1st team member. Xavier transferred to UC from a university in the States; after being dissatisfied with his athletic and cultural experience in that part of the country, he decided to "come home" to pursue his academic and athletic goals. Like Todd from UA, Xavier played football from an early age, earning a professional contract with a local club academy, and only began regular participation in golf after an injury ended his aspiring football career. Coming from a family of footballers, as his father and brother played at either the professional or near-professional level, he began playing

golf almost by accident. Xavier went on a field trip with his football team, at 14, and played 9 holes with his dad. He says they were there simply "to have a bit of fun." The enjoyment of that day led to a gradual increase in exposure to the game for Xavier, who found that going out and playing with friends, and the sociability of it, was the easiest way to learn the game. He recalls the hardest aspect of learning to play golf, however, being his father's disappointment when Xavier didn't pursue a career in professional football; Xavier was "sort of, expected to play football and play it professionally." It took him "almost a year" to tell his father he wanted to play golf instead. Nevertheless, he still values the socialisation golf provides, as he finds himself playing most of his golf now with people that are talkative and interested in conversation; the drawback being that he mostly, when at home, plays golf with his "mates" meaning that he doesn't have as much exposure to the greater networking elements that golf provides. Golf has taught Xavier to control his behaviour and manage some his more boisterous and brash tendencies – gleaned from football – and has helped develop his communication skills.

Appendix C: Sample Field Notes

Social Golf at Club A
28th July 2017

- Play with James and Oxley (Surname?) (two pseudonyms)
- Oxley is clearly a higher handicap, but I look forward to the chat.
- Nothing much of note early on, though James mentions he would be hoping to get back in the County Seniors squad.
- Oxley asks us on the 14th why his ball is behaving as such, I explain – "golf is simple physics. There are two things that control the flight of the ball, in general. Club path and club face. If the path is straight, the ball will start where you are aimed. Inside-out, the ball starts

right. Outside-in, the ball starts left. If the face is square to the path, it flies straight, otherwise the ball starts on the club path and turns where the face is looking."

- James says, on the 17th hole, "one of the most addictive things about golf, I think, is that you can always improve. There's an element there of self-betterment…knowing that you can always do a little bit better."
- We return to the bar for a pint after the game, and James asks how the Ph.D. is going. "Well, stick in there. It'll be done before you know it."

Social Golf at Club B

6th July 2017

- Facebook Messages Zach, asking if he was playing today – he replied "Yes at 4.30 mate, you want to join?"
- Obviously I want to join.
- Arrived to the course rushed, and narrowly making my tee time.
- Paid my 5.50 (50p goes to charity) towards the medal entry.
- Mixed bag from me today, but 7 birdies.
- There was a bridge party/social in the bar when we finished, and I was instructed to get my pint from the snooker room.
- Zach is still working on his swing.
- Matt mentions "ever since I had a lesson with the pro last week I haven't been able to hit the ball for shite."
- Henry and myself are swarmed by flies.
- Kyle is waiting for us as we finish 18, laughing at Zach for hitting an iron off the tee and then putting it in the front right bunker.
- Kyle usually comes out at 6.30 after work during the summer, unless he can get away earlier.
- Group behind us seemed very impatient – always *right* on our tails. No breathing room.
- Saw Howard as I was leaving the car park, wants to be sure I get my practice round at South Shields tomorrow (County Match on Saturday) to be ready for Yorkshire.
- Past-Captain catches me in the snooker room, asks "did you win last night?" "No Cap, was up in St. Andrews." "I just wish it was last year" (wishes the team was playing well last year during his Captaincy. The secretary, sitting next to him, stays strangely quiet. Past-Cap says "good shot" as a red is potted on the snooker table in front of him.

