

'Top of the Tree': Examining the Irish Print News Portrayal of the World's Best Female Amateur Golfer During her Transition to Professional Golf.

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Introduction

This chapter examines Irish print newspaper coverage of Leona Maguire, a professional golfer from Cavan, in the Republic of Ireland. From 2005, aged 11, Maguire and her twin sister Lisa became visible in the sports media in Ireland for their early age golf talents. Since then, there have been over fifteen hundred articles written about Leona in the national papers, in the north and south of Ireland. Given this level of attention, there is a need to critically consider the media coverage of Maguire, particularly when set against an ever-increasing discussion around representations of female athletes in both academic and media discourses.¹ The aim of this chapter, then, is to investigate print media representations of Leona Maguire as a young female athlete during the year 2018, a time she transitioned from the top of the world of amateur golf to the professional ranks. 2018 was also a significant year for women's sport, following debates on pay parity and sponsorship, increased visibility of female analysts and commentators, and the growing presence of female athletes in online media.² Traditionally, female athletes in the sports media were either ignored, or sexualised and trivialised in 'pretty or powerful' discourses that situated femininity in opposition to athleticism.³ Here, the authors assess the extent to which such tendencies have been reproduced or deviated from, and the part that constructions of national identity play in Maguire's representation. The ensuing sections outline some background on Leona Maguire, along with existing literature on professional women's golf, media representations of female athletes and golfers, and the critical feminist

outlook used in this paper, before presenting the analysis of the Irish print media coverage of Maguire. This chapter highlights a largely positive shift away from traditional ways in which female athletes have been represented in the print sports media. In the case of Maguire, this shift is one that is framed by national discourses, which serve to somewhat legitimise her place in the Irish sport media. However, questions remain around the quality and quantity of female sports coverage, particularly when juxtaposed with coverage of men's golf.

Leona Maguire and women's professional golf

Leona and her twin sister Lisa have achieved significant feats in amateur golf, winning numerous international tournaments in Ireland, Britain, Europe and the USA at both individual and team level. Having represented both the Junior European Ryder Cup and Solheim Cup teams, the Maguire twins became the youngest players ever to play at the Vagliano Trophy (2009) and Curtis Cup (2010). Representing Ireland, she also won the European Championships in 2009, a first for an Ireland girls' team. Having completed primary and secondary school in Ireland, and achieving highly commendable Leaving Certificate results, in 2014 the Maguires left Ireland to join the golf programme at Duke University in North Carolina, USA. While there Leona excelled; in three of her four years there she won the Mark H. McCormack medal for the number one female amateur golfer in the world (2015, 2016 and 2017). In 2015 she was invited to partake in a professional event, the Ladies European Masters on the Ladies European Tour (LET) and finished runner up, ineligible to accept the €50,000 prize money. In 2016, she represented Ireland at the Olympic Games and, as one of just three amateurs in the field of 60 players she finished 21st,

with her sister Lisa caddying. In the same year she won the Smyth Salver as the leading amateur at the Ricoh Women's British Open. In 2018, Maguire broke Lydia Ko's record for the number of weeks as number one in the world amateur golf rankings (134 weeks) and she finished her college career that year with the lowest career scoring average record. Later in 2018 the twins turned professional, signing to Niall Horan's golf management company Modest! Golf, and making their professional debuts on the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) Tour. At the end of 2018 Leona missed out on the final stage of qualifying for the LPGA Tour by one shot, and subsequently received a card on the secondary Symetra Tour. In December 2018, Leona earned her LET tour card. In April 2019, she won her first event as a professional on the Symetra Tour, the Windsor Golf Classic, earning her \$22,500 in prize money.

