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**The Thesis Committee for Jeffrey Robert Farr  
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:**

**How Newspapers Shaped the Culture of Golf in Austin, Texas: An  
Historical Analysis**

**APPROVED BY  
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

**Supervisor:**

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Jan Todd

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Tolga Ozyurtcu

**How Newspapers Shaped the Culture of Golf in Austin, Texas: An  
Historical Analysis**

**by**

**Jeffrey Robert Farr, B.J.**

**Thesis**

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## **Dedication**

For my mother and father, my biggest supporters and sounding boards.

For Casey, for her love and support.

And always for Randy, I'm just hoping to make you proud. I miss you everyday.

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To the Sports Management program at the University of Texas at Austin, I say thank you for your hard work, patience and dedication during my time in the program. Dr. Jan Todd, without you I wouldn't be here and the following study wouldn't exist. Your guidance and tough love have pushed me beyond my comfort zone at times, but it is because of that that I will be better in the future. Drs. Bowers, Hunt, and Sparvero, thank you all for always allowing me to barge in and start talking about whatever was on my mind. Drs. Beckwith and Ozyurtcu, thank you both for your guidance and professional development as your teaching assistant and also thank you for allowing me freedom with your coursework.

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## **Abstract**

# **How Newspapers Shaped the Culture of Golf in Austin, Texas: An Historical Analysis**

Jeffrey Robert Farr, M.S.Kin

The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

Supervisor: Jan Todd

This study looks to answer the question as to whether or not newspaper coverage concerning a particular sport can influence the participation of that sport of an era. In order to answer this question, this study conducts an historical examination rooted in the process of content analysis to identify the impact that the *Austin Statesman* had on participation in golf between the years of 1958-1965 in Austin, Texas. A content analysis was conducted, trends were identified and themes emerged from the body of literature that conclude that the writers and editors of the *Statesman* were an influencing factor on the citizens of Austin in relation to their motivation to participate in golf.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	viii
List of Figures .....	ix
Chapter 1 Introduction .....	1
Research Questions and Methods .....	5
Assumptions, Significance of Study, Definition of Terms .....	7
Chapter 2 Literature Review .....	10
Content Analysis .....	11
Content Analysis of Sport .....	14
Motivating Factors Behind Golf Participation.....	18
Golf Culture .....	19
Austin Sport History Literature .....	21
Chapter 3 Methods and Data Collection .....	25
Chapter 4 Results and Discussion .....	31
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	48
Bibliography .....	53

## List of Tables

Table 1: Feature Articles.....	28
Table 2: Article Categorization.....	29

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Distribution of Articles, 1921-1972 .....	49
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## Chapter 1: Introduction

As a high school senior, I made the decision to enroll in the University of Texas at Austin as journalism major so that I could do what many former athletes have chosen to do – talk and write about sports. While I am nowhere near as accomplished as a writer as some of my counterparts who have taken that route, I still felt that I could provide insight and knowledge well beyond that of my non-athlete peers as only an overconfident eighteen-year-old could. I knew about sports and loved talking about them and even enjoyed writing, so what could go wrong? My dream was to one day see my name in print in the same space where the sports journalists of my youth had formerly appeared. I, as well as many others who have made the same bold claims, can attest to one truth when it comes to the world of journalism: it's not for everyone. Long nights, early mornings, writing stories based on a deadline and need instead of a love of the story are enough to make the boldest of the bold wilt under the pressure. The field chewed me up and spit me out before I even got a chance to fail.

As I began my second life as a student, this time in the field of sports management, I was better prepared for the pitfalls that may line my path, as a life in the “real world” had armed me with a well-honed ability of questioning many of the things I observed. This inquisitiveness has led the purchase of Post-It notes of all shapes and sizes as well as the habit of always having a pen handy. When the time came to develop a subject to address for this thesis, an opportunity to examine portions of my past and current lives in academia came to the forefront and some of these questions previously written down came in handy, most notably:

- Are newspapers directly related to the culture of a city?
- If so, what impact can they have?

- Are they merely the vehicles through which the city gets its news, or are they drivers for action and change?
- How much of a role can a local newspaper play in the development of and influence upon a city's culture, especially in relation to its sporting culture?
- Is there something about the culture of Austin over time that has allowed it to generate such talent in one specific sport? If so, why?

Then, in March of 2016, as I was well entrenched in my study of the culture of golf in Austin through newspaper coverage, the PGA TOUR came to town for the first time in almost a decade and featured current Professional Golf Association (PGA) touring players for the first time ever.<sup>1</sup> The event not only served as a showcase for the burgeoning city of Austin, but also as a history lesson for many viewers about Austin's history and significance within one of the oldest sports in the world. It was only fitting that the tournament itself took place at Austin Country Club (ACC), which, depending on the source, is considered either the oldest or second-oldest country club in the state.<sup>2</sup> Founded in November 1899 at a meeting of "golf enthusiasts" at Austin's famed Driskill Hotel, the club now sits on its third, and presumably final grounds along the shores of Lake Austin.<sup>3</sup> Having a Tour event hosted there provided many current fans with their first opportunity to take a walk across the grounds of the exclusive club that is only partly visible

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<sup>1</sup> "Liberty Mutual Legends of Golf Tournament History," *Liberty Mutual Insurance*, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.libertymutualgroup.com/omapps/ContentServer?pagename=LMGroup/Views/LMG&ft=3&fid=1138364935263>. Austin golf courses have previously hosted Senior (now Champions) Tour events, most recently 2009's Triton Financial Classic, hosted at Hills Country Club. Onion Creek Golf Course south of downtown Austin is considered the birthplace of the Senior PGA Tour as it hosted the inaugural Legends of Golf tournament in 1978. The tournament was held consecutively in Austin until 1994.

<sup>2</sup> "Early History of Golf in Texas," *Dallas Morning News*, last modified November 30, 2010, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.dallasnews.com/incoming/20100306-Early-history-of-golf-in-Texas-5601.ece>; Kyle Dalton, "Hancock Municipal: A Lesson in History," *Golf Texas*, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.golftexas.com/departments/coursereviews/hancock-municipal-golf-course.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> "Brief Bits of City News," *Statesman*, published November 13, 1899; "The Austin Golf Club: The initial meeting held at the Driskill Hotel yesterday afternoon," *Statesman*, published November 14, 1899, both accessed via ProQuest online databases; "Club Amenities," Austin Country Club, accessed April 12, 2016, <http://www.austincountryclub.com/club/scripts/section/section.asp?GRP=24376&NS=CA>. The current layout of the club has golf course, 10 tennis courts, fitness center, heated pool, and 57 boat slips on Lake Austin.

to non-members from the historic Pennybacker Bridge or Lake Austin itself. “You can’t see much of ACC from the roads or streets,” former *American-Statesman* journalist Kevin Robbins said recently in an interview with *Golf Digest*. “I know some very good players in Austin who’ve never been inside the gates.”<sup>4</sup>

Unlike many of the courses and clubs that dot the landscape of the PGA TOUR, the exclusivity and history of ACC itself are not the only things that make it special. Harvey Penick, the world’s most famous coach and golf theorist called ACC his home course for 82 of his 90 years.<sup>5</sup> In addition to mentoring and coaching multiple golfers inducted into the World Golf Hall of Fame, Penick was the head professional at ACC for fifty years, coached the University of Texas golf team for over thirty years -- winning twenty-two Southwest Conference titles in the process -- and turned his personal diary into a book that became the most influential golf instruction manual ever printed and the best-selling sports book of all-time.<sup>6</sup> As Kirk Bohls of the *Austin American-Statesman* put it, in 2016, “Harvey Penick left this world 21 years ago this spring, but his enduring, gentle spirit permeates the Austin Country Club like a morning fog.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Geoff Shackelford, “Forward Press: Austin’s First PGA TOUR Stop Fittingly Starts at Harvey Penick’s Place,” *Golf Digest*, published March 21, 2016, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.golfdigest.com/story/forward-press-austins-first-pga-tour-stop-fittingly-starts-at-harvey-penicks-place>. Robbins, a former *American-Statesman* sports writer and current journalism professor at UT has recently published a biography of Harvey Penick.

<sup>5</sup> “About Us,” Austin Country Club, accessed April 12, 2016, [http://www.austincountryclub.com/club/scripts/library/view\\_document.asp?NS=PUBLIC&DN=HISTORY](http://www.austincountryclub.com/club/scripts/library/view_document.asp?NS=PUBLIC&DN=HISTORY).

<sup>6</sup> “Golf Teacher Hall of Fame – Harvey Penick,” *Golf Magazine*, accessed April 12, 2016, <http://www.golf.com/instruction/golf-teacher-hall-fame-harvey-penick>; “About Harvey Penick,” Harvey Penick Golf Club, accessed April 12, 2016, <http://www.harveypenickgc.com/course/about/>; “Members,” World Golf Hall of Fame, accessed April 12, 2016: <http://www.worldgolfhalloffame.org/hall-of-fame/search-hall-of-fame-members>; Michael MacCambridge, “Tracking a Texas Golf Legend – and the Arc of the Game,” *American-Statesman*, published April 2, 2016, accessed April 12, 2016, <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/entertainment/books-literature/tracking-a-texas-golf-legend-and-the-arc-of-the-ga/nqsFG/>; Penick (2002) as well as five his pupils have been enshrined to date: Tom Kite (2004), Ben Crenshaw (2002), Mickey Wright (1964), Betsy Rawls (1960), and Betty Jameson (1951). Others have been enshrined in various other halls of fame for golf nationally and locally.

<sup>7</sup> Kirk Bohls, “Today’s Best Golfers Will Know Harvey Penick’s Story This Week,” *American-Statesman*, published March 20, 2016, accessed April 12, 2016, <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/sports/golf/bohls-todays-best-golfers-will-know-harvey-penicks/nqpf8/>.

Penick was not the only Austin golf legend in the foreground of media coverage over the weekend of the tournament, either, as his two most iconic protégés - Tom Kite and Ben Crenshaw - were present for many of the festivities as well. Also adding to the excitement was Austin's newest golf icon – world number one ranked professional Jordan Spieth – who led the pack of 64 golfers onto the scenic course in west Austin for five days of match play.<sup>8</sup> For one city to have ties to so many golfing icons is visible proof that the culture of golf in Austin deserved close examination. How had the city served to help create this unusually accomplished group of golfers?

This study is based on the theory that examining the media of a certain time period and place can be used as a method of identifying cultural norms.<sup>9</sup> The aim of the study is to determine what - if any - role the newspaper(s) of Austin had in the creation and cultivation of a culture in the city that held golf in high regard, both as a means for recreation as well as an outlet for professional success. This study also attempts to identify whether the sport of golf was simply covered by the Austin media or if the editors and writers of the *Austin American-Statesman* were actively involved in “boosterism”.<sup>10</sup>

During the examined time period, two local newspapers were published in the city of Austin, the *Austin American* and the *Austin Statesman*. The *Austin Statesman* was originally published in 1871 as the *Democratic Statesman*. After taking over smaller competitor, *The Austin Tribune*, in 1914, the paper became known as the *Austin Statesman and Tribune* and would eventually change its name to the *Evening Statesman* in 1916 to represent a new

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<sup>8</sup> Spieth (twenty-two at the time of writing) is a Dallas native and was a member of the 2012 Texas Longhorns NCAA Men's Golf National Championship team. He led the Tour in earnings in 2015, and has won two of the four majors - The Masters (2015) and U.S. Open (2015) - in his young career.

<sup>9</sup> Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1971), 90; Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Los Angeles, London: Sage, 2013), 14; Margrit Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice* (London, Thousand Oaks, CA; Sage, 2012), 5.

<sup>10</sup> Defined by *Webster's*, boosterism is the enthusiastic and usually excessive support for something or someone.

publication time. The Austin *American*, on the other hand, began publishing in May 1914 as a daily, including a Sunday edition. After acquisition, the two competing newspapers were merged into one company but produced separately in 1924, with the *American* publishing the morning edition and the *Statesman* continuing as the evening edition. The two published a joint Sunday paper titled the Austin *American-Statesman*, the name that the current Austin paper operates as currently. These independent operations were combined in November 1973, keeping the same moniker that the Sunday edition held. Hereafter, the daily newspaper will be referred to as the *Statesman* and the *American* will refer to the joint Sunday edition.

The media has unique power in determining the type and amount of coverage provided to a certain topic, and it is because of this power they also have an opportunity to influence the thoughts and actions of society as a whole.<sup>11</sup> Based on this assumption, this study attempts to evidence that the presentation of golf to the residents of Austin by the *American* and the *Statesman* was a defining factor in the growth and crystallization of a culture that encouraged residents to take up golf for recreation and sport.