Appendix D: Sample Interview

Kyle

39, M, Club B—Category 1

So, this interview -- I'm looking to ascertain your level of golf participation. Get a bit of a personal history from you so I can contextualise your individual contribution to the research as a whole. So I will ask you questions about: how much you play golf, who you play golf with, where you play your golf. Even though I already know this stuff, we still want to talk about it. I might ask you questions about your family, any other personal matters. Do not ever feel obliged to answer anything. If you are uncomfortable with a question, you don't even need to indicate it. Just say "I prefer not to answer," or "no comment." All identifying and personal information will be kept anonymous by default and the data will be destroyed following the publishing and defense of my thesis. Knowing this, are you happy to continue with the interview and record this conversation?

Yep.

So. Tell me a bit about yourself.

I'm 39 years old. Been playing golf...22 years? Started when I was 17. Moved here 3 years prior to that from Australia. Before that I was into me cricket and aussie rules (Australian Rules Football). So when I got here, I played cricket -- but no aussie rules! Haha. Then I got into me golf at 17, just through my uncle who was a member here (Club B Golf Club). Pretty much that's all I've done sport wise ever since.

Did anybody besides your uncle in your family play golf?

My dad did, before I was born. Never...not since. I'd hit balls up the field in Australia, but he (his father) was left handed. So I'd just used left-handed clubs and just hit from one end to the other. Never really got into golf. Just did it for an hour to mess about really. Then when I moved here, that was when I played a lot of cricket. A couple of the lads at the cricket played golf as well, so I thought "I'll have a look at that." Played right handed, me natural hand, and then got into it from there. My uncle got me in pretty much straight away because at the time they were looking for junior members. Then like I say it's pretty much dominated my life ever since.

Ok, what brought you from Australia to the UK?

In the late '80's, Australia went into a recession. My dad worked for himself at the time. We had the money to move back the UK - I was born in the UK, but moved out there when I was a baby. At the time, we had the money to move and it was like "do we see out the recession? Maybe it doesn't recover and we want to come back and don't have the money...or do we make the decision now and do it while we can afford it?"

Can you tell me a little more about what your parents did?

When we lived in Australia my mam was a merchandiser for a company called Mills & Boone -- they sell books. Romance novels, all that kind of stuff. When we first went to Australia my dad was a skilled plumbing and heating engineer; when we moved to Australia he didn't have a job prior to moving. When we got there, his certificates from the UK weren't valid there. So he would have then had to go back to night school to do all his qualifications again. Instead of doing that, he went basically into the building trade -- but a bit of everything. So it was ... when we first went there, he got a job making spa baths and catamarans. He did that for a few years. It was ok, but it was never gonna get him a decent wage. So he decided to set up on his own. He did a bit of everything: window fitting, carpentry, brick laying, all that. He did his own business reallly. Mam carried on doing the merchandising.

So, you started playing when you were 17. Can you tell me more about why you started playing? Why you really got into it?

Every...well, I'm gonna say I'm one of the lucky ones where anything to do with a ball? I'm good at. Hand-eye? Hand-eye coordination I've always been very good at my whole life. In Australia I played at such a young age, and I was playing at the top level at cricket. Aussie Rules I was the same. I was signed for the North Melbourne Kangaroos at 13 years old, with their academy. Basically the equivalent of the premiership, but in Aussie Rules. One of the top players in the state at my age, so I signed with one of the big clubs in the academy. Anything to do with a ball I was always good at. Always wanted to get into, and played lots of different sports. I played Tennis, aussie rules, cricket, soccer (football!) in Australia. When I came here...over here, sport isn't as easily accessible as Australia. Australia, at school, sport is the be all and end all. It is