The life of a professional athlete, and particularly that of a professional golfer, is often presented as a highly sought after, idyllic existence with a generous rewards system. However, while the financial rewards for the top male golfers is increasing, the majority of professional golfers fare poorly; some players 'gamble' on pursuing golf, while others have made conflicting choices to sign restrictive contracts for regular pay as opposed to monetary uncertainty.⁴ Disparities exist between male and female professional golf, in terms of visibility, endorsements and prize money. Although golf provides an avenue through which women can play professionally, more men have the opportunity to do so, and when they do, they make more money than women. Approximately one third of LPGA players will break even or make a profit in an average tournament, once they have accounted for expenses, caddy fees and entry fees.⁵ In 2018 the prize money available at the men's British Open was \$10.5 million, compared to \$3.25 million for the women's British Open. In 2018, when Francesco Molinari earned £3,652,504 on the European Tour, the top earner on the

LET (Georgia Hall) accumulated £456,110. This was only marginally more than the 75th ranked European Tour player, Ashley Chesters (£450,231), whereas finishing 75th on the LET earned Kelsey MacDonald £14,508.⁶ Along with financial pressure, Douglas and Carless revealed situations of considerable psychological distress amongst women professional golfers, with examples of self-harm, bullying, loneliness, family difficulties and inability to cope with the demands of professional sport.⁷ In terms of visibility, while there are over thirty male professional golfers from Ireland on worldwide golf tours, the Maguire twins (along with Stephanie Meadow) make up the only known female professional golfers from Ireland on international golf tours.

Print media representations of female athletes and golfers

Sport, including golf, is often constructed as a male domain and the sports media and hegemonic masculinity are often inextricably linked.⁸ Women's inclusion within the sports media is thus problematic; when women do find themselves on the sports pages of the popular press, they are often represented in ways that restrict our imagination about women's sport and reinforce the hegemonic position of men in sport.⁹ While the sports media can be used as source of empowerment, it often still adopts traditional approaches in the presentation of women, where they are trivialised, sexualised and underrepresented, while men's sport is privileged.¹⁰ Ciaran Dunne's study of photographic representations in the *Irish Times* newspaper (see his chapter in this volume) found that sportswomen and women's sports are undervalued and underreported.¹¹ There is evidence of change, however, with some movements towards a greater awareness and coverage of female athletes in the sports media. Petty and Pope's study of media coverage of the 2015

women's World Cup found a removal of gender marking, where women's sport was reported *as sport*.¹²

While the global game of professional golf can result in touring professional golfers being defined as 'borderless athletes', through media depictions internationally recognised professional golfers such as Maguire can take on cultural significance and become viewed as embodiments of the nation and national character.¹³ In terms of female athletes, media coverage of international sporting events, or events where athletes are marked by their nationality may be less likely to be gender marked. These 'media rules' are 'bent' when presenting international sportswomen who are representing and, more importantly, winning for the nation.¹⁴ Similarly, in contrast to gender ideologies of female weakness, Toni Bruce highlights how female athletes, when representing the nation, can be 'represented in ways that emphasised physical power, strength and domination', and a later study describes how women are valued as athletes rather than 'women' or 'female athletes' when representing the nation.¹⁵ Significantly in Ireland, following Katie Taylor's 2012 London Olympic win the Irish media emphasised her transgressive power, her gender and her national identity and even the potential for her to challenge sexism and traditional gender binaries.¹⁶ Free suggests that the Irish media presented her as a figure of cultural and gendered conservatism, where, 'she is both contained by her media representation, and contains herself within the strictest hegemonic discourse of chaste, dutiful, "Irish", femininity.' Although Bairner notes that middle class individual sports such as golf often don't associate with national identity, given that moments of national identity are associated with sportswomen's success, this study may make a useful contribution to understanding the mediated individual female athlete in Ireland.¹⁷