### **Research Questions and Methods**

This project interrogates whether the Austin newspapers played an active and vital role in growing interest in the game of golf amongst its readership. It further attempts to determine the role the media played in creating and nurturing a community of golfers within the city with the aims of answering the question: “Did the newspaper(s) of Austin from the late 1950s through the mid-1960s aid in the creation of a culture that accepted golf as an enjoyable means of recreation that in turn led to the development of two of the most accomplished and well-known golfers the

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<sup>11</sup> Paul Mark Pedersen, “Examining Equity in Newspaper Photographs,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (2002): 302-318; Pamela Creedon and George Sage as discussed in Pedersen, “Examining Equity in Newspaper Photographs.”

sport of golf has ever known – Kite and Crenshaw?”<sup>12</sup> In order to answer this question, an analysis of articles from the *Statesman* between 1958 and 1965 was conducted with the purpose being to determine the effect, if any, that the local media had on increasing interest in the game of golf. Keeping in mind that the purpose of this paper is to examine the golf culture present in Austin that may have led to the emergence of Kite and Crenshaw as accomplished golfers, the examined years were selected because they conclude with the start of the Kite and Crenshaw era of golf in Austin, which the author has identified as beginning in 1966.<sup>13</sup> It is the assumption of the author that news coverage of golf in Austin would undoubtedly grow as two local golfers began to earn national acclaim; therefore, including years past 1965 would skew the number of results to be examined in favor of the newspapers.

Content analysis is a method of communications research in which the researcher examines a body of communications content in order to objectively describe cultural patterns found within the body of work.<sup>14</sup> This method has been applied over time in the study of books, advertising, periodicals, propaganda, radio, television, and film. First applied in the 1920s as a method of studying newspaper content, the field of study expanded greatly during World War II as agencies

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<sup>12</sup> The two legends of golf lived less than ten miles apart during their teenage years after Kite’s family relocated to Austin from the Dallas area; they competed against one another at local junior tournaments across the state and at the high school level; they were also teammates on the Texas Longhorns golf team in 1970 and 1971, years that ended with team and individual national championships for both men. Professionally, each won nineteen individual PGA tournaments (with Kite has added ten Champions Tour wins to his résumé); Crenshaw won two majors – the 1984 and ’95 Masters – and Kite won the 1992 U.S. Open for his lone major victory; and both captained the U.S. Ryder Cup team – Kite in 1997 and Crenshaw in 1999.

<sup>13</sup> 1966 was chosen as the start of this era because, entering his junior year at McCallum High School, that is when Kite started garnering a lot of newspaper attention for his play, including a top four finish at the USGA Junior Tournament in August of 1966. Crenshaw had also started to earn press around this year. Kite was 16 at the time, and Crenshaw was 14.

<sup>14</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 18; see also Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 50; and Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 136.

of government employed the technique as a method of identifying patterns about the opposing side through access to their documents of propaganda.<sup>15</sup>

### **Assumptions**

This study takes the position that newspapers are valid lenses through which a society can be viewed historically, and that they can have a direct impact on culture based on their abilities to elevate certain events and sports in terms of importance. This study also assumes that the examination of information found in newspapers can be a useful tool for making inferences about places and eras to which the researcher does not have direct access.<sup>16</sup> This study does not assume, however, that everything appearing in newspapers is directly relatable or of interest to the entire readership, only that if there were no interest in the topics presented to the readership, then they wouldn't be published.

### **Significance of Study**

This study contributes to, and has implications concerning the field of sport management, as understanding how the various forms of culture and subcultures of a respective city or region are cultivated and promoted, by whom, and how those designed cultures influence participation in certain sports could provide meaningful insight into the successful design of current sporting programs of that city.

### **Definition of Terms**

Key terms necessary for the reader are defined below:

*Culture*: An ambiguous term generally associated with the values and beliefs held within a certain society, the definition of culture used in this study will be that it is both a “whole way

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<sup>15</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 22-25.

<sup>16</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 91.

of life” as well as the “forms of signification” that circulate within the society.<sup>17</sup> Also included within this definition is the understanding that in a society with mass-communicated messages, a clear delineation between the two is unattainable.<sup>18</sup>

*Golf Culture:* The culture of golf is one that has been diffused through the sport from the origins of the game in Scotland, and is one that follows a defined set of self-policed rules and etiquette that have been in place for centuries. It is also known to be a “revealer [sic] of wit, character, spirit, and determination.”<sup>19</sup> Within the context of American sport, golf has generally been equated with the wealthy, as many of the early clubs served as private havens for “homogeneous bodies of rich Americans.”<sup>20</sup>

*Motivation:* Studies of psychology narrow motivating factors into 2 sections: intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation is that which occurs when one acts without any obvious external rewards, and simply enjoys an activity and/or views it as an opportunity to explore, learn, and actualize his or her potentials.<sup>21</sup> In comparison, extrinsic motivation is essentially defined the opposite (i.e. reward-based, external motivation). These external rewards can include money, fame, glory, and prestige.<sup>22</sup>

*Sport Culture:* Moving forward, the term culture will refer to the culture of sport. This definition is explained as, “values, ceremonies and way of life characteristic of a given group and the place of sport within that way of life.”<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Merriam-Webster, s.v. “Culture,” accessed May 4, 2016, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture>; Raymond Williams, *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism*, ed. Robin Gable (New York, London: Verso, 1989), as cited in Ben Highmore, *The Everyday Life Reader* (Psychology Press, 2002), 91.

<sup>18</sup> Highmore, *The Everyday Life Reader*, 91.

<sup>19</sup> Ben Crenshaw, introduction to *The History of the PGA Tour*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. by Al Barkow (Doubleday, 1989).

<sup>20</sup> William W. Bremer, “Into the Grain: Golf’s Ascent Into American Culture,” *Journal of American Culture* 4, no.3 (1981), 121.

<sup>21</sup> Dennis Coon and John Mitterer, *Introduction to Psychology: Gateways to Mind and Behavior With Concept Maps*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2010).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Grant Jarvie, *Sport, Culture and Society: An Introduction*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2006), 5.

*Subculture*: Subculture refers to a portion of the larger culture that is set apart from the whole society by a cultural pattern (e.g. dress, speech, ritual).<sup>24</sup> Within a sub-culture, there are often opportunities for transmission, rejection, and negotiation of dominant cultural values held within the larger society.<sup>25</sup> The above definitions will serve to define subcultures as well as sport subcultures.

The study begins with a literature review of the prominent literature that informs this study, followed by a methods section that discusses the application of content analysis and the research process. A discussion section containing the findings from the analyzed data as well as a thorough explanation of the emergent themes from the analysis follows.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Jeff Bishop and Paul Hoggett, "Clubbing Together," *New Socialist* (1987), 32.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

To date, the existing body of literature concerning analyses of media in relation to their and their impacts on the sport culture of one region is limited. Much of the found literature that resembles the current study either compares multiple sources from different regions, only deals with a particular section of a periodical (e.g. only sports sections), or has divided the studied population along gender or racial lines in order to identify discrepancies in coverage and does not consider the population as a whole.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, works concerning the direct sporting culture and history of Austin, Texas, during the studied era are limited, however, substantial literature does exist that examines and gives insight to the time period as a whole and some of the most notable names from the era.<sup>27</sup>

In conducting this literature review, however, a number of works were identified as significant and have contributed to the design and construction of this study as well as a deeper understanding about the sport and culture of golf.<sup>28</sup> Concepts included in this identified literature

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<sup>26</sup> Robin Hardin, "Promoting Golf in the Golden Age: A Frame Analysis of the Writings of O. B. Keelor and Grantland Rice" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2000); Mark Sharman, "A Study of How Four Black Newspapers Covered the United States Masters Tournament, 1994 Through 2001" (MA thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2007); William Napier, "The Sports Section of the *Los Angeles Times*: 1898, 1918, 1943, 1968" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1971); Janet Lever and Stanton Wheeler, "The *Chicago Tribune* Sports Page, 1900-1975," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 1, no. 4 (1984); Mabel Hart, "An Analysis of the Content of Selected Sport Magazines, 1889-1965" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1967); Andrew Billings, et al., "Just One of the Guys? Network Depictions of Annika Sorenstam in the 2003 PGA Colonial Tournament," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 30, no. 1 (2006).

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Busch, "Building 'A City of Upper-Middle-Class Citizens': Labor Markets, Segregation, and Growth in Austin, Texas, 1950-1973," *Journal of Urban History* 39, no.5 (2013); Kevin Robbins, *Harvey Penick: The Life and Wisdom of the Man Who Wrote the Book on Golf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016); Pat Wheeler, *When Golf Was Fun: Tales From the Late, Great Beer and BBQ Circuit* (Keller: Austin Brothers, 2012); Harvey Penick and Bud Strake, *Harvey Penick's Little Red Book: Lessons and Teachings From a Lifetime in Golf*, (Simon and Schuster, 1992); Tom Kite and Mickey Herskowitz, *A Fairway to Heaven: My Lessons From Harvey Penick on Golf and Life* (Harper Collins, 1997); Ben Crenshaw and Melanie Hauser, *A Feel for the Game: To Brookline and Back* (Doubleday, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*; Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*; Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*; Hardin, "Promoting Golf"; Napier, "Sports Section of the *LA Times*".

are: 1) the history and applications of content analysis as a method for conducting research; 2) studies in which content analysis was used in regard to sport; 3) studies concerning motivating factors and theory behind participation; 4) the culture of golf; and 5) works concerning the history of sport and culture and their potential intersection in the city of Austin. Each will be discussed in detail below.

## **Content Analysis**

Below, the study of the content analysis has been broken into two sections: 1) history and definition of content analysis, and 2) general applications of content analysis.

### **History and Definition**

The history of content analysis as a research method dates back to the early twentieth century, when journalism students at Columbia University used the method to study the content of American newspapers, almost exclusively used as a means to categorize subject matter.<sup>29</sup> The biggest boost in the use of content analysis occurred during World War II, as several governmental agencies examined major newspapers for war-related content as well as conducted analysis of propaganda materials in attempts to draw parallels between nations.<sup>30</sup> Currently, content analysis is most commonly used in the social sciences and humanities, although applications of the process have been used in the legal, political, and commercial fields of research.<sup>31</sup>

Defined in 1952 by Bernard Berelson, content analysis is "...a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."<sup>32</sup>

This early definition of content analysis was met with criticism as some questioned whether the

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<sup>29</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 22.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 23-4.

<sup>31</sup> Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 49.

<sup>32</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 18.

quantitative-centered nature of Berelson's approach could provide holistic understanding to the meaning of the examined text.<sup>33</sup> This stark dichotomy between the two forms of analysis has been softened over time as the field has evolved, with many scholars – including Berelson himself - claiming that the need for qualitative examination was required of certain texts and that the division between quantitative and qualitative content analysis is artificial in some regards.<sup>34</sup> Recent definitions have been altered to include the ability conduct quantitative and qualitative research through content analysis as a means of making “replicable and valid inferences from text.”<sup>35</sup> Margrit Schreier makes the clearest delineation between qualitative and quantitative content analysis with her declaration that the former deals with the latent, not obvious meaning of text whereas the latter deals simply with the manifest, or literal meaning of the text.<sup>36</sup>

### **General Applications**

Before discussing the applications of content analysis, it must be noted that content analysis is an “empirically grounded method, exploratory in process, and predictive and inferential in intent.”<sup>37</sup> Berelson's approach to content analysis included seventeen different applications for content analysis, four of which were considered of note for this study: 1) trends; 2) aid in research operations; 3) identifying intentions of the communicator; and 4) reflection of attitudes, interests, and values of population groups.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, applications from Ole Holsti concerning *manifest characteristics* (the what, how, and to whom something is said), *antecedents* (why something is said), and *consequences* (with what effect is something said) of communication were examined, as was Klaus Krippendorff's method of extrapolation by which

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<sup>33</sup> Sigfried Kracauer, “The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1952), as referenced in Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 13.

<sup>34</sup> Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 14.

<sup>35</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 115-34; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 24.

<sup>36</sup> Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 15.

<sup>37</sup> Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 29; 31; 53-6; 72-4; 90-1.

trends, patterns and differences are identified from a body of communication.<sup>39</sup> These applications were considered throughout the course of this study.

First, content analysis provides an opportunity to identify trends or changes in content as they occur.<sup>40</sup> Trend studies can provide “a valuable historical perspective against which the current content of the communication media can be more fully understood.”<sup>41</sup> The extrapolation of trends, patterns, and differences found within a body of literature dates back to the earliest attempts at content analysis, and allow the researcher an opportunity to make inferences beyond the actual data points themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Secondly, the intent of qualitative content analysis is to be a flexible, yet systematic aid in technical research operations by which a researcher can reduce large amounts of data.<sup>43</sup> This process is applied in three ways: 1) in the coding of qualitative materials; 2) to validate the procedures by which a sample of content data was drawn; and 3) to identify characteristics of a broad concept of the social sciences.<sup>44</sup>

Content analysis can next be applied in an attempt to identify the intentions of the communicator. One of the major uses of content analysis, this application attempts to infer the intentions of the communicators based upon their output. Determining the motives of the studied communicator is considered the most difficult aspect of content analysis.<sup>45</sup>

Lastly – and possibly most important for the purposes of the current study – content analysis can, if it accepts the assumption that communication content reflects a certain *zeitgeist*,

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<sup>39</sup> Ole Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1969), as summarized in Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 52; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 52-7.