drummed into you. It's the lifestyle, because it's sunny 365 days a year -- you want to be out doing something rather than sat in the house playing on the computer. In Australia a lot of the focus is put on sports, so the more sports they can get you involved in, the better. I played all sorts. When I came here, it's not so much like that. Everyone played soccer. Cricket was probably the next biggest sport -- so that was helpful with my cricket. At a young age back then, sort of 20 years ago, golf wasn't very popular with youngsters because it is an expensive sport. So my uncle had the ties up here, that was how I sort of got into it. Couple of the lads at the cricket played as well, so they said "why don't you start coming to the golf?" Tennis isn't a UK sport, because...yeah you've got a few months in the summer, but there aren't the indoor facilities back then in the UK. Ruled out tennis. I thought, "right, I'll try golf." Something I never really took to, so I'l give it a go. Two years into it, rapped in the cricket (gave it up) because cricket and golf don't really work together. Because you start playing your golf shots like a cricket shot and your cricket shots like a golf shot! I got to the point where I was playing County cricket, but then my golf was getting very good as well -- so my cricket coach turned around and said "Look, you've gotta make a choice. You either stick with Cricket, OR Golf. You can't stick with both. It's starting to affect both games." So I picked golf. I enjoyed golf that much more.

So, was Club B the first club you belonged to when you came over?

Yes, and ever since.

So, 22 years a member here?

22 years.

Can you tell me a little about the guys, or girls, that you play most of your golf with?

Erm. Nowadays it's just...nowadays the lads I play golf with aren't really lads that I've knocked about with for a long time? 'Cause we've had a lot of new members here. A lot of the guys I started playing golf with have moved on. Rich (County Player and my foursomes partner from last season) has joined Club A. My other mate from cricket, he now lives in Thailand. I don't really associate with them anymore. Being a member here, I've sort of chopped and changed who I play golf with over the years, because people have come and gone. Some people are now married who don't play golf anymore, they've got families. The lads I play golf with, like yourself, I've only

known you since you've come here -- what's that, a couple of years? Daniel and the other lads, again, they've only been members at Club B for...maybe 5 years? So again, it's relatively new friendships and new social circles to what I was 15-20 years ago.

In your opinion, how do you think the makeup of those social circles -- what kind of characteristics have changed about those social circles you play golf in?

Ehh. Pfff.

Like the types of people -- has it stayed pretty consistent in terms of the types of people you play with?

Yeah, because the people I play golf with have always been at a similar level to myself. It's not like I'm playing golf with people I am far superior to. I've always mixed in the circles of...the 7-8 people I do play golf with are sort of the 7-8 best players in the club. The lads I played golf with 15-20 years ago were the same. Rich, and my mate in Thailand, all of us were off scratch or 1 (handicaps). It's always been...we're a similar age, and we've always been the best players in the club at that time. So, it's pretty much the same for the last 20 years. A similar group, we've all pretty much got the same...not same jobs, but similar characters. We love our golf, most of our spare time is golf. We all like our football. Sit and watch the match and have a pint together. It's people who I would mingle with -- if I didn't play golf with them I still would probably be friends with them outside of golf. It's not like you just sort of see them for golf and that's it.

What do you think for you was the hardest part of learning to play?

To be honest, I didn't really have any difficulties with it. For example, I started playing golf at 17 -- I was off scratch a year later (AN ABSOLUTELY RIDICULOUS LEVEL OF PROGRESS. It took me 3-4 years to get to scratch. Only including years I worked hard, otherwise it would be almost 10 years to get to scratch). It just...I picked it up just that easily. Because of my background in a lot of sports, and with having just good hand-eye coordination, with the likes of playing cricket it was a similar motion as batting. You've just got to adapt it to how you would hit a golf ball rather than hit a cricket shot. So, I was very lucky in the sense that I didn't really have to put any effort into it to be good. Like I say, I've never really worked at my golf. I do practice, and try to get better. But

from 17 to say, 25, I never really had to put any effort into it to be a good player. It just came naturally.

Were there any -- obviously the technical and physical side of hitting a golf all and playing the game, came very easily and very naturally to you -- was there anything socially or culturally about starting to play golf that was difficult?

Not really. 'Cause like I say I've always been in a job where I can play as much as I want. Always finish work at a decent time, so there's always every night's available. I've never had a job where I've had to work weekends, or work shift patterns or stuff like that. Golf has always been a sport where I can get as much out of it as I put into it. To be honest, in my early twenties I should have put more effort into it. If I could turn back time, you look at that and think -- "I would have." But, like I say, I'd have been a much better player if I'd have done that and the social sides come into it. At that young age, you want to be out partying, out drinking, with your mates and all that. In my twenties I could have been at a much better level if I had put that time and effort into it that I didn't.