Female golfers in the sports media have an ambivalent history, where golf media has been shown to replicate the same exclusionary practices that are evidenced within the game. Although it has been highlighted that rising audience interest in women's golf brought about challenges to golf's 'masculine hegemonic entrenchment,' both televised and print media coverage of golf have continued to offer representations that reinforce divisions of gender, class, disability and race.¹⁸ Two studies of golf magazines revealed how women were underrepresented and deemed inferior athletes and spectators of golf who lived conventionally feminine, hetero-normative lifestyles.¹⁹ In Billings, Angelini and Eastman's examination of over 200 hours of nationally televised PGA and LPGA golf across eight US television networks, a multitude of gender differences in on-air golf announcing was found.²⁰ They described how women golfers were more likely to be described in terms of why they succeeded or failed (with luck as a major factor), whereas men were more likely to be described in terms of their physicality or personality. Research on the media coverage of Annika Sorenstam's involvement in the 2003 PGA Colonial Tournament offered some challenge to the traditional depictions of women in the golf media; on the one hand, commentators were likely to highlight Sorenstam's emotions and outside pressures, but on the other, there were also examples of non-gendered explanations of her successes too.²¹ More recent research by the authors describes the print media representation of professional female golfers as a double-edged sword, with positive, informed coverage littered with gendered language.²²

Theoretical framework and methodology

The latest golf participation figures indicate the low visibility of females in the game worldwide, with females typically comprising less than a fifth of all participants in Great Britain and Ireland.²³ Historically, golf club settings have been unequal and exclusionary institutions, where females have struggled to gain a presence and gender discrimination has been experienced by female golfers of all ability levels.²⁴ Exclusionary practices continue to impact the modern game, where women still struggle for equality of access, participation, employment and decision making.²⁵ Historical golf traditions and institutionalised gendered practices contribute to a culture that inhibits involvement and legitimises inequality, and women have been regarded as outsiders in the world of professional golf, even on the LPGA tour.²⁶ Taking this into account, this chapter is theoretically framed by critical feminism, a perspective that acknowledges underlying gendered relations. While feminist perspectives that focus on equality and discrimination are criticised for oversimplifying females' diversified dispositions, critical feminists write in relation to power, where gender relations are often defined by hegemonic masculinity and supported by cultural norms of male domination and female subordination. Feminist analyses of the sports media 'have been at the forefront of interrogating gendered hierarchies and gendered expressions of power'.²⁷ Thus, critical feminism as used in this chapter acknowledges the normalisation of patriarchal power relations.²⁸

A large body of research exists that centres on print media analyses of female athletes, with this methodology featuring significantly in qualitative research into women's golf, and in examinations of female athletes in Ireland.²⁹ This research extends this work by investigating the print media coverage of Maguire as a professional female golfer within newspapers in Ireland. News articles written about Maguire in 2018 were collected via the online electronic news database Nexis UK, through which the authors searched for full text

newspaper articles from publications on the island of Ireland, using the keywords 'Leona' and 'Maguire' (both anywhere in the text). From her first appearance in August 2005, up until December 2018, there were 1686 articles written about Maguire in Irish print publications. Following an initial examination for duplicates and other anomalies, and filtering for national news, this resulted in 134 articles from the following print media outlets: *The Irish News*, *Belfast Telegraph*, *The Irish Times*, *Irish Independent*, *Sunday Independent*, *Irish Daily Mail*, and *Irish Examiner*.

Following an initial reading of the data set, the number of articles for analysis was reduced to 116, to account for 18 irrelevant articles, or those where Maguire's name was mentioned without elaboration. Of these 116 articles, 44 had Maguire as headline news, 33 focused on men's golf (professional and amateur), 29 centred on women's golf, and 13 were on wider golf topics. As part of the data collection, the researchers recorded a number of particulars about the data, including the date, newspaper, journalist, headlines, page number/section, associated image and word count. Of the 116 articles, 32 had an associated image (28%). Five of these photos were of Maguire alone, with four of Maguire alongside her twin sister Lisa. The other images were of male professional golfers (10), female amateur golfers (7) and others (6).