<sup>40</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, 29.

<sup>41</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, 31.

<sup>42</sup> Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 52-8.

<sup>43</sup> Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 5-6.

<sup>44</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 53-6; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 122, Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 5-6.

<sup>45</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 72-4.

attempt to discover topics that people of a certain time period or location may have been interested in, or possibly identify cultural changes. This application has two important characteristics: 1) inferences about population groups are made on the basis of content produced for them, not by them; and 2) such problems are investigated through this method because they cannot be addressed directly.<sup>46</sup> The basic question of cause and effect also exists in relation to cultural patterns: “Do popular attitudes determine communication content, or does content determine popular attitudes?”<sup>47</sup>

### **Content Analysis of Sport**

A 1971 dissertation of the *Los Angeles Times* sports sections in 1898, 1914, 1943, and 1968 argues that “analysis of the content of the newspaper sport section of a given locality can provide valid information about the nature and scope of certain culturally-defined interests during a given period or under conditions prevailing at a given time.”<sup>48</sup> Napier identifies patterns of interest in certain sports based on their prevalence in the newspapers examined, situated into five categories: banner headlines, news story captions, news story narratives, picture captions, and picture space. A 1984 study by Lever and Stanton covered the actual size growth of the sports section of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1900-1975 with the intent to monitor the changing nature of organized sport within American life.<sup>49</sup> A similar dissertation from Mabel Hart examines content of selected sport magazines over 75 years in hopes of identifying patterns of interest in sport over a distinct period of time with an emphasis on describing culturally relevant characteristics of these patterns.<sup>50</sup> Hart concludes that patterns of interest in sport do, in fact, differ across time periods, however research limitations exist that hinder an examination as to why certain sports

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 90-1.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>48</sup> Napier, “The Sports Section of the *LA Times*,” 2.

<sup>49</sup> Lever and Stanton, “The *Chicago Tribune* Sports Page,” 299.

<sup>50</sup> Hart, “Selected Sport Magazines, 1889-1965,” 2.

came of interest at certain times.<sup>51</sup>

Robin Lee Hardin used frame analysis to explore the media's influence on the growth of participation in the game of golf in his dissertation. Hardin examined the writings of journalists O.B. Keelor of the *Atlanta Journal* and Grantland Rice of the *New York Herald Tribune* in an attempt to assess the two journalists impact on the acceptance of the game of golf as a sport.<sup>52</sup> Although this study was conducted with a different method of content analysis than the study at hand, the conclusions: 1) that both Keelor and Rice were active promoters of the game of golf simply through the reporting process, 2) that they did so in an intentional manner, and 3) that the mere presence of a news article on a topic counts towards the promotion of that topic are all underlying assumptions of the current study conducted.<sup>53</sup> Hardin has also crafted individual versions of parts of his dissertation that have appeared in various academic journals: "Creating Myth and Legend: O.B. Keelor and Bobby Jones," appeared in *American Journalism* in the fall of 2001, and "Crowning the King: Grantland Rice and Bobby Jones" appeared in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* in winter 2004.<sup>54</sup> Hardin has also paired with Carol Zuegner to discuss the promotion of golf through nationally distributed magazines in the 1920s.<sup>55</sup> As with Hardin's aforementioned studies, this study also employs frame analysis as a means to examine the role that nationally circulated, nonsporting magazines – one of the only forms of mass media in the 1920s - had in the promotion of golf to its readership and the effect that the promotion had in the

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 141-2.

<sup>52</sup> Hardin, "Promoting Golf in the Golden Age".

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 105-6; Hardin conducted his dissertation using frame analysis, as discussed by Erving Goffman in his 1974 book, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. At its core, frame analysis argues that people classify their experiences according to guiding frames of reference. Frame analysis also closely tied to "Agenda Setting Theory," which describes the media's ability to influence public opinion based on their coverage of certain topics.

<sup>54</sup> Robin Lee Hardin, "Creating Myth and Legend: O.B. Keelor and Bobby Jones," *American Journalism* 18, no. 4 (2001); Robin Lee Hardin, "Crowning the King: Grantland Rice and Bobby Jones," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 88, no. 4 (2004).

<sup>55</sup> Robin Lee Hardin and Carol Zuegner, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Golf Balls: Magazine Promotion of Golf During the 1920s," *Journalism History* 29, no. 2 (2003).

acceptance of the sport.<sup>56</sup> Hardin and Zuegner's study also helps solidify a key assumption for the current study with the claim that the mere presence of an article can be considered promotional because it gets the reader thinking about the issue that is being discussed.<sup>57</sup>

Mark Sharman's thesis examined how four historically black newspapers covered the Masters golf tournament from 1994-2001.<sup>58</sup> As suggested, this paper was undertaken to examine spikes in coverage for a traditionally "white" event (the Masters) by four historically black newspapers - the *New Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Atlanta Voice*, the *Chicago Defender*, and the *Birmingham Times* – after the success of Tiger Woods at the event. Although this research rejected the idea that coverage of Woods successes would lead to more coverage of the event itself, this paper still does a good job of examining and analyzing content in newspapers.

Biolowas' dissertation examines the challenges made to the gendered rhetoric of golf by Annika Sorenstam and Michelle Wie, both professional female golfers who competed on the PGA Tour against male competitors in 2003.<sup>59</sup>

Sorenstam and Wie are also the subjects of other discussions regarding gender narratives that examine the adjectives used to describe female athletes, especially when they are paired directly in completion with men,<sup>60</sup> Both studies involving Sorenstam conclude that although she was the recipient of more coverage while on the course than the men she was competing with, the language that was used to describe her was much different than that used to describe her

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 84; The magazines examined by Hardin and Zuegner for this study included *Country Life*, *St. Nicholas* (a children's magazine), and the *Saturday Evening Post*.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 88.

<sup>58</sup> Sharman, "Four Black Newspapers".

<sup>59</sup> Anne Marie Biolowas, "Swinging from the Ladies' Tee: Gendered Discourses of Golf," (PhD diss., University of Utah, 2009), 261.

<sup>60</sup> Andrew C. Billings, et al., "Just One of the Guys?"; Karen Weiller-Abels, Catriona Higgs, and Christy Greenleaf, "Televised Media Analysis of the 2003 Bank of America Colonial: A Focus on Annika Sorenstam," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 76, no. 1 (2005); Andrew C. Billings, James Angelini, and Susan Eastman, "Wie Shock: Television Commentary About Playing on the PGA and LPGA Tours," *The Howard Journal of Communications* 19, (2008).

competition, with her skill, composure, and touch getting mentioned more often than her strength, which was more attributed to the men in the field.<sup>61</sup> While still aiming to identify the same disparaging commentary, the Billings, Angelini, and Eastman examination of Wie is more complex than the cases involving Sorenstam, as it not only deals with commentary about her gender, but her ethnicity (Asian-American), and young age (and presumed inexperience) at the time of the competitions studied.<sup>62</sup>

A great deal of literature examining various forms of media and the content produced exists, with topics ranging from promotion of nationalism to the role of media in enhancing public opinion of a topic.<sup>63</sup> The bulk of these examined studies, however, are centered on the topics of race and gender narratives, stereotypes, and differences in coverage between genders as well as races.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Billings, et al., "Just One of the Guys?"

<sup>62</sup> Billings, Angelini, and Eastman, "Wie Shock".

<sup>63</sup> Bo Li, et al., "How Mediated Sporting Events Constitute Nationalism: Chinese Newspapers Covering the 2014 Incheon Asian Games," *International Journal of Sport Communication* 9, no.1 (2016); John Vincent and Jane Crossman, "'Our Game Our Gold': Newspaper Narratives about the Canadian Men's Ice Hockey Team at the 2010 Winter Olympic Games," *Journal of Sport Behavior* 38, no. 1 (2015); Peter English, "The Same Old Stories: Exclusive News and Uniformity of Content in Sports Coverage," *International Journal of Sport Communication* 7, no. 4 (2014); Ari Kim, Moonhoon Choi, and Kyriaki Kaplanidou, "The Role of Media in Enhancing People's Perception of Hosting a Mega Sport Event: The Case of Pyeongchang's Winter Olympics Bids," *International Journal of Sport Communication* 8, no. 1 (2015); Jean-Patrick Villeneuve and Dawn Aquilina, "Who's[sic] Fault is it? An Analysis of the Press Coverage of Football Betting Scandals in France and the United Kingdom," *Sport in Society* 19, no. 2 (2016); Yuka Nakamura, "The Samurai Sword Cuts Both Ways: A Transnational Analysis of Japanese and US Media Representations of Ichiro," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40, no. 4 (2005).

<sup>64</sup> Tewari Predeep, "Male Sports Visuals Rule Indian Print Media Gender Comparisons in Leading Indian Newspapers," *International Journal of Sports Sciences & Fitness* 6, no.1 (2016); Nicholas Delorme and Nadege Testard, "Sex Equity in French Newspaper Photographs: A Content Analysis of the 2012 Olympic Games by L'Equipe," *European Journal of Sport Science* 15, no. 8 (2015); Paul M. Pederson, Warren A. Whisenant, and Ray G. Schneider, "Using a Content Analysis to Examine the Gendering of Sports Newspaper Personnel and Their Coverage," *Journal of Sport Management* 17, no. 4 (2003); Jane Crossman, John Vincent, and Sarah Gee, "Is Dorothy Treated Fairly by the Press in the Land of Oz? Three Australian Newspapers' Gendered Coverage of the Centennial Australian Open Tennis Championships," *International Journal of Sport Management & Marketing* 8, no. ¾ (2010); David Nylund, *Bear, Babes, and Balls: Masculinity and Sports Talk Radio* (SUNY Press, 2007); Christopher King, "Media Portrayals of Male and Female Athletes: A Text and Picture Analysis of British National Newspaper Coverage of the Olympic Games Since 1948," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 42, no. 2 (2007); Steph MacKay and Christine Dallaire, "Campus Newspaper Coverage of Varsity Sports," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 44, no. 1 (2009); Peter R. Giacobbi and Joy T. DeSensi, "Media Portrayals of Tiger Woods: A Qualitative Deconstructive Examination," *Quest* 51, (1999).

## **Motivating Factors Behind Golf Participation**

Only a few researchers have looked at motivation and golf. Cooper attempted to identify and examine the reasons individuals chose to participate in relation to a number of factors including ethnicity, gender, age, and income level.<sup>65</sup> This work also attempted to suggest reasons for non-participation and provided suggestions for improved participation amongst the underrepresented groups.<sup>66</sup> Walker, in 1989, identified personal meaning attached to participation in the game of golf.<sup>67</sup> His qualitative study examined adult, amateur male and female golfers of a single golf club through a questionnaire in order to determine the things that were most important to them on the golf course and then made comparisons based on gender in an attempt to identify motivating factors for both sexes.<sup>68</sup> Lin used Stebbins' serious leisure theory to identify the difference in characteristics amongst casual and serious golfers from a number of different angles, including demographics, as well as levels of golf involvement.<sup>69</sup>

Funk, Beaton, and Pritchard apply their own Psychological Continuum Model (PCM) to a study of recreational golfers in Australia to assess participation levels and engagement of the studied group in order to further substantiate the young model.<sup>70</sup> Stenner, Mosewich, and Buckley conducted a qualitative study of older adults (ages 55-74) to determine the motivating

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<sup>65</sup> Michael Cooper, "Why Play Golf?" (PhD diss., Capella University, 2006), 40.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, "Conclusions," 56-60.

<sup>67</sup> Hal Jay Walker, "An Investigation Into the Personal Meaning of Golf" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1989).

<sup>68</sup> Walker, 170-6. 188 golfers surveyed for this study: 96 male, 92 female.

<sup>69</sup> Wan-Chung Lin, "A Study of Casual and Serious Golfers: Testing Serious Leisure Theory (PhD diss., Oklahoma State University, 2009). Serious leisure perspective is the name of the theoretic framework that bridges and synthesizes three main forms of leisure, known as serious leisure, casual leisure, and project-based leisure. Robert Stebbins coined the term in 1973. Stebbins' continued works in serious leisure have identified volunteerism and cultural tourism as ways in which one can engage in serious leisure.