Ok -- what about joining the club? Aside from learning the game and practicing the physical aspects, was there anything about joining a golf club that took time to learn?

It came easily as well. As I say, a lot of the people when I joined at 17 I knew 2 or 3 of them anyway from cricket. It was quite easy to come up here and "I'm not a loner. I've got people to play with." I can imagine a lot of people who have never played golf before and want to join a club thinking "I go up, I'm playing on my own all the time." Until you get into being up there often, being a member, and making friends -- you don't really have that connection where you can just ring someone up and ask "do you fancy a game of golf this afternoon?" or "Do you fancy a game Saturday?" I can imagine someone who doesn't know anyone in the game...it's probably quite a daunting thing for them to come up, register, and then think "I'll go up on a Saturday and hang about. Hopefully I can get a game with someone." If not, you probably would spend a lot of your time being a bit of -- might be a harsh word to use -- but a bit of an outcast. Because in golf clubs there is that clique. Everyone plays in those same little pockets of friends and social groups. To get into that, you've got to probably know or befriend someone in that group already, otherwise you don't get into it. It's a culture, probably at every club. You have your little gang. If you're not a part of someone's gang, you'd spend a lot of time on your own. I never had

that, but I can see from an outsider's point of view a lot of people probably think about that before joining. Thinking "you know what, I've joined. Done it for a few months. Not really made any friends, why carry on?"

To get back to talking about the guys that you play with -- or don't play with -- could you describe your ideal playing partners. Not necessarily teammates (in reference to Club B's Scratch Team), but guys that you would enjoy playing golf with on a Saturday morning. What would make them an ideal playing partner for you?

Ideally someone of similar standard!! Hahaha because you don't really want to be looking for someones golf ball every hole you're on when you go out! I don't really...I don't know?! Like you say, you want someone you're gonna enjoy your golf with. Playing with people of a similar standard. You want to be playing with people who are necessarily better than you -- to me, that's the only way you'll improve yourself? You also want people who...you're spending 4 hours of your life with that group of people. You want someone who you can have a conversation with and a bit of craic (chat) and have a joke around. Talk about football. Nights out. Talk about where you've been or where you'e going. You want that sort of connection. You don't really want to be walking around a golf course for 4 hours and not speaking to someone because you've got nothing in common to talk about. Ideally, I would say you look for people of similar age. If you're lucky enough to find a group of people who are of a similar age who are also of a similar standard, then you're probably very lucky at a lot of clubs. You won't find that. Especially because, the better you get -- it's quite easy going into a golf club with a 15 handicap and finding people of similar standards. When you're scratch or anywhere down near that area it's...there's not that many of that calibre of golfer in each golf club. Like I say, you want someone you can talk to. You've got things in common. Football. Have a good time. Even, the likes of me when I play with you or other people of similar ability, it's beneficial having someone who knows about the fundamentals of a golf swing. When you're not playing well, it's helpful to have someone who's as good to say maybe "look Kyle, I think you're doing this, I think you're doing that (references to swing problems/fundamentals like alignment, posture, etc.)" and the same with them. You can pick things out if they're not playing particularly good. So, you both benefit from that friendship not just because of how good you get on but what you can bring to each other's game. For example, I can see how you play certain shots and you can see how I play certain shots. Both learn from that. Apart from being a friend and someone you socially get along with, you also learn from each other and benefit from that.

Now. Can you tell me what makes you -- other than simply a lesser standard of golf -- can you tell me what makes you dislike playing with people?