All 116 articles were subject to a process of thematic data analysis. Braun and Clarke identify six phases of thematic analysis, including immersion, searching for and identifying themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and writing the report.³⁰ The analysis of each text was carefully managed by both researchers through a process of open and axial coding, over multiple stages. Initially, both researchers were involved in open coding the dataset in isolation, where the researchers immersed themselves in the data and

read the newspaper articles. In this stage, early patterns and themes were identified through open coding, and all themes were reviewed independently by the authors. The next stage of the analysis involved a form of axial coding, where the researchers combined to jointly analyse the identified open codes and early themes, again searching for significant patterns in the data set across the researchers' initial analyses. The final stage of the analysis involved the two researchers jointly analysing the key themes identified from the data set and initial analysis process. The major themes were identified as: (1) Maguire as a legitimate or serious athlete, (2) Maguire as a model Irish citizen, and (3) coverage of Maguire dovetailing with coverage of men's golf. The ensuing sections detail these themes.

'Top of the Tree' – Maguire as a legitimate athlete

One of the striking features of the print coverage of Maguire was an appreciation of her as a legitimate athlete who has experienced vast success. Maguire's high profile of achievements and records were frequently documented, for example in February *The Irish Times* reported:

Last year the Cavan native claimed five wins on the US collegiate circuit and topped it off by taking the Annika Award for the best player of the year in American college women's golf and in doing so became the only one ever to win the award twice. However, her biggest win came at the British Amateur Championship at Pyle & Kenfig which helped her to extend her lead at the summit of the rankings.³¹

Maguire's position at the 'top of the tree' either as world number one or world number two was mentioned in 31 of the 116 total articles, in both headlines and as descriptors in the main body of text.³² For example, this headline in February featured in *The Irish Times*: 'Leona notches up another milestone; Cavan native has broken the record for number of weeks ranked amateur world number one'.³³ Later in the year, in an in-depth piece, Brian Keogh wrote, '...her college record - two National Player of the Year awards and 10 career wins en route to breaking Lydia Ko's record for the most weeks at the top of the World Amateur rankings with 135...'³⁴ Following the end of her 135-week reign as the female world amateur number one, Maguire's world ranking of second (and often her former success as the best amateur in the world), was still drawn upon extensively by journalists:

'Currently second in the World Amateur Golf Ranking, Maguire has achieved almost all her amateur goals'.³⁵

'The former amateur world No 1 will tee it up at the LET's new Andalucia Open de Espana'.³⁶

Alongside Maguire's prominent position as one of the most successful female amateur golfers of all time, much of the reporting focused on her impressive feats and golf ability. For example:

'...it was Maguire's (below) sixth consecutive round in the 60s as a pro'.³⁷

'Leona Maguire opened with a five-under 65 to share the lead'.³⁸

‘Maguire posted five birdies - at the sixth, eighth, 10th, 12th and 16th - in a bogey-free 67 final round before adding the critical extra birdie at the first playoff hole to guarantee her full tour card’.³⁹

Maguire was frequently termed a ‘star’ (19 articles) while other affirmative descriptors such as prodigy, talent and professional were used interchangeably. Related to performance was her presentation as focused and nerveless, particularly in gaining her professional LET tour card at the end of the year. During LET qualifying in December, Brian Keogh used the headline, ‘Maguire full of confidence’, while she was also described as making sure ‘each stride has been solid and surefooted so far’.⁴⁰ An *Irish Independent* headline post-tournament read ‘Maguire holds nerve to claim Tour card in tense play-off’.⁴¹ Presenting Maguire in this way is in contrast to the ways in which the media presented female professional golfers in the past, as led by emotions and succeeding because of luck.⁴² Unlike historical representations of female athletes, and similar to the authors’ recent study, the print media reports here afford Maguire the credibility and legitimacy of a serious professional golfer.⁴³