<sup>70</sup> Daniel C. Funk, Anthony Beaton, and Mark Pritchard, "The Stage-Based Development of Physically Active Leisure: A Recreational Golf Context," *Journal of Leisure Research* 43, no. 2 (2011); The PCM was introduced by Funk and Jeff James in 2001 to account for the psychological connection between and individual and a recreation object, and it consists of four hierarchal stages: 1) awareness, 2) attraction, 3) attachment, and 4) allegiance.

factors behind participation of this age group as participation rates in other organized sport in Australia is declining.<sup>71</sup> The conclusions of this study reveal that golf provides a unique physical recreation opportunity to its participants, as they can be physically active without feeling overworked which also allows people to continue to participate in golf as they age.<sup>72</sup> Other examinations of motivation to participate in golf include two studies by Humphreys detailing the behaviors golf tourists.<sup>73</sup> Lastly, Beggs, Stitt, and Elkins applied Beard and Ragheb's Leisure Motivation Scale to college students so that they could gain insight to the motivating factors behind the students' choices to participate in recreational campus sports.<sup>74</sup>

While these studies of motivation provide insight on factors motivating participation, they are not totally applicable to the study at hand outside of their use as background material. The segmentation of the population in each study is a limitation, as is the fact that all of these studies apply their theories to present day participation, however, they all provide relevant questions regarding motivation that the researcher can consider when making assumptions about the population under consideration.

## **Golf Culture**

A volume of literature - both academic and popular in scope - exists detailing the culture of golf and the values by which the subculture of golfers is expected to uphold while on the course.

Zevenbergen, Edwards, and Skinner examine the junior golf club culture in Australia to identify

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<sup>71</sup> Brad J. Stenner, Amber D. Mosewich, and Jonathan D. Buckley, "An Exploratory Investigation Into the Reasons Why Older People Play Golf," *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise & Health* 8, no. 3 (2016).

<sup>72</sup> Ibid,

<sup>73</sup> Claire J. Humphreys and Mike Weed, "Golf Tourism and the Trip Decision-Making Process: The Influence of Lifestage [sic], Negotiation, and Compromise, and the Existence of Tiered Decision-Making Units," *Leisure Studies* 33, no. 1 (2014); Claire J. Humphreys, "Understanding How Sporting Characteristics and Behaviours Influence Destination Selection: A Grounded Theory Study of Golf Tourism," *Journal of Sport and Tourism* 19, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>74</sup> Brent A. Beggs, James E. Stitt, and Daniel J. Elkins, "Leisure Motivation of Participants and Nonparticipants in Campus Recreational Sport Programs," *Recreational Sports Journal* 28, no. 1 (2004), 65; Jacob G. Beard and Mounir G. Ragheb, "Measuring Leisure Motivation," *Journal of Leisure Research* 15, no. 3 (1983), 219.

which behaviors within the culture of golf were being taught to young golfers, ages 8-14 years.<sup>75</sup> The results of this analysis identify that the “cadets” are learning the tactile skills of golf and the club-approved “ideal” behaviors that accompany a round of golf, summarized as: cooperation with fellow players, good attitude, respectful, and knowledgeable about the rules of golf as well as the etiquette expected while on the course.<sup>76</sup>

Bremer’s comprehensive discussion of how golf became integrated with American culture examines the origins of the sport in America and how golf “slammed into an 1890s sports craze that celebrated masculine virility,” and how Americans have taken an established game with roots in the United Kingdom and made it their own, even adopting a unique ball size, ruling body, and style of course architecture.<sup>77</sup> Bremer contends - as do Varner and Knottnerus - that many of the rituals of civility and status that are associated with the game’s Victorian origins were adopted by the early adopters to golf in America, and that the culture of golf is one that is predicated on social status, wealth, rules and etiquette.<sup>78</sup> Malcolm and Tangen discuss the cultural diffusion of golf’s code of etiquette in Norway, and determine that as the Norwegian golfers accepted this global code of etiquette, they contoured it to fit more closely with Norwegian sport ideals.<sup>79</sup>

Golf etiquette is the most prevalent theme in all of the literature concerning golf culture. Other works examined included books dedicated specifically to the subject of etiquette,

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<sup>75</sup> Robyn Zevenbergen, Allen Edwards, and James Skinner, “Junior Golf Club Culture: A Bourdieuan Analysis,” *SOSOL: Sociology of Sport Online* 5, no. 1 (2002).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Bremer, “Into the Grain”, 122; At the time of writing, golf balls were not one standard size and American golfers played with a bigger ball than those playing overseas. It wasn’t until 1990 that the standard-size American ball was adopted as the regulation ball for competition.

<sup>78</sup> Bremer, “Into the Grain,” 121; Monica K. Varner and J. David Knottnerus, “Civility, Rituals, and Exclusion: The Emergence of American Golf During the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” *Sociological Inquiry* 72, no. 3 (2002), 426.

<sup>79</sup> Dominic Malcolm and Jan Ove Tangen, “Etiquette and the Cultural Diffusion of Golf: Globalization and Emotional Control in Social Relations,” *International Journal of Golf Sciences* 4, (2015), 33.

promotional articles produced by governing bodies of golf, and popular literature that discussed the eras of golf, and even in this wide-ranging material, the etiquette of the game is the constant.<sup>80</sup>

### **Austin Sport History Literature**

Academic literature detailing the history of sport and sport culture in Austin is limited. However, a broad range of popular literature exists covering many of Austin's legendary and notable sports figures. Ben Crenshaw, Tom Kite, and Harvey Penick have all written, or been the subject of biographies and/or autobiographical memoirs.<sup>81</sup> Penick's lifetime in the game of golf has produced multiple instruction manuals full of wisdom that can be applied on and off the course.<sup>82</sup> In addition to their autobiographies, Crenshaw and Kite have also produced books focused on instruction and playing the game properly, have authored introductions and forewords for numerous books, and Crenshaw has collaborated on multiple books regarding golf course design.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Barbara Puett and Jim Apfelbaum, *Golf Etiquette*, (New York: Macmillan, 2003); Brenden Elliott, "Raising a Golfer: A Parent's Guide," PGA, published July 29, 2011, accessed April 29, 2016, <http://www.pga.com/golf-instruction/instruction-feature/fundamentals/raising-golfer-parents-guide>; Barkow, *History of the PGA Tour*.

<sup>81</sup> Crenshaw and Hauser, *A Feel for the Game*; Ben Crenshaw, Carl Jackson, and Melanie Hauser, *Two Roads to Augusta: The Heartwarming Story of Ben Crenshaw and Carl Jackson*, (Amer Golfer, Inc., 2012); Kite and Herskowitz, *A Fairway to Heaven*; Robbins, *Harvey Penick*; Curt Sampson and Paul Milosevich, *Texas Golf Legends*, (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1993).

<sup>82</sup> Penck and Strake, *Harvey Penick's Little Red Book: Lessons And Teachings From A Lifetime In Golf*, Harvey Penick and Bud Shrake, *And if You Play Golf, You're My Friend: Further Reflections of a Grown Caddie*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); Harvey Penick and Bud Strake, *For All Who Love the Game: Lessons and Teachings for Women*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995); Harvey Penick and Bud Strake, *The Game for a Lifetime: More Lessons and Teachings*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); Harvey Penick and Bud Shrake, *The Wisdom of Harvey Penick: Lessons and Thoughts From the Collected Writings of Golf's Best-Loved Teacher*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997).

<sup>83</sup> Bobby Jones and Ben Crenshaw, *Classic Instruction*, (Greenwich, CT, New York, NY: American Golfer; Broadway Books, 1998); Tom Kite and Larry Dennis, *How to Play Consistent Golf*, (Trumbull, CT, New York, NY: Golf Digest; Pocket Books, 1990); Tim Doak and Ben Crenshaw, *The Anatomy of a Golf Course: The Art of Golf Architecture*, (Burford Books, 1998); Darius Oliver and Ben Crenshaw, *Planet Golf USA: The Definitive Reference to Great Golf Courses in America*, (New York: Abrams, 2009); Kite has written introductions to Sampson and Milosevich's *Texas Golf Legends*, and Puett and Apfelbaum's *Golf Etiquette*. Puett served as Kite's middle school golf coach at Lamar Middle School in Austin, Texas. Crenshaw has written the introduction to Barkow's *The History of the PGA Tour*, and the forewords for seven books, including Puett and Apfelbaum's *Golf Etiquette* and Wind's *America's Gift to Golf: Herbert Warren Wind on the Masters*.

Biographies and autobiographies about University of Texas football legends Freddie Steinmark Darrell K. Royal have also been examined to gain insight into the examined era in the city of Austin, as has Terry Frei's tale of what is known to many as "The Game of the Century", a clash between the first and second ranked teams in college football in 1969, the Texas Longhorns and Arkansas Razorbacks.<sup>84</sup>

Multiple works of additional literature also informed the current project. *When Golf Was Fun: Tales From the Late, Great Beer and BBQ Circuit* by Pat Wheeler (2012), and *Harvey Penick: The Life and Wisdom of the Man Who Wrote the Book on Golf* by former sportswriter for the *Austin American-Statesman* and current University of Texas faculty member Kevin Robbins both proved beneficial in providing depth to the culture of Austin during the examined era. Written to remember "the fun times of the past," Wheeler's collection of first-hand accounts from the era of Texas golf that could best be described as a "wild west" paints a vivid picture of golf in the state of Texas between the 1940s and 1980s, where golfers of all ages and skill levels would travel around the state, collecting a plate of food, competitive golf, and maybe even a few dollars if the putts dropped.<sup>85</sup> Robbins' biography on the life of Harvey Penick provides the researcher with insight to the man known for his wisdom about the game of golf as well as a more firm understanding about the culture of golf in Austin throughout Penick's life.<sup>86</sup>

Further searches for scholarly works on the history and culture of Austin in the 1960s,

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<sup>84</sup> Freddie Steinmark, *I Play to Win*, (Boston: Little Brown, 1971); Jim Dent, *Courage Beyond the Game: The Freddie Steinmark Story* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2011); Bower Yousse and Thomas J. Cryan, *Freddie Steinmark: Faith, Family, Football*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015); Darrell Royal and John Wheat, *Coach Royal: Conversations With a Texas Football Legend (Voices and Memories)*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005); Mike Jones and Dan Jenkins, *Darrell Royal: Dance With Who Brung Ya (Texas Legends Series)*, (Indianapolis: Masters Press, 1997); Jim Dent and Kathy Hutzler, *My All-American Heroes: Darrell Royal and Freddie Steinmark*, (Dent, 2015); Terry Frei, *Horns, Hogs, and Nixon Coming: Texas vs. Arkansas in Dixie's Last Stand*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002).

<sup>85</sup> Wheeler, *When Golf Was Fun*, Acknowledgements.

<sup>86</sup> Robbins, *Harvey Penick*.

and sports and culture in America in the 1960s were also conducted. In *SportsWars*, Zang discusses the dichotomy between those involved in sport and those engaged in the counterculture of rock and roll and “free love”.<sup>87</sup> Zang also describes the battleground for culture as occurring between sport and counterculture, positing that sports had been the “cubicles for American values,” but the counterculture was looking to make a break from those traditional values, and in doing so, they made a break from sport.<sup>88</sup> Busch provides the greatest insight into the culture of Austin, Texas, in the 1960s with his examination of the post-war structuring of the city from an economic, political, and cultural standpoint.<sup>89</sup> This comprehensive work investigates the growth in population, economy and structure of the job market, unemployment rate, as well as the racial injustices that minorities in Austin during this era faced, including the defeat of the Austin Fair Housing Ordinance, which allowed discriminatory lending and real estate practices to continue well into the 1970s.<sup>90</sup>

Two final works of literature emerged from this examination the first of which is the study of how football was “woven into the marrow of southern culture.”<sup>91</sup> While explained over a larger scope than the current study, Doyle provides the baseline knowledge that sport can be an integral part of the culture of a region. Along with Doyle, Hansen’s study concerning the emergence, acceptance, and cultural significance of cheerleading from its inception in the late 1800s through its growth as a staple within the sporting landscape was examined.<sup>92</sup> This work

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<sup>87</sup> David Zang, *SportsWars: Athletes in the Age of Aquarius*, (University of Arkansas Press, 2001), xiv; The counterculture that Zang describes is one which is opposed to the Vietnam War and one that accepts rock and roll music and psychedelic drugs. He places the starting point for this counterculture in 1968.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

<sup>89</sup> Busch, “Growth in Austin, Texas 1950-1973”.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, 976.

<sup>91</sup> Leo Andrew Doyle, “Causes Won, Not Lost: Football and Southern Culture, 1892-1983,” (PhD diss, Emory University, 1998).

<sup>92</sup> Mary Ellen Hansen, “Go. Fight. Win. A Social History of Cheerleading in America,” (PhD diss, The University of New Mexico, 1993).

proved relevant to the researcher, as it loosely resembled the current study through its use of print media as a means to study the evolution of the fledgling sport. Also of note was the discussion included in this work, which examined the social acceptance of cheerleading as a legitimized sport and not simply a pastime.