Pffff. There's not a lot of people I've ever played with where I've thought "I've not enjoyed playing golf with you." That's maybe because you can, with a golf club like Club B, you put your name down in the competitions and choose who you want to play with. You won't necessarily put your name down with someone who you think...well I wouldn't put my name down with someone who I know a little about and think "you know what, I cannot stand you." I wouldn't then put my name down in a competition with him. So, I think the way you can enter comps -- you don't have to mingle with those people to think afterward "you know what? I'm never playing golf with them again." I've never had that situation where that has happened. Yeah you play with certain people and you think..."bloody hell, that was a long round of golf. I've never looked for so many golf balls." But everyone has an off day, and as a member of an off-day. As a member of a club, active in competitions, there are times where you will play with someone who is not of that standard...but that doesn't necessarily mean you go around and after you think "you know I'd rather have those 4 hours of my life back again." I've never been in a situation where I've thought "you know I don't like you, never want to play golf with you ever again." I feel I can't give you an honest answer in that regard.

It is an honest answer -- just you haven't had that experience. You did mention, that when you're thinking "ah, I cannot stand you..." Even though you haven't played golf with anyone like that...yet...what are some things that make you think "ugh, I can't really stand this person."

I think you get, especially at golf clubs, you get a lot of stuck up [people]. Golf clubs are...you do tend to get a lot of your upper-class, think-they're-better-than-everyone else sort of people. You get a lot of people who are quite confident people. Even though they haven't the ability as a golfer to back that up in the way they portray themselves. You tend to get people who are in a job, where they have to be very obnoxious and confident, but they bring that onto the golf course as well. You think "well hang on a minute. You make out you're a lot better than you actually are -- come across as a bit obnoxious and a bit arrogant." Sometimes pick that up in the bar after a game of golf. You might be in a situation where there's 10-15 people in the same conversation, and someone is talking and you think they've given it all that..."I'm this, I'm that..." Yeah, but they're a 15 handicapper?!

They just shot 86.

Haha yeah! You think, what an arrogant bastard. But they might be like that through the work they are in -- and might be in a situation where they have to be like that. Where you've got to be confident, but they're not the sort of person who knows "well when I'm playing golf I need to switch that off." It winds people up. Gets on people's nerves. There are many people up here that I think like that of. If you're in their company you think "I don't know why you're singing all your own praises, you'll talk amongst your friends about how good you are at golf...because your friends are worse than you." Then you come into the company of good players and you still act in the same manner, mouthing off about your golf when really you're in a different group of people who think...you can't really say what you're saying, talking to people who are ten times better golfers than you are. You sort of get...build up a lot of faces in a golf club where you think they're obnoxious or arrogant, sort of steer clear of them. If you see their name on a time slot in a competition, you think "Oh, I'll not put my name down next to them. I'll play half an hour later with a couple of guys who I know I'll get along with much better."

For the sake of redundancy, as I know you have already mentioned that the guys you play a lot of your golf with are very similar to the guys you would just go out for a pint with, or go on a night out with. What do you think those similarities are? Know you've said having a laugh, talking about football (i.e. not always golf), are there any other similarities you can tell me about?

To be honest a lot of them, if you looked at them outside of golf, a lot of the people I play golf with aren't similar at all! In how their life outside of golf is: family environment, jobs they are in, etc. They're not...as I'm trying to say, there's not a similar characteristic of them all. They are all very similar *once* you get on the golf course. I don't think I am clever enough to try and explain to you what I mean by that....but being a golfer yourself you can probably understand where I am coming from with that. I couldn't sit here and try and explain...

It could just be something as simple as similar types of attitudes, reactions to bad shots, behaviours, anything.

It's like, on the golf course, they are all very similar in that they all want to be the best they can be. You're not with a group of people where two or three of them think "well do you know

what? I'm not bothered about my handicap! I'd rather it goes up so I can win more competitions!" Everyone I play with they all want their handicaps as low as they can possibly get them to their ability. They want to improve every year. You've also got difference in...like single lads, married with kids, married but no interest in having kids. You've got a lot of them who into other things away from golf that none of the others are into. So it's quite a broad range of characters -- but you're all very similar once you get on a golf course. I think most people like that, once you are involved in whatever sport you play, your characteristics when you're in that sport can be totally different to what your characteristics are in your home life or your working environment. That's what I mean, I don't think the people I play all my golf with are very similar in...maybe a few of them are? Very similar to each other? But I wouldn't say there is one similarity between all of them.