Maguire as a model Irish citizen

Less conspicuous but ever present in the print media coverage was the multi-faceted presentation of Maguire’s Irishness. Given that Maguire was in college in the USA in the four years up to 2018, and the fact that she remained in the USA through her transition from amateur to professional golf, she could be considered a global or at least international athlete. In spite of this, tags of locality and place were regularly used to describe her. Maguire was described as ‘Ireland’s Leona Maguire’ (4 times), Irish (4 times), while she was

also described as a 'leading Irish professional golfer', 'representing Ireland at the Olympics' and a member of the Britain and Ireland Curtis Cup team.⁴⁴ The *Irish Examiner* reported 'she represented Ireland at the 2016 Olympics, led the Britain & Ireland team to victory in the 2016 Curtis Cup, and won the 2017 Ladies British Open Amateur Championship'.⁴⁵ Much more prominent than the national tags in the print coverage was the description of Maguire as a golfer from Cavan/County Cavan, or a Cavan native (26 times), and as from Slieve Russell (17 times), though the Slieve Russell tag only appeared in articles following her announcement that she was turning professional. All of this evidence combined illustrates the regularity with which local and national citizenship was attributed to Maguire. Similar to the first theme above, the use of national/local identity here supports the construction of Maguire as a valued athlete and legitimises her as a national sporting representative. Similar to Harris et al.'s research on the presentations of the USA Ryder Cup team in American print media, the use of local and national tags to describe her might reflect a sense of attachment by the print media in Ireland and reframes Maguire from being simply an individual professional golfer to a symbol of Cavan and Ireland.⁴⁶

Further to Maguire's depiction as a local and national representative, there is evidence of the media describing her using personality traits which could be understood as valued national characteristics. Maguire was presented as a 'genuine female role model', a sentiment cited in interviews with Irish amateurs Sara Byrne and Molly Dowling.⁴⁷ It was expected that her success 'will also attract new players to the game'.⁴⁸ An *Irish Times* article written by Philip Reid described Maguire as hard-working, modest, humble, a prodigy, a disciple and the hottest player in the amateur ranks.⁴⁹ Free wrote about this in relation to boxer Katie Taylor, where she was repeatedly framed as focused, disciplined and modest, all of which fitted within the cultural ideal in Irish sport of 'not getting above yourself'.⁵⁰

Maguire's education and academic achievements were regularly mentioned; she was described as 'the teacher's daughter', referring to her parents, both of whom are primary school teachers.⁵¹ Maguire's 'impressive academic and sporting achievements' were alluded to, and she was also described as 'hugely gifted academically'.⁵² There was some discussion around academic and career choice, where 'Maguire will combine finishing her academic studies with more collegiate golf events'.⁵³ There was mention of both Lisa and Leona refusing the opportunity to turn professional 'until completing their degrees', while Leona's pursuit of a degree in psychology was mentioned a further 4 times.⁵⁴ Leona was quoted as saying:

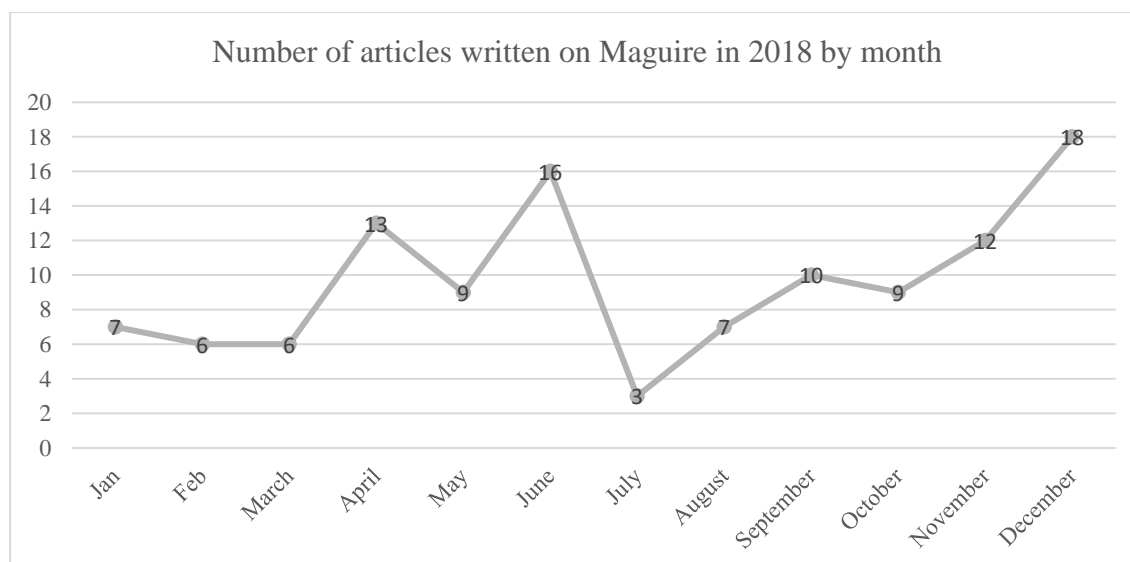
The number one thing Pdraig (Harrington) said to us a few years ago at an awards ceremony was that the hard work it would take to complete our studies and get a degree would be the same hard work it takes to succeed on tour.⁵⁵