## Chapter 3: Methods and Data Collection

### Selection of Method: Content Analysis

Methodologically, the approach taken in this historical analysis draws heavily from content analysis and is further informed by frame analysis and discourse analysis. Through application of content analysis, the researcher attempts to make inferences about the whole of society - in this case Austin between the years of 1958-1965 - based on the content found in local publications during the examined timeframe.

Research conducted through content analysis is often done only from a quantitative standpoint, but for the purposes of this study, a mixed-methods research approach using combined theories found in Berelson's *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, Krippendorff's *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, and Schreier's *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice* will be used in which the researcher will quantitatively examine the amount of content available and use the qualitative practice of coding to identify emerging themes from in the examined data.<sup>93</sup> Drawing upon existing literature reviewed by the author, the design of this study was patterned loosely after the work of Hardin, Hart and Napier, who all examined used forms of content analyses of periodicals to make inferences about the sporting interests of defined societies over certain periods of time.<sup>94</sup>

### Data Collection

In order to complete this study, records from the *Austin American-Statesman* were accessed and examined through the ProQuest online research databases. The publications section of proQuest contains archives from over 3700 publications, including nine different results containing the

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<sup>93</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 53; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction*, 126; Schreier, *Qualitative Content Analysis*, 40.

<sup>94</sup> Napier, "The Sports Section of the *LA Times*;" Hart, "Content of Selected Sport Magazines;" Hardin, "Promoting Golf in the Golden Age;" The purpose for utilizing these was that Napier relied heavily on quantitative studies whereas Hart attempted to identify patterns over time using a more qualitative approach.

city of Austin, Texas. Of these nine, two provided opportunities to search the desired time parameters: The *Austin American* (1914-1973), and The *Austin Statesman* (1921-1973).<sup>95</sup> As mentioned, the *Statesman* (1921-1973) provides daily news coverage including a sports section for all days excluding Sunday, and the *American* (1914-1973) provides Sunday-only coverage.<sup>96</sup> After thorough examination of one calendar month from each of the archives, it was determined by the researcher that a comprehensive examination of the daily results would provide a more complete insight and potential understanding into a culture that lionized golf as a recreational and competitive sporting activity.<sup>97</sup> Upon making this determination, the archives of the *Austin Statesman* (1921-1973) between January 1, 1958, and December 31, 1965, were searched for any results containing the word “golf.” This initial search returned 11,414 results matching the search criteria, of which 7,723 were classified by the database as “Article/Feature,” 2,187 classified by the database as “Advertisements,” and 1,204 classified by the database as either “Front Page/Cover Stories” or “General Information.” For purposes of reliability, each time the ProQuest archives were accessed, the original search parameters served as a starting point, with

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<sup>95</sup> The results contained in the *American* (1914-1973) archive only go to 1967, despite the archive title indicating otherwise.

<sup>96</sup> Curtis Bishop and R. L. Schroeter, "Austin American-Statesman," *Handbook of Texas Online*, last modified June 9, 2010, accessed April 9, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/eea11>. Much of this overlap of dates is due to the operation and ownership of these two papers at their origin. The *Austin Statesman* was originally published in 1871 as the *Democratic Statesman*. After taking over smaller competitor, *The Austin Tribune*, in 1914, the paper became known as the *Austin Statesman and Tribune* and would eventually change its name to the *Evening Statesman* in 1916 to represent a new publication time. The *Austin American*, on the other hand, began publishing in May 1914 as a daily including Sunday. The two competitors were merged into one company in 1924, but they were still produced separately, with the *American* taking the morning edition and the *Statesman* continuing as the evening edition. A joint Sunday paper would be produced and titled the *Austin American-Statesman*. These independent operations were combined in November 1973, keeping the same moniker that the Sunday edition held. Cox Media Group has operated the newspaper since 1976.

<sup>97</sup> The results from the *American* had informative information relative to cultural interests in the view of the researcher, but much of it seemed to be summarizations of stories that had been printed earlier in the week, not only for golf, but for all sports. It appeared to the researcher that this was done in an attempt to inform those Sunday paper-only readers/subscribers, or those readers who may only subscribe to the *American* weekday edition that may not have gotten the same news earlier in the week. In examining multiple Sunday editions, the layout was very similar week-to-week. The Sunday edition always contained at the following two items: 1) an AP/UPI story about the PGA tournament currently underway, and 2) a local story, many times penned by Charley Eskew which contained some form of human interest story about a local golfer and their exploits on the course that week as well as a “news dump” of all of the local and statewide golf happenings.

the initial 11,414 total results serving as the identified benchmark for which all examinations of data would commence. If the search yielded a different starting point for total results, the parameters were scrutinized for potential errors and re-entered until the benchmark was attained.

### **Counting Carefully**

Berelson's content analysis theory provides conditions and guidelines under which one should count their content carefully.<sup>98</sup> These seven guidelines are set in place to provide higher degrees of confidence that the researcher has considered the entire body of work that he or she is examining.<sup>99</sup> While Berelson suggests that careful counting need not be done unless it is necessary, and it was determined that for the sake of reliability, careful counting would be conducted as part of the research process. Below are brief descriptions as to the type of information contained in the sections as they were filtered by ProQuest.

### **“Front Page/Cover Story”**

An examination of the “Front Page/Cover Stories” classification included studying every article found on the front page of the *Statesman* that included a reference to golf.<sup>100</sup> These results were examined for overall tone of the article and were not divided into themed classifications nor were they counted for frequency.

### **“General Information”**

Whereas the stories on the front page were identified and coded into larger categories, these results were scrutinized a bit more harshly, and separated into more precise categories to be coded. In keeping with Berelson's rules for when to count content carefully, this sorting and

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<sup>98</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 129-30.

<sup>99</sup> Not to be confused with the seventeen ways that content analysis can be utilized. These rules

<sup>100</sup> 236 results in total.

tallying procedure was conducted specifically so the researcher may better understand the entirety of the source material.

**“Article/Feature”**

The 7,723 results classified as “Article/Feature” make up the bulk of the examination that determines whether Austin’s newspapers created a culture that was responsive to the game of golf. Because an examination of all 7,723 articles was not possible due to time constraints, the filtering tools provided by ProQuest were used to delimit the data. After sorting and recording the results for all ninety-six months of the eight-year sample, the months with the highest total results was examined in its entirety. Table 1 below provides an overview of the total number of articles available for examination each year with the highest number for each year appearing in bold print. Also of note is the bottom row of Table 1 in which the yearly totals appear for each year. While there was some fluctuation year to year, the increase of total number of articles per year over the span of the study is significant.

**Table 1. Feature Articles.**

<b>Feature Articles</b>								
<b>Year:</b>	<b>1958</b>	<b>1959</b>	<b>1960</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1962</b>	<b>1963</b>	<b>1964</b>	<b>1965</b>
<b>Jan</b>	69	56	62	58	62	77	44	57
<b>Feb</b>	70	76	68	62	62	83	59	89
<b>Mar</b>	82	82	76	95	73	97	85	95
<b>Apr</b>	<b>110</b>	106	92	95	77	112	<b>100</b>	117
<b>May</b>	81	119	92	<b>115</b>	123	113	95	114
<b>Jun</b>	109	<b>146</b>	118	112	<b>128</b>	109	91	118
<b>Jul</b>	91	105	<b>122</b>	98	101	<b>154</b>	89	<b>129</b>
<b>Aug</b>	78	84	76	90	75	107	80	107
<b>Sep</b>	56	65	66	65	79	82	65	90
<b>Oct</b>	60	54	54	51	77	67	63	79
<b>Nov</b>	51	50	38	59	60	50	47	53
<b>Dec</b>	43	29	53	37	56	34	41	32
<b>Yearly Totals:</b>	900	972	917	937	973	1085	859	1080

The selection of this method is based on the assumption that choosing the month each year with the highest totals of “Article/Features” will provide a better opportunity for pattern

identification through distribution of story origin (local, national, etc.). After the determination was made as to which months would be chosen for examination, the selection of months was made. Based on initial scans through the source material, it was determined that each article from the selected month would be examined for content and placed into one of the following categories: Local Golf, Professional Men’s Golf, Professional Women’s Golf, National Amateur Golf, and Miscellaneous Golf Stories (Table 2 below provides a categorical breakdown of the types of story in each chosen month).

**Table 2. Article Categorization**

	<b>Article/Features</b>								
	<b>April 1958</b>	<b>June 1959</b>	<b>July 1960</b>	<b>May 1961</b>	<b>June 1962</b>	<b>July 1963</b>	<b>April 1964</b>	<b>July 1965</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Local Golf Stories</b>	51	61	40	44	42	33	41	32	344
<b>Professional Men's Golf</b>	25	36	42	40	39	44	22	33	281
<b>Professional Women's Golf</b>	4	15	10	13	7	12	6	12	79
<b>National Amateur Golf</b>	13	8	5	0	7	15	4	14	66
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	16	23	26	20	33	51	26	38	233

These totals - along with notes taken during and after each examination period – provide a thorough understanding as to the tenor of the golf conversation in Austin in the late 1950s and early 1960s that helped create and care for a culture within the city dedicated to golf.

### **Other Data Collected**

The ProQuest databases also provided results in categories not considered substantial enough by the researcher to warrant a designated area of the data collection. These sections included “Front Matter,” “Review,” and “Advertisements,” and these sections were examined with less scrutiny than the above sections based on the repetitive nature of their content. That said it is clear that within the examined timeframe, the ability to watch sports on television

became more accessible.<sup>101</sup> Advertisements have also been proven to be a substantial source of insight about a given culture, however the bulk of the advertisements examined during this process were classified advertisements in which someone was attempting to sell their used golf clubs or golf shoes.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> This observation is substantiated through examination of secondary sources detailing the increase in television sales leading up to and during the examined era. Rader suggests that the 1960s were the turning point for sports on television in *In Its Own Image: How Television Has Transformed Sports*.

<sup>102</sup> Of the 2,187 advertisements appearing during the studied timeframe, 1,404 were classified advertisements.

## Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

It would be safe to make the assumption that the sheer number of results (11,414) over the span of eight years would be enough to conclude that golf was important to the writers and editors of the *Statesman*. The number of results returned over the number of days of the study (2,890) yields almost four separate mentions per day during this eight-year period.<sup>103</sup> When adjusted for advertisements that could potentially boost the average daily results, the number of average mentions drops, but it still over three mentions a day.<sup>104</sup> In relation to other sports coverage in the *Statesman* over the same time period, golf returned the third highest number of total results behind football (19,431) and baseball (13,516), and trailed only football in “Front Page” stories.<sup>105</sup> While the sheer number of results suggests that there was a daily conversation about golf, the purpose of this study is to examine whether that conversation created a nurturing climate in which young Austin golfers could thrive. The results of the examined data from the aforementioned sections follow:

### “Front Page/Cover Story” Results

The results of this examination determined that golf was an important pastime of many famous individuals of the time, with many stories appearing about President Dwight Eisenhower, and actors Clark Gable, Bing Crosby, Desi Arnaz, and Bob Hope.<sup>106</sup> Many of these stories simply dealt with the desire to play the sport by these individuals, and within the first three years examined, most stories appearing on the front page of the newspapers dealt with President

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<sup>103</sup> 11,414 results divided by 2,890 days = 3.945 daily instances on average

<sup>104</sup> 9,227 results divided by 2,890 days = 3.193 daily instances on average

<sup>105</sup> Had golf mentions outnumbered football mentions in either of these categories, that would have been the end of this study, as football is a close second to religion in the state of Texas, not to mention the city of Austin, home of the University of Texas Longhorns.

<sup>106</sup> Barkow discusses that Crosby and Hope both hosted pro-am tournaments and that Eisenhower putted on the carpet in the Oval Office and had a putting green built behind the White House during his time in office, *History of the PGA Tour*, 86, 123.

Eisenhower’s frequent trips to the golf course and how these trips were viewed by those in the media as well as those on Capitol Hill. Few of the articles appearing on the front page dealt with the actual goings-on of the world of golf; instead they appeared to be more interested in celebrities of the day who claimed golf as a hobby. Each year studied, however, contained a number of stories – normally in early spring - that detailed local amateur tournaments, or examined the development and renovation of new courses in Austin, or covered presentations from The Austin Parks and Recreation Department about sport activities in which the public could participate (including golf).

### **“General Information” Results**

As the title indicates, the “General Information” results contained general information about the game of golf, some historical facts and anecdotes about the sport, and provided some basic insight into who was playing and where. The results from this data analysis show that until 1962, local golf news received virtually identical – if not more - coverage with that of national/non-local golf news. The advent of the “Sports Capsule” in 1963 provided national golf news a greater number of results than local results.<sup>107</sup> The local coverage included results from mid-week amateur “four-ball” tournaments played across Central Texas as well as news and notes from around the area and state regarding high school and collegiate golf.<sup>108</sup> An unexpected finding that emerged was the amount of coverage that was provided to female golfers, both at the local and professional level. Austin’s female golf enthusiasts earned consistent press in this

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<sup>107</sup> These types of stories are quick box scores/recaps of all sports happening at the time and not only included scores and information from golf tournaments, but also contained baseball, tennis and basketball, amongst other things.