Ok, just to quickly follow up on that -- the ones that you think maybe are a bit similar, in what ways would you say they're similar?

To me or to each other?

Well, to both. You said that there may be some similarities between a couple of them, what would some of those similarities be?

Well, you've got a couple of them who do the same job. Daniel and Chris are both police. So, they're very similar characters in their work life -- lot of things that happen everyday that they can both like see the ins and outs of. Again, you've got Keith, Paul, and Curtis who all work for the same company. Then you've got myself, there's no one I play golf with who is in a similar field to me job-wise. But then you've got a couple of the lads who are both into cycling outside their golf -- you've gotZach and Danny. Both into keeping fit cycling.

Putting the spandex on.

Hehe yeah. You've got them two who, apart from golf, still spend quite a bit of time together. You've got Charlie and Chris (Thompson) been best mates since they were 12 years old.

Is that Charlie...(Surname)?

Yeah. Pretty much known each other for the last 20 years. Both got into...well, one of them, (Chris) got into golf because Charlie played golf. That sort of came about, then got into our crowd of friends and started playing golf with us on a regular basis. Me personally, apart from golf, I wouldn't know any of them people if it hadn't been through golf. I don't work in the same career as any of them, I don't do another sport as any of them do, I don't mingle in the same social friendships as any of them do either. Without golf, I'd have not known any of them.

This will be the last question I ask you before moving on to something a little different. Would you say that your social circle, away from golf, is the made of the same types of people? Or are they distinctly different?

Like my friends outside of golf?

Yes.

I don't have any. I don't, like literally everyone I socialise with is through golf. Like I say in the last 6-7 years that's changed because other people have moved on like Rich and all them. I'm still friends with them, and I still socialise with them, but not as often as I did 10-15 years ago. I don't see anyone I ever went to school with. I'll see them in the supermarket, and have a bit of craic for 5 minutes, but I wouldn't go out for a pint with them. I wouldn't meet up and say, "fancy going to the pictures or something and catch up?" Really, I don't hang out with anybody in my life that I don't have some involvement with in golf.

Fantastic answer -- I wish I was the same! Can you tell me, in the 22 years you've been playing, what have you learned from golf?

(sigh) (long, long pause)

Keep in mind, there are no right and no wrong answers -- this is your story.

I think the most I have learned through golf is being part of a team. Being lucky enough to be at a club where team golf is a big part of the golf club. When I used to play cricket, aussie rules and stuff, I was such a young age that you didn't really look at it as being involved in a team; it was just something you loved doing. Whereas, from golf at 17 onwards, you're getting to that adult part

of your life, and you sort of realise what being part of a team is. Everyone having your back. If you representing the (Club B) Team, the County, anything like that -- everyone wants each other to do well. You're not necessarily there going "well, I've won my match I couldn't give a toss if the other 12 players get beat." I've learned that the biggest thing is team involvement. Learned how to lose my temper a lot, how to snap a few golf clubs...haha but yeah I would say the biggest thing I've got out of it is the team spirit side of things. Because apart from team golf, I've never really got into any other part of the golf club. I've never gone [stood] for the committee and learned other parts of life through that involvement. It's just something I've never really involved myself with.

Is there anything that you have learned or picked up in other areas of your life that has helped with your golf?

It's helped me get jobs! Hahaha.

Ok! What jobs has it helped you get?

Well, when I left school I didn't have the greatest of qualifications. I loved school when I lived in Australia -- came to England, hated it. Absolutely did not like going to school at all. Was very good at my schoolwork in Australia, and came here to a totally different education in the way it is...meh, I can't really think of what the word...like the way schools are ran? It's totally different in Australia to here. I was so used to the way it was that when I came here and it all changed and it was pretty much the opposite? I just didn't like...