The depiction of education is indicative of the class-based nature of golf, and particularly the cultural capital that revolves around the game in Ireland; it may also be illustrative of the class profile of newspaper readership.⁵⁶ Further, some of the media discourse around Maguire's personal characteristics could be aligned with the systematic focus on academic excellence and achievement related to middle class girls and schooling in Ireland.⁵⁷ This multi-faceted presentation of Maguire as a role model, humble, hard-working, and highly educated, demonstrates what has been termed 'the model citizen'.⁵⁸ Here, Maguire's national and local identities have superseded the other constructs, but the centrality of gender and social class ideals are significant, something which will be further alluded to in the conclusion.

Coverage of Maguire dovetailing with coverage of men's golf

This theme deals with the positioning and quantity of coverage on Maguire within and between articles on men's amateur and professional golf. The peak time in the calendar for golf media coverage is the summer months. As outlined in Figure 1, over half of the 116 articles on Maguire were written in the months excluding April through August; this is surprising considering that the peak season for women's golf is also in the summer months.

Figure 1. Number of articles written on Maguire in 2018 by month:



Of the 44 articles with headlines mentioning Maguire, just 16 are between June and October, while there are 14 alone in December, a month that is often considered as off-season. Of these 14 articles, eleven were about Maguire's performance at qualifying school, two featured Stephanie Meadow and one was an end of year review.⁵⁹ Whilst Figure 1 demonstrates the significance of increased coverage around Maguire's move to turn professional towards the end of the calendar year, it also highlights the marked drop in coverage in the summer months, particularly in July and August. While the total quantity of print coverage dedicated to golf in the sports pages by calendar month is unknown, three of

the four men's major golf championships took place in these two months in 2018, and it is possible that this negatively affected the coverage dedicated to Maguire. It seems that even if Maguire were to pull off a high-profile tournament win in the summer months, the print coverage of such a feat might be undermined by coverage on men's golf at that time.

Of the 116 articles included in the analysis, 33 of the articles on Maguire were shared with men's amateur or professional golf; the authors deemed these 'shared' articles. Whilst the spread of articles on Maguire across the calendar year is significant, also of interest to the authors here is the quantity of coverage within these shared articles. Of these 33 articles, 15 (47%) had associated images. In the overall dataset of 116 articles, just 28% of these had an associated photo, perhaps confirming the prominence of the shared articles. In some instances, in the 33 shared articles, Maguire was presented almost as an afterthought, usually at the end of the article. For example, in a piece on Rory McIlroy, Maguire was named alongside other players from Ireland in the last line: 'Michael Hoey and Cormac Shervin are in action in the SSE Scottish Hydro Challenge, with Leona Maguire and Stephanie Meadow set to tee it up tomorrow in the Symetra Tour's Island Resort Championship'.⁶⁰ In an article on the PGA Tour's BMW Championship, the final paragraph was dedicated to Maguire: 'on the Symetra Tour, Leona Maguire closed with a four-under 68 to finish tied for 11th on 10-under par in the Garden City Charity Classic in Kansas'.⁶¹ Eight of the 33 articles had Maguire as the headline story, and in some of these, her achievements dominated the piece.⁶² However, other articles where Maguire was the headline were accompanied by minor reporting. For example, in September 2018 in the first round of a Symetra Tour event, Maguire shot a five under par 65 to share the lead, and the only newspaper article to cover her performance gave it very little space.⁶³