<sup>108</sup> “Rules Hub,” USGA, accessed April 13, 2016, <http://www.usga.org/content/usga/home-page/rules-hub.html> Teams of two compete head-to-head. Each player plays his or her own ball to completion of the hole. The lowest score wins the hole for the team, and match play rules are followed. Full rules and explanation can be found on the USGA website.

section, with the *Statesman* providing coverage of local women's golf clubs frequent meetings and tournaments. Another note worth highlighting that appeared in this section in 1963 stated that in "1957 there were 5,558 golf courses in America and in 1963 there are 6,521."<sup>109</sup>

### **“Article/Feature” Results**

Over the course of the eight months selected based upon the frequency of stories mentioning golf, stories categorized as “Local Golf” generated 344 stories, and the “Professional Men’s Golf” category generated 281 stories. Considering the era of golf included in the study, the difference of sixty-three stories is considered significant.<sup>110</sup> Much like the previous two sections, these local-interest stories included information about opportunities to play golf locally and regionally, results from tournaments held around the region in which local residents were participating, and results from tournaments for local high school and college men and women. During this examination, local columnists also appeared to take an interest in the sport as there were weekly columns detailing rounds played by locals and sharing anecdotes from the course. At times, the players mentioned in these pieces were merely citizens enjoying a round of golf when something out of the ordinary happened to them or their playing partners (i.e. hole in one, ball stuck in tree, etc.). The bulk of the stories placed in all other categories were national wire stories from the Associated Press (AP) or United Press International (UPI) detailing the tournament of the week, whether it be the PGA, Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA), or national amateur tournaments held.

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<sup>109</sup> “Other 33 – No Title,” *Statesman*, August 16, 1963, accessed April 4, 2016, via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>110</sup> The era referenced is best explained by Barkow in *The History of the PGA Tour*: “As the 1960s began...A combination of forces would thrust the Tour forward if by jet propulsion. Television was the main fuel, and it caught a new spirit in modern day golf as represented by Arnold Palmer.” (124)

The researchers “field notes” taken throughout the course of the data examination process were studied with the intention of identifying consistent themes present within the literature. These identified themes allow for a more complete understanding of the culture of golf that was prevalent in Austin at the time.<sup>111</sup> These emergent themes were:

1. *Opportunities*:

- a. To make a living and achieve celebrity status by playing golf emerged during this time;
- b. To work with/learn from local golf icons in order to hone the skill of golf;

2. *Boosterism* of local writers and editors.

**“Front Matter,” “Review,” and “Advertisements”**

The newspaper section that provided the most insight about the culture of the time from these three sections was that of “Review,” as the content contained in this displayed how golf was growing as a television sport during the examined period. The majority of these articles consisted of AP or UPI wire stories and contained reviews about TV shows in which actors mentioned their interest in golf, or in which the show was golf-oriented. These golf-oriented shows were not limited to the increasing frequency of live golf being shown on TV, they also included made-for-television golf shows: *All-Star Golf*, *Shell’s Wonderful World of Golf*, CBS’ *Match Play Classic*, and the *World Series of Golf*.<sup>112</sup>

**Opportunities to Pursue of Golf as a Career and Earn Fame**

From a monetary standpoint, the allure of being a professional golfer is currently at an all-time high, with the highest earning PGA Tour player of 2015 making fifteen times more

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<sup>111</sup> Keeping in mind the earlier stated assumption that newspapers are both the creators and dispensers of cultural norms.

<sup>112</sup> Barkow, *History of the PGA Tour*, 135-7.

money than the all-time tournament wins leader did for his entire fifty-two year career.<sup>113</sup> Snead was - like many athletes of his generation - a professional athlete in an era with no sponsorship or television money, meaning the only money they could make was by winning tournaments.

The eight-year timeframe of the current study saw a precipitous uptick in the amount of money a good golfer could earn playing golf for a living. Arnold Palmer earned the most money on the PGA Tour in 1958, taking home \$42,607.<sup>114</sup> Jack Nicklaus took home \$140,752 as the top earner eight years later.<sup>115</sup> This rapid increase in earnings over a short period undoubtedly drew the attention of parent and children who never before considered that a career could be had in something previously thought of as a leisure activity.<sup>116</sup> Below are examples from examined data that echo the sentiment that golf as a career choice was gaining momentum during the studied time period.

- June 20, 1962 – *Statesman* golf columnist Charley Eskew designs the fool-proof method by which a young man can retire by 25 with enough money to, “...make a mint, get Dad out of hock, and buy all the land in three states.” His idea? Play professional golf. In this article, Eskew details Jack Nicklaus’ money earnings as a rookie on the professional tour and even mentions that the 22-year-old could stand to make, “...a hundred or two

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<sup>113</sup> “PGA Money Leaders,” *ESPN*, accessed April 15, 2016: [http://espn.go.com/golf/moneylist/\\_/year/2015](http://espn.go.com/golf/moneylist/_/year/2015); “Sam Snead: Career,” *PGA*, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://www.pgatour.com/players/player.02119.sam-snead.html/career>. 2015 PGA money leader Jordan Spieth made \$12,030, 465 while competing in 26 events, that equates to \$462,710 per event entered. In comparison, Sam Snead won a total of \$806,676 over the course of his career, in which he retired with the most wins in PGA history, eighty-two. His \$9,837 per win looks paltry in comparison. Even when adjusted for inflation using the US Inflation calculator, Snead would only have earned six million dollars over the course of his career.

<sup>114</sup> Adjusted for inflation, that \$42,607 equates to \$351,075 in 2016.

<sup>115</sup> Adjusted for inflation, that \$140,752 equates to \$1,064,049 in 2016.

<sup>116</sup> Brent Kelley, “70 Years of Money Leaders on the PGA TOUR” *About Sports*, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://golf.about.com/cs/historyofgolf/a/pgamoneyyearly.htm>.

hundred thousand [sic] through endorsements, exhibitions, television appearances, and ghost written articles.”<sup>117</sup>

- April 22, 1964 - An AP article out of Florida ran in the *Statesman* written by columnist Will Grimsley. The article was titled: “Change in a Quarter Century: Golf Turns Into Money” in which he discussed the ever-growing amount of money that could be made in professional golf in contrast to how it was prior to World War II when golfers struggled along on “hamburger money.” In Grimsley’s opinion, columnists would be in their right minds to urge mothers to send their little golfers out to the ranges for practice because, “playing on the golf tour has become more lucrative than working for General Motors.”<sup>118</sup>

In addition to the above articles, every time a professional event was mentioned, the purse was always included as part of the title. When combined with articles detailing the amount one could make through playing and earning endorsements, these weekly financial details serve as a solidifying factor in the minds of golfers about the sheer amount of money that was at stake every week in the professional sport.<sup>119</sup> The following example is the first paragraph from an AP story that ran in the *Statesman* 1 June 1962 and displays the type of language associated with discussions of the professional tournaments:

Deadly accurate Gary Brewer, Jr., led a tight knot of front runners today as a trimmed field moved into the second round of the \$40,000 Memphis Open Golf Tournament.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Charley Eskew, “Point of View: Your Sticks, Son, Start Hitting,” *Statesman*, published June 20, 1962, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>118</sup> Will Grimsley, “Change in a Quarter Century: Golf Turns Into Money,” *Statesman*, published April 22, 1964, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>119</sup> It must be noted that while the total purse was always mentioned in conjunction with the weekly professional events, the amount each competitor received was rarely publicized. Some may consider this false advertisement to the uninformed consumer as one unfamiliar with the sport may assume that the tournaments were contested in a winner-take-all format.

<sup>120</sup> “Brewer Leads Field in Memphis Tourney,” *Statesman*, published June 1, 1962, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

This language pattern appears to be the universally accepted method at the time when mentioning the title of a professional golf tournament.<sup>121</sup> This pattern wasn't strictly reserved for professional men's events, either, as it held true for professional women's events, as well. From June 2, 1962:

Betsy Rawls took a one-stroke lead into the second round of the \$7,500 Babe Zaharias Open Golf Tournament as she sought her third championship in four years.<sup>122</sup>

Aside from the monetary appeal of becoming a professional golfer, the advent and growth of golf as a sport shown on television added another dimension that was undoubtedly appealing to the amateur golfer. Golf tournaments were first aired nationally in 1953 when the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) aired the Tam O'Shanter World Championship, contested just outside of Chicago.<sup>123</sup> From that point forward, the exposure of golf on television grew to include shows dedicated to golf that were not simply coverage of tournaments. The first of these shows, *All-Star Golf*, was added to ABC's broadcasting lineup in 1959 and was called a "gravy train" for professional golfers.<sup>124</sup> The success of this show brought about other shows of its sort, including a 1962 made-for-TV live golf event titled *The World Series of Golf*, pitting the winners of the four major championships against one another in a thirty-six-hole exhibition

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<sup>121</sup> The only exceptions appear in reference to national open championships (i.e. U.S., British, French, Canadian, etc. Opens) as well as the other "grand slam" events (The Masters or PGA Championship).

<sup>122</sup> "Betsy Rawls a Stoke Ahead at Zaharias," *Statesman*, published June 2, 1962, accessed via ProQuest online databases; Considering that this may be the norm for professional "country club" sports, a brief examination of the same time period concerning the sport of tennis only returned one tournament out of ten in which the purse was mentioned as part of the promotion. The reason only ten records were included in this brief look was because of the fifty newspaper articles examined, forty of them concerned amateur tennis tournaments or the prestigious Grand Slam events, most notably Wimbledon and the US Open. Since money was not included in the promotion of the golf majors, it was assumed that the same would be true for tennis.

<sup>123</sup> Barkow, *The History of the PGA Tour*, 96; George S. May, owner of the Tam O'Shanter Country Club reportedly paid ABC to carry the broadcast of this event.

<sup>124</sup> Jack Gaver, "TV May Be Pro Golfer's Gravy Train," *Statesman*, published June 2, 1959, accessed via ProQuest online databases;

match.<sup>125</sup> As discussed in a 1960 article, the way golf tournaments were being held was being modified to accommodate television crews and audiences, just like other sports gaining TV popularity, like football and baseball.<sup>126</sup> As golf started to enter more living rooms via televisions, professional golfers began to experience celebrity status on a new level. Newcomers like Jack Nicklaus, Arnold Palmer, and Gary Player became widely known and admired alongside stalwarts of the game Gene Sarazen, Ben Hogan, and Sam Snead. As with the increase in money, an increase in visibility to players drew more interest in the game as a whole.

Golf was the game of choice of many celebrities of the day. Bob Hope and Bing Crosby were mentioned frequently in respect to their passion for the game; and Crosby even sponsored a PGA pro-am tournament in San Francisco, with Hope in attendance at many of these events.<sup>127</sup> The most famous celebrity golfer at the time, and the name that appeared in the news more than any other non-professional golfer, was that of President Dwight Eisenhower. Over the first three years studied (Eisenhower's last three in office), Eisenhower's time spent on the golf course was front-page news on quite a few occasions, and he was rumored to even have an office at Augusta National Golf Club (home of the annual Masters golf tournament) in which he could take meetings while on vacation.<sup>128</sup>

The second section identified for this emergent theme was that of fame, or celebrity status, even if it was only within the city limits of Austin. The *Statesman* provided experiences for young and amateur athletes to be recognized countless times over the course of the years

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<sup>125</sup> "In Rich Classic: Three Only," *Statesman*, published July 25, 1962, accessed via ProQuest online databases; Barkow, *The History of the PGA Tour*, 134.

<sup>126</sup> Steve Snider, "TV Review," *Statesman*, published August 1, 1960, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>127</sup> "Crosby's Pro-Am Started," *Statesman*, published Jan 15, 1959, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>128</sup> "Ike Checks Budget on Space Work," *Statesman*, published November 17, 1959, accessed via ProQuest online databases. Located in Augusta, Georgia, Augusta National is one of the most exclusive golf clubs in the country, with a membership total always around 300 with annual associated fees between \$25,000-50,000. It is also the home of The Masters, one of professional golf's most prestigious tournaments. Eisenhower even had a tree on the course named after him after he lobbied to have it removed due to its interference with his tee shot on the seventeenth hole.

examined.<sup>129</sup> Young golfers Sandra Haynie, Randy Petri, Lester Lundell, Ben Crenshaw, and Tom Kite had their names in the paper almost as much as the biggest names in the sport. While these names were synonymous with golf in Austin at the time, they were not the only ones mentioned in the paper. The *Statesman* covered in detail every local tournament, and devoted similar space and photos to the local contests as they did to the national tournaments.