What was different about it? Between Australia and here, I don't have any familiarity with the Australian education system.

Erm, I think it's just the Australian way of life. Everything in Australia is just so laid back. You went to school as a kid and loved it. Always something to do. The weather probably played a big part in that. When you finished school for the day, you'd spend the next couple of hours still at the school on the playing fields because there was always something to do. I don't know, school just seemed a lot more enjoyable in Australia. Even your relationship with your teachers. I think there was a lot more involvement in that side of school in Aus than when I came to the UK. It was sort of like, in Australia you felt like your teacher was your friend. Over here, it felt like your teacher

was your teacher. Like "I'm here to teach 30 of you, I'm not trying to befriend you." I don't know, I think in the UK at school there was a lot more of a cliquey environment. You had to be part of a social group. Not like everyone in your year got on, because there was always something that all of you were involved in. Different in the UK. A lot of the focus in Australia was on sport. So you were always part of a sport where 5 or 6 other students in your class all played that sport as well. In the UK it's not like that. The way schooling is here, it's a bit more...probably a little bit more intense. There' s a a little bit more bullying. Not that I was bullied at school or anything, everyone loved me because I was the Aussie kid -- I was the most popular kid in school! In Aussie when I was at school, there was never any fighting or anything -- everyone seemed to get on. Moving to the UK, going to a school, nearly every week there was 3-4 fights just through how...well, like I said in Aussie everything was more laid back. Even though you were getting the same education, it just seemed to be done better? Whereas over here you've got a lot of confrontations with different groups of people in your class. Teachers weren't as involved with you as they were in Aussie -- little bit more tension. And I've totally forgotten what the question was!

That's ok! I took us on a bit of a tangent there. We were talking about the jobs you had gotten from golf, and you said "when I left school..."

So I didn't basically have great qualifications, I spent most of my later years in school life skiving. I never went to school. I just turned up when I had to -- I've got an exam, I'll turn up for that, I'll not study for it. I'll go in on a morning and get my mark, and spend the rest of my day at the football pitch kicking about, or skiving somewhere. So when I left school I just got a job...

Real quick - what is skiving? Is that like...

Skiving is just slang for not going to school. Going in on the morning and getting your mark --

In the States, we'd call that hookie.

Go in, get your mark, go to registration...before your lessons start. "I'm at school." Go to your next lesson, and walk out the school gates. No one is any wiser for you not being in your lessons. Sometimes you'd get one teacher who would say "I haven't seen Kyle in 2 weeks. He's supposed to come to my class five times a week." So then your parents would get involved,

where's Kyle at etc. I got my GCSE's but I didn't get A's or B's. I got enough, what I needed. I was never gonna go and get a University degree as a lawyer. So I left school, went into goods inwards at Black and Decker. Power tools. Driving the forklifts, unloading wagons, putting materials out to run the lines and keeping them stocked up. I did that for about 5 years, then luckily at the time, Black and Decker were moving the plant to Asia -- closing the plant. There were some people to be kept on, and they asked for voluntary redundancy. I took my voluntary redundancy because there was a job at the golf course on the greens' staff. So I thought "right! I love golf, let's get into some part of working in golf." So I took my redundancy on the Friday, started here on the Monday. Got into greenkeeping. Enjoyed it at first, then started to realise this isn't really great for my golf because my working life was now my social life as well -- I was working at the same place I had all of my fun. I started not enjoying my golf as much. You get sick of the sight of the place. I've been here (the golf course) 8 hours a day, do I really want to come up and spend another 4 hours on the night? Playing a round of golf? So after 7 years, I was like "I don't really want to make a career of this." At the time, a guy I played a lot of golf with, owned his own company in roofing and cladding. He was after a purchaser or buyer. He said "fair enough Kyle you've got no qualifications in it, but, you know how to talk to people. As a purchaser and a buyer, that's all you need. I can teach you the rest." So he offered me a job to go work for him. So through golf I've developed my career. Then I was at that company for 6 or 7 years, then when the recession hit in 2009 that company went bust so at that time I was out of work for 2 years. Then through another person I got to know from golf who also owned a roofing and cladding company, as the recession got through they were starting to expand the business again and needed a purchaser/buyer. Got in with them, and been with the same company ever since. The last 5 years. So golf has helped me in progressing -- or not progressing a career but getting into the careers that I've been in. Especially the last 3.

No that's fantastic. Just a couple of questions left and we are getting to the end of it. I'll ask you this one first, has golf -- other than the jobs you have gotten through golf -- has golf provided you with any opportunities?

Ehm. It's provided me with opportunities within golf.

What are some of the ones that come to mind? Some of the bigger ones.

Like playing for the County. I've been representing the County for 19 years now. Not every year for 19 years, like when I lost my job I came out of the County for 3-4 years.

So off and on.

Yeah, so off and on for 19 years I've represented the County. Again, I'd have never had the opportunities of going and playing for the club in Spain (referencing a story he told me on the 8th hole of our round that morning, where he was afforded the opportunity to play in a professional event in Spain after Club B won the Mail on Sunday competition) when we won the national Daily Mail golf tournament.

Which they have discontinued this year!

Again, that opportunity of playing in Spain got me an invite to playing a tour event in Spain, which was that EuroPro Tour event. So those opportunities I would only ever had through playing golf. As well as the jobs I have had, which I probably would have only gotten into through playing golf. Apart from those opportunities, I don't think golf has really given me any other opportunities in life. Wasted a few in life!!

Second to last question for you, and you're going to think "Ugh, I've answered this question." But! What does golf mean to you, personally?

Golf is pretty much my whole life. It has been since I was 20. Everything I do in life, apart from go to work Monday to Friday, is golf. I often think to myself if I didn't play golf, what would i do? I'd probably be a hermit! There's nothing else I'm interested in. Nothing else I have in my life. It's not like I go to the gym or play football with my friends or anything like that. Apart from working Monday to Friday during the day, once the weather is good -- If I can -- I'll play golf every night of the week. AND Saturday and Sunday! To me, I'd have a pretty poor lifestyle if I wasn't involved in golf. It is my whole life, which pretty much revolves around it. Most of the holidays I take out of work are golf related, because I'm going to play somewhere or I'm wanting to go and play somewhere! To me, I wouldn't have a life if golf wasn't in it. It would be a pretty boring life. Unless I'd be involved in another sport. It's pretty much my lifestyle.

Ok, great. Well, my closing question for you is...can you tell me about your favourite experience that you have had playing golf? Favourite memory in golf?

Winning the Daily Mail in Spain. That's...I mean, yeah I've had individual highlights like winning the bowl (Club B Bowl -- 36 Hole Scratch Open annually at the end of summer) and stuff like that, or playing in that tour event. I think that winning the Daily Mail is above all of that, just because you were there ... it was a team. Everyone was involved. It made it just that much more special, especially for me because it was all on my match. Everyone...I think I had 4 holes left to play where if I got beat, we lost (as a team). Everyone else had finished, so everyone came to my match. Right Kyle, you need to at least halve (tie) the match for us to win. Being in that environment for those 4 holes and that atmosphere was something I would never forget. It was like being in the last group to win your first ever PGA Tour event. There must have been 100 people walking the hole, watching every shot you were hitting. There were cheers, there were sighs. You know what I mean? The whole atmosphere around it. When I holed an 8 footer on the final hole for us to win, the whole place just went up! Sent shivers down your spine because everyone....like I say, it was like raising the trophy for winning the British Open or something. Not on a grandeuer scale, but for an amateur level, that's what it was like. Just having...like I said, everyone involved were your friends as well -- because I played all my golf with the same group of people. It was just a memory you'd never ever forget. That's probably the one thing, when you ask what memory of golf is the one that sticks out -- it would have to be holing that putt on the very last hole of that competition.