In relation to the 33 articles shared with men's golf, the authors calculated the percentage of coverage (word count) dedicated to Maguire, which ranged from 2% of the article to 85%, with the average calculated as 24%. In only two instances was more than half of the word count dedicated to her. On the one hand, the strategy by the media to include brief coverage of Maguire's performance within the reporting of the men's game draws attention to the women's tours. As explained in Crosset's ethnographic research on the LPGA tour, 'any press coverage (even hurtful) is better than no press'.⁶⁴ However, it can also serve to maintain men's golf in its hegemonic position, as Olympian Sara Treacy outlined in an interview: 'it's pages and pages about the same sports, same players. You very rarely read about Leona Maguire, for example, but if she was a male golfer she would be all over the papers'.⁶⁵ Even though some of this coverage is bitesize, it is worth considering that Maguire appeared as the headline in 8 of these 33 articles. When compared with the photographic coverage of Maguire within these shared articles, it appears that the newspapers were much more likely to use Maguire for headline attention than for image purposes.

The evidence here suggests that men's golf coverage may dictate the timing and extent of coverage on women's professional golf, where articles on Maguire dovetailed within and between, and sometimes at the end of coverage on men's golf. Unsurprisingly, a hierarchy of coverage exists between male and female golfers, where, perhaps, the exploits of Maguire were used to fill the column inches within quieter periods of men's golf. Along with this, men's golf dominated the articles that were shared with Maguire, in headlines, word count and associated images. In these instances Maguire was more likely to be used for headline than image purposes. Overall, in the quest for greater media coverage for

female athletes, it appears perhaps that it is not better performances that will earn female professional golfers more acclaim, it is performing at the right time in the season.

Concluding remarks

Using the Bruce's rules of traditional media coverage of female athletes, the print representation of Maguire positions her within the 'current rules' where, rather than typical examples of sexualisation and gender marking of female athletes in the media, she is portrayed as a serious athlete and a model citizen.⁶⁶ Aside from Maguire's depiction as 'the teacher's daughter', 'a genuine female role model', 'the Cavan woman', and a handful of descriptors linking her to Irish women's golf, the language used in the media representations of Maguire is gender neutral.⁶⁷ Gender was in fact, conspicuous by its absence, and, in contrast to Koivula's findings, Maguire was often referred to by her last name, thereby mirroring the presentation of male athletes.⁶⁸ Negating the positioning and quantity of the print coverage, descriptions of Maguire appear to be purely based on a factual discussion of either her upcoming tournaments, her mid tournament performances or her final tournament score and ranking. These gender-neutral representations of Maguire mark a shift away from how female athletes have been traditionally presented and represent some progress of the print media's coverage of a sport which historically has been gender segregated. On the surface, the absence of traditional media depictions of a female athlete here is positive. However, the quantity and positioning of the coverage, and the lack of in-depth pieces that might convey an athlete's personality, performances and career trajectory were few in number. Just nine of the 116 articles on Maguire were over 500

words, with three of these shared with her sister Lisa, and another three published in early January as 'season preview' pieces.

More significant than gender in the representation of Maguire was the centrality of place, and more specifically, her association with Cavan, Slieve Russell and Ireland. These local and national identities became central to the presentation of Maguire in the newspaper articles. This strategy has been observed by others, including Bowes and Bairner who describe how women in international sport have a role to play in embodying the nation.⁶⁹ Though it has been reported that professional golf is 'relatively inured from displays of nationalism', there are always indicators of nationhood, none more obvious than the national flags that are placed next to the names of each competitor on tournament scoreboards.⁷⁰ Depicted as the 'model citizen', Maguire became a representative of her locality and nation, quite apart from female professional golfers in the authors' recent study, who represented both nation and gender.⁷¹ However, while the focus on Maguire's academic achievements in the articles is positive in and of themselves, they also hark back to dated and traditional depictions of female athletes, particularly (though small) in the description of non-sport related aspects of Maguire's life. The positioning of education in the articles is also potentially gender-related, where schooling is highly regarded among middle class girls in Ireland. Perhaps this is unsurprising when considering her position within the conservative, male dominated, middle class institution of golf. As such, the print articles convey important messages about gender, social class, golf and national identity to their readership.

In April 2019 Maguire won her first tournament as a professional, the Windsor Golf Classic Trophy. The following day her image appeared on the front page of the *Irish*

Independent, the most prominent newspaper in the coverage of Maguire presented here. Maguire is one of the five female athlete ambassadors in Ireland for the 20X20 media campaign which, among other goals, aims to increase media coverage of women's sport by 20% by 2020 (see Liston and O'Connor chapter). She also has active Twitter (5865 followers) and Instagram (2584 followers) profiles, through which she promotes her achievements, experiences and sponsors. While traditional media are important in the promotion of female athletes, new and online media may also give opportunities to athletes like Maguire to frame their own coverage and self-represent.⁷² Future research by these authors aims to further investigate the world of female professional golf, with a focus on athlete advocacy and new media representations of these athletes.

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² Kim Toffoletti and Catherine Palmer, 'Women and sport in Australia - new times?', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2019, pp. 1-6; Fiona McLachlan, 'It's boom time! (again): progress narratives and women's sport in Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2019, pp. 7-21.

³ Toni Bruce, 'New rules for new times: sportswomen and media representation in the third wave', *Sex Roles*, vol. 74, 2016, pp. 361-76.

⁴ John Fry, Daniel Bloyce, and Ian Pritchard, 'Professional golf – a license to spend money? Issues of money in the lives of touring professional golfers', *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, vol. 39 (3), 2015, pp. 179-201.

⁵ Todd W. Crosset, *Outsiders in the clubhouse: the world of women's professional golf*. 1995, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995).

⁶ Anonymous, *New world order*, in *Golf World*, (March, 2019), pp. 9-11.

⁷ Kitrina Douglas, and David Carless, *Women professional tournament golfers: a research project undertaken for UK Sport*, (London: UK Sport, 2006).

⁸ Mary Jo Kane, 'The better sportswomen get, the more the media ignore them'. *Communication & Sport*, vol. 1 (3), 2013, pp. 231-36.

⁹ Toni Bruce, 'Assessing the sociology of sport: on media and representations of sportswomen', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 50 (4-5), 2015, pp. 380-84.

¹⁰ Jennifer McClearen, 'Introduction: women in sports media: new scholarly engagements', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 18 (6), 2018, pp. 942-46; Jack Black and Beth Fielding-Lloyd, 'Re-establishing the 'outsiders': English press coverage of the 2015 FIFA women's world cup', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 53 (4), 2019, 282-301.

¹¹ Ciaran Dunne, 'An examination of the photographic coverage of sportswomen in the Irish print media: a study of an Irish broadsheet newspaper', *Sport in Society*, vol. 20 (11), 2017, pp. 1780-98.

¹² See Kay Biscomb and Gerald Griggs, "'A splendid effort!'" Print media reporting of England's women's performance in the 2009 Cricket World Cup', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 48 (1), 2013,

pp. 99-111; Ali Bowes and Niamh Kitching, "'Battle of the sixes": investigating print