This was best illustrated on 4 July 1960 as the final 36 holes of the Fourth of July Golf Tournament got underway at Lions Municipal Golf Course. In an article penned by Maurice Olian, the story is told of how two youngsters just past their teenage years were pitted against two men in their thirties.<sup>130</sup> Not only does this article describe the matchups for the day, it goes into considerable detail about how these matchups were set in place by detailing each previous round of the match play tournament. In total, twenty-two amateur golfers vying for a regional championship were mentioned in this one article. On that day alone, there were six articles written about the sport of golf, and three of them discussed local, amateur golfers involved in playing the sport.<sup>131</sup>

Regardless of the year examined, if there was a local tournament held in Austin, or an amateur tournament held in the state in which an Austinite was competing, the participants were going to have their names mentioned by the staff at the *Statesman*. An article by golf columnist Charley Eskew perfectly displays the wide range of golf exploits that could end up with one seeing their name in the newspaper. In one column, he mentions a local doctor having to play

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<sup>129</sup> While the opportunity to count these instances was available, it was deemed unnecessary by the researcher based upon Berelson's conditions under which the researcher should count carefully, most notably that the degree of precision in number of instances was not as important as the pattern of these instances.

<sup>130</sup> Maurice Olian, "Muny Tournament Concludes Today," *Statesman*, published July 4, 1960, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*; "Curtis Smith, Mitchell Gain Golf Finals;" AP, "4 Tie for Lead in Flint Open;" AP, "Palmer 3rd Choice;" AP, "Dick Metz Wins Title;" "66 by Durbin Paces Triumph," all published July 4, 1960 and accessed via ProQuest online databases.

through high winds at ACC, a father-son team playing a round with another twosome, the Austin Women's Golf Association's announcement of their upcoming "play day" as well as the schedule of how the ladies would be paired, results from two area four-ball tournaments, an ace at Muny from a high school golfer, and career low rounds from three local players, none of which were under par.<sup>132</sup> If any further proof was needed that the city of Austin was accepting golf as something they were passionate about, it would be provided with a glance into the final round of the 1965 Fourth of July Golf Tournament, when local golf "stars" Randy Petri, George McCall, Roane Puett, and Ed Kizer squared off in the final round as a gallery of close to three-hundred swelled to watch Petri take home the title.<sup>133</sup>

### **Opportunities for Proper Instruction**

Proper coaching is a cornerstone of success in sport – perhaps more so than anything else. From 1958-1965, Austin was home to two of the most well respected coaches of the time: George Hannon and Harvey Penick. Both men served as head professionals on local courses -- Hannon at Lions Municipal and at the newly opened Morris Williams Golf Course; Penick at Austin Country Club – and hosted lessons for golfers of all ages. Both also have a lasting legacy within the sport, both locally and nationally, with Penick garnering fame for turning his teaching journal into the world's best selling golf instruction manuals and Hannon lauded as the co-founder the Austin Junior Golf Academy.<sup>134</sup> Combined, the two men coached the Texas Longhorns golf team for a combined 51 consecutive years, and when Hannon retired as the pro

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<sup>132</sup> Charley Eskew, "Jorge Close in Meet," *American*, published February 10, 1963, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>133</sup> Bill Little, "Golf Elite Convened, Petri Takes Triumph," published July 4, 1965, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>134</sup> Penck and Shrake, *Harvey Penick's Little Red Book*; Penick and Shrake, *And if You Play Golf*; Penick and Shrake, *For All Who Love the Game*; Penick and Shrake, *The Game for a Lifetime*; "George Hannon," Golf Austin, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://www.golfaustin.org/our-golf-community/history-of-golf-in-austin/george-hannon/>.

at Morris Williams in 1995, a seventy-two-year run in Austin in which either Hannon or Penick was a head of instruction at a local golf course came to an end.<sup>135</sup>

Many times in the articles examined during this analysis, if there was a mention of a local golf club, it was matched with the name of the head professional associated with it which, at the time was either Hannon or Penick. Many local champion golfers of the time studied were also consistently associated with one or both of these men, as could be expected given their position as the head coach of the UT golf team. These associations in the media not only detailed the successes that the men and their respective students were enjoying on the course, but they also provided a genuine form advertisement for their services and gave local amateurs places to turn in search of instruction.

While there is some degree of extrinsic motivation behind seeking coaching (i.e. ability to earn money, win trophies, earn fame), the opportunity to learn the sport from the highest regarded instructors in the area could encompass some of the intrinsic aspects of motivation as well, with the desire to better oneself being at the core of the decision to seek help. The cultural aspects on display by chronicling the exploits of these two men and their students was that they were accessible, as was the game of golf, to anyone who wanted to try. In some ways, the accessibility over time to these two men is in opposition to the widely espoused culture of golf, which is one that oftentimes uses its status, wealth, and exclusive club memberships as barriers to keep those deemed “unworthy” away from the sport, and culture, that they cherish. The argument could be raised that Penick was not as accessible to everyone as this study may display, considering that the Austin Country Club, with which he is best associated, is the most private country club in Austin. However, his willingness to partner with Shrake and share his

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<sup>135</sup> “George Hannon,” *Golf Austin*, accessed April 15, 2016.

lifetime of knowledge with anyone who wanted to read it has broken down whatever cultural barriers may have existed.

### **Boosterism of Golf by the Media**

As discussed within the literature review, newspapers have the ability to alter the way that certain aspects of society are viewed, based on what is deemed newsworthy by the editors of the paper. Journalism has evolved, though. No longer does the public have to wait for the evening news or morning paper to know what's happening in the world around them. News is everywhere, and everyone gets to be their own editor, deciding what to read and what to skip. Gone are the days of (presumably) unbiased reporting.

During the examined time period, however, the belief was that the content found in newspapers is presented in an unbiased manner. In actuality, after examining the body of literature, the truth appears to be that, at times, the personal interests of the men and women writing and editing the news sometimes is the determining factor in the level of newsworthiness a particular story has. As Berelson asks in his manual for content analysis, “do popular attitudes determine communication content, or does content determine popular attitudes?”<sup>136</sup>

That question is a quintessential example of the “chicken-or-egg” scenario and probably has no one true answer, but one thing is clear to from the research: the encouragement and promotion to participate in golf was on display every day in the *Statesman* during the time examined and was determined through looking outside of the designated time frame to be a trend that dates back to the start of the sport in the city. This media promotion of golf in Austin is nothing to be shocked about, as it all began when a detailed account of the formation of the first golf club in Austin was chronicled in the paper in late 1899 and early 1900, including details

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<sup>136</sup> Berelson, *Content Analysis*, 97.

about the construction of the first course as well as information regarding the membership fees, and how to enter the tournaments being held.<sup>137</sup> Former mayor and golf enthusiast Lewis Hancock was the driving force behind the formation of the club, and it is assumed that due to his stature within the community, he was able to make sure that the news about the formation and organization of the club was properly disseminated.<sup>138</sup>

Further proof of boosterism by the *Statesman* staff is that golf was mentioned in almost every paper for eight consecutive years and on average of 3.91 mentions daily. Of course there were days where there was nothing to report, and other days when the only mention was in advertisements, but if there was golf to be reported, the *Statesman* never missed the opportunity to talk about it. Outside of the sports pages, stories also appeared discussing opportunities to play golf in the city, and it appears as if golf was used as a selling tool for the city itself:

Recreation facilities apparently are unlimited. The city government maintains 37 parks and playgrounds, 21 free neighborhood swimming pools, 5 municipal pools, 4 community recreation centers, 8 athletic fields, 2 municipal golf courses, and a tennis center. There's the beautiful Austin Country Club.<sup>139</sup>

Then there were the writers themselves, who at times would stop at seemingly nothing in order to promote the sport they loved. Charley Eskew was never considered the most prolific writer of his time. He has no awards named after him, nor has there been much written on him and his contributions to the field of golf or journalism, but his name is the one constant in relation to writing about golf that showed up over the entire course of the study. His Sunday

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<sup>137</sup> "The Austin Golf Club: Grounds Have Been Selected by the Special Committee," *Statesman*, published November 17, 1899; Lewis Hancock, David Harrell, Pierre Bremond, "The Austin Golf Club: It Has Now Perfected Permanent Organization", *Statesman*, Published January 7, 1900; "A Golf Match on Tap: The Local Golf Enthusiasts are Arranging for a Big Day," *Statesman*, published February 4, 1900; all accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>138</sup> "History of Mayors," Austin, Texas, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://www.austintexas.gov/department/history-mayors>.

<sup>139</sup> Allen Duckworth, "Everything is in Capital City," *Statesman*, March 10, 1965, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

column, “Crossing Tees,” as well as his daily piece, “Point of View,” were consistent sources for local golf stories and information until his retirement in 1963.<sup>140</sup> Eskew’s predecessor as the golf writer for the *Statesman* was Morris Williams, Sr., a man who accepted the job on a whim and held onto it for over 20 years.

The story of how Williams, Sr. got the job as the golf writer in Austin is near-legend. Robbins tells the story like this: in 1933, Charles E. Green, managing editor of the *Statesman* walked into the press room and demanded that someone take up the role of golf writer for the paper:

We’ve got to have a golf writer. I don’t care whether any of you know anything about it or not, but we’ve got to start covering the sport. It looks like it’s a sure comer.<sup>141</sup>

Williams, Sr., familiar with the stories of Penick and the other famous men around the country club and telling himself that there were worse ways to spend an afternoon than outside on the golf course, accepted the role, telling Green he would try it out, “for a week.”<sup>142</sup> After a short time writing about the game, Williams, Sr. started to play, at which point he was hooked.<sup>143</sup>

What was only intended to last a week turned into Williams’ passion, so much so that he moved his family, with young Morris, Jr., to a house in the Hyde Park area of Austin, directly across from what is now Hancock Golf Course and it was there that he and his son would learn golf together.<sup>144</sup> Williams, Sr. stayed on that original golf beat until his passing in 1957, at which

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<sup>140</sup> After Eskew’s retirement in 1963, information on him is scarce. With the assumption of, “once a writer, always a writer,” I checked records to see if he ever resurfaced as a journalism and outside of three articles discussing Bastrop, he never resurfaced in Austin as a journalist. An obituary for Charles Alan Eskew, Sr. was located, but not much more than that.

<sup>141</sup> Kevin Robbins, *Harvey Penick*, 95.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> Sampson and Milosevich, *Texas Golf Legends*, 143.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 143-4.

point he was considered the Southwest's most outstanding golf writer.<sup>145</sup> Along the way, Williams, Sr.'s impact on the sport of golf and the city of Austin would be so great that when it came time to name the new municipal golf course in 1964, the city named it in his honor. Technically, the course – officially titled Morris Williams Golf Course -- is named in honor of both Morris Williams, Sr. (the journalist), and Morris Williams, Jr. (his golf-playing son).<sup>146</sup>

The younger Williams is perhaps the best golfer that people don't know anything about and was, according to Harvey Penick, one of his best ever students, along with Tom Kite and Ben Crenshaw.<sup>147</sup> The reason his story is not as well known as the others is because Morris Williams, Jr. died while training to fly planes for the Air Force in Florida in 1953. His accomplishments, however, are still unmatched as he is the only player in Texas amateur golf history to win the "Texas Slam": which is to say that he held of the championship trophies for the Texas Junior Championship, The Texas Amateur Championship, and the Texas PGA Tournament at the same time.<sup>148</sup> Sampson describes Williams Jr. thusly:

Morris Williams, Jr. should have been the next great player from Texas. He was the likely successor to Byron Nelson, Lloyd Mangrum, Jimmy Demaret, and Ben Hogan...his career would have connected Nelson and Hogan to Lee Trevino, Ben Crenshaw, and Tom Kite.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> "Course to be Named After Morris Williams," *Statesman*, published May 2, 1963, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Kevin Robbins, "Honoring an amateur: Morris Williams, Jr. inducted into hall," *American-Statesman*, published October 26, 2010, accessed April 15, 2016: <http://www.statesman.com/news/sports/golf/honoring-an-amateur-morris-williams-jr-inducted-in/nRy4W/>.

<sup>148</sup> Robbins, *Harvey Penick*, 91. The picture of Morris, Jr. and his three "Texas Slam" trophies hangs prominently at ACC.

<sup>149</sup> Sampson and Milosevich, *Texas Golf Legends*, 143.

In 1952, as Williams, Sr. approached his twenty-year anniversary as a golf writer for the *Statesman* Austin celebrated Morris Williams Day.<sup>150</sup> Mayor William Drake dedicated the day to Williams with the following words:

In recognition of the tremendous effect Williams has had in increasing interest in the game and the progress of golf throughout Central Texas since 1932.<sup>151</sup>

While Williams' era of journalism predates the timeframe for this study, his legacy was in place and Eskew seemed more than willing to carry the torch and continue to promote golf in Austin. Outside of the daily columns in which he discussed the happenings in the world of golf that interested him the most, Eskew and the *Statesman* also made frequent mention of the upcoming events in town and provided information to help people take part in these events. Golf was such a mainstay in Eskew's columns that when the time came for him to move on, he penned one final "Crossing Tees" in which he detailed his time writing the column. His last words: "...there's our foursome waiting..."<sup>152</sup>

While the evidence supports the claim that the writers and editors of the *Statesman* actively engaged in boosterism of golf, the evidence alone that they did it does not mean that people were motivated to take up the sport at Williams, Sr. or Eskew's behest. Maintaining Hardin's assumption that a mere mention of a topic is enough to be considered promotion and keeping in mind the data examined returned an average of 3.91 mentions of golf a day over the course of eight years, it can be concluded that there was an excess amount of promotion of golf that the citizens of Austin consumed.<sup>153</sup> However, promotion alone still may not be enough to convince someone to take up a game that they have never played. The fear of missing out may

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<sup>150</sup> William Drake, "Proclamation," *Statesman*, published October 17, 1952, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>151</sup> "Woody Parker Band, Stage Show Added to Morris Williams Appreciation Day," *Statesman*, published October 17, 1952, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>152</sup> "Finis and Memories," *Statesman*, published September 22, 1963, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>153</sup> Hardin and Zuegner, "The Pursuit of Golf Balls," 88.

be, though. As examined by Przybylski, et al., the psychology behind the fear of missing out is characterized by the desire to stay continually connected to what others are doing, is empirically based in Self-Determination Theory, and can be best understood as self-regulatory limbo arising from situational or chronic deficits in psychological need satisfactions.<sup>154</sup> The boosterism displayed by the *Statesman* staff has provided insights into the many aspects of the golf culture that could be missed out on unless the sport is taken up immediately by the readership, including the communal aspects of being included as part of a club, the satisfaction of a day spent on the course, and the individual challenges inherent to the sport itself that can provide a sense of accomplishment.

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<sup>154</sup> Przybylski, et al., “Motivational, Emotional, and Behavioral Correlates of Fear of Missing Out,” *Computers in Human Behavior* 29, no. 4 (2013),

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

The intention of this study was to use content analysis and determine the effect, if any, that the local newspaper(s) of Austin – the *American* and the *Statesman* – had on driving interest in the game of golf and thereby creating a culture within the city that produced many high achievers in the sport. A literature review was conducted that provided background into similar studies, and an extensive data collection and analysis was conducted during which emergent themes were identified and discussed.

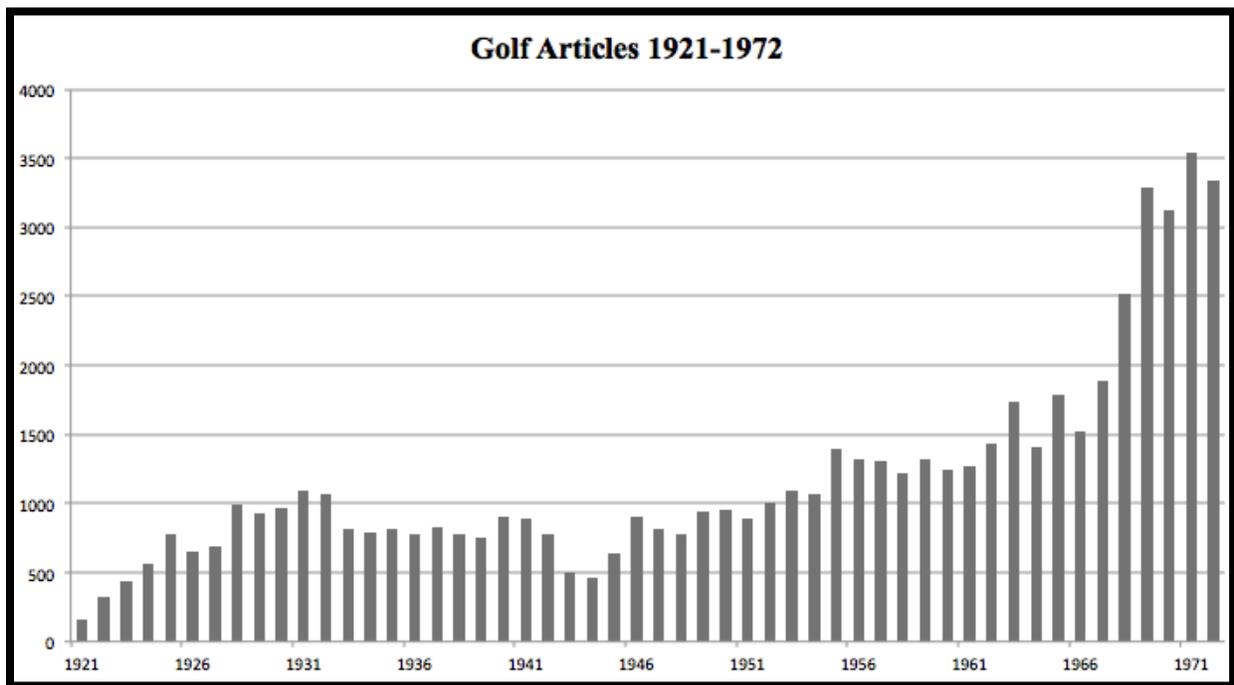
The first identified theme – appeal of the sport as a career choice and opportunity within the sport for recognition – dealt almost exclusively with the extrinsic motivating factors that would lead people to play golf frequently, most notably the ability to make a substantial amount of money and be recognized by society. The second theme explored how the media used its platform to promote the sport and concluded that the consistent promotion of golf would lead to motivation to participate based upon psychological desires to be included.

Two research aims were identified earlier in this study: to determine the effect, if any, that the local Austin newspaper(s) – the *American* and the *Statesman* – had on stimulating interest in the game of golf; and to describe what effect that increased interest had on the sporting culture of the city.

As to the first aim, it is concluded that based on the amount of stories produced as well as the content included in those stories that the newspapers of Austin had an effect on participation rate in golf during the examined time. In order to provide support for this claim, the number of entries the annual City Golf Championship was examined at the start of the study in 1958 and the

end of the study in 1965.<sup>155</sup> In 1958, the Fourth of July Tournament had 100 entrants and the City Championship had 88.<sup>156</sup> In 1965, the Fourth of July Tournament had 144 participants and the City Championship had 112.<sup>157</sup> If it is accepted that stories are written based upon popular attitudes towards something, then the following chart displaying the steady increase in articles printed from 1921-1972 is a wonderful representation as to the impact that the *Statesman* and *American* had on the sport of golf (see Figure 1).

**Fig.1. Distribution of Articles, 1921-1972**



To the second aim, identifying what affect the increase in participation had on the sporting culture of the city overall is a little more challenging, as measuring such a thing is

<sup>155</sup> The annual Fourth of July Open, known since 1967 as the Firecracker Open, is entering its 70<sup>th</sup> year in 2016, all but three of which have taken place at Lions Municipal Golf Course. An attempt was made to include this in the validation process, but a finite starting number for 1958 couldn't be identified as one tournament official stated in July 1958 that they were expecting between 100-125 participants. The cap for the following two years was 112, which was achieved in 1959 and 1960, and in 1961, the max number of participants rose to 144, which they also achieved in both 1961 and 1962. The current cap is at 164, with tournament director, and former champion Llyod Morrison stating that due to size restrictions of Lions Municipal, that's as big as it can be.

<sup>156</sup> "Trio Leads Municipal Play," published May 3, 1958, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

<sup>157</sup> "Puett Heads Golf Tourney," published May 22, 1965, accessed via ProQuest online databases.

somewhat imprecise in terms of quantification. However, a way in which it could be loosely measured is by looking at the legacy of the studied culture. If aspects of the studied culture are still present in the current golfing culture in Austin, then it can be concluded that the culture created through exposure to the sport was very impactful in relation to the sporting culture of the city. In order to identify whether or this culture exists, ancillary research has been conducted regarding how the sport of golf is viewed in the city of Austin in 2016, both within the city and nationally.

It was determined that examining the legacy of the studied culture would be the best place to start, so searches were conducted to identify high achieving players of the era, or which players from that time are still involved with the game of golf. Two of the most famous products of the studied era, Tom Kite and Ben Crenshaw, are still active in the golfing community locally as well as nationally, with Kite still competing on the Champions Tour. The two of them are the most well known golfers from the studied era of golf in Austin. They both learned under Penick at ACC and played under Hannon at Texas, winning back-to-back team national championships in 1971 and 1972. However, Kite and Crenshaw are only two of many that have gone on to impact the world of golf. Their coach at UT, George Hannon, coached “fifty or sixty” golfers in his time at Texas that went on to become club professionals, some of whom helped establish the Hannon Cup, a local golf tournament that has provided \$145,000 in secondary education scholarships through the Southern Texas PGA Foundation.<sup>158</sup>

Other players of this era include the Wille brothers, Steve and Jep. Steve, the younger of the two, is currently on staff at the University of Texas at Austin as a professor in sport communication after completing a successful career in golf marketing that saw him help the

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<sup>158</sup> “History of the Hannon Cup Association,” accessed April 21, 2016, <http://hannonsociety.org/membership/>.

PGA develop charity events through television advertisements and ended up with him heading marketing for one of the most iconic golf courses in America, Pebble Beach.<sup>159</sup> Jep holds the distinction as the only player in Austin golf history to have won the career grand slam of Austin golf “majors.” His career as a golf course architect has allowed him to build courses in Texas and New Mexico, and in 2012, he was asked to help revamp the then-closed Morris Williams Golf Course, to which he received rave reviews.<sup>160</sup>

In addition to the legacy of the studied era, care for the artifacts of the era is also prominent in 2016. The artifacts in question are none other than the courses themselves. The first course ever built in Austin, the site of the first Austin Country Club, still plays host to local players daily. The scenery has changed since 1899, but the nine-hole layout of what is now known as the Hancock Golf Course is considered to be the oldest continuously played course in the state.<sup>161</sup> The course is named after Lewis Hancock, the former mayor of Austin who helped organize Austin’s first golf club and it was also the site where Harvey Penick got his start in coaching. It is considered a rite of passage for the golfing community in Austin. While not as old as Hancock, the Lions Municipal Golf Course is one of the most revered in the state. The course opened in 1924 and has hosted some of the greatest golfing talent ever to play in Austin; it is also considered to be the first racially integrated golf course south of the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>162</sup> Any drive through the Tarrytown neighborhood in which the course is situated will provide a number of chances to see signs emblazoned with two words: “Save Muny.” This fight to save Muny from

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<sup>159</sup> “Jep and Steve Wille,” *Golf Austin*, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.golfaustin.org/our-golf-community/history-of-golf-in-austin/jep-and-steve-willie-a-lifetime-of-golf-in-austin-and-beyond/>.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> “Hancock Golf Course,” *Golf Texas*, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://www.golftexas.com/golf-courses/central/austin/hancock-golf-course.htm>.

<sup>162</sup> “History of Lions Municipal,” *Save Muny*, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.savemuny.com/history.html>.

being developed has been happening in Austin since the 70s.<sup>163</sup> The course will host the seventieth consecutive Firecracker Open in 2016, a tournament that, while open to entrants from across the state is comprised mainly of Austin residents.<sup>164</sup>

A combination of sunny weather, named course designs, as well as affordable golf helped Austin earn the title of *Golf Magazine's* top golf city in America for the second time in 2016. The city currently boasts thirty-two public golf courses, a far cry from the two municipal courses the city operated fifty years ago, as well as multiple resort courses that golfers from around the world come to enjoy. Lastly, if there was any more proof needed about the culture of golf that still exists in Austin, the World Golf Championships Dell Match Play event that was held at ACC sold out faster than at any other time in the tournament's history.<sup>165</sup>

It is concluded that the second aim of this study can be described as a lasting legacy and culture of support for the game of golf, born on the golf courses and cultivated in the newsrooms of Austin. The second hypothesis is also accepted, as it is evident that the newspapers provided enough opportunities for those who wanted to play golf to do so through the constant promotion of the sport that it paved the way for the acceptance of the sport as part of the culture of the city.

Based on this entire body of data examined, stories, my conclusion to the overall research is that not only did the media actively attempt to create a culture in Austin that would accept golf as a valuable sport, but that it succeeded in doing so.

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<sup>163</sup> Martin Kaufmann, "Backers of Lions Municipal Believe 'Muny' is Worth Saving," *Golf Week*, published April 21, 2016, <http://golfweek.com/2016/04/21/courses-backers-lions-municipal-believe-muny-worth-saving/>.

<sup>164</sup> Wheeler, *When Golf Was Fun*, accessed on Kindle, location 3207.

<sup>165</sup> "World Golf Championships-Dell Match Play Tickets Sold Out," World Golf Championships, accessed April 21, 2016, <http://www.worldgolfchampionships.com/dell-match-play/news/2015/10/23/world-golf-championships-dell-match-play-tickets-sold-out.html>.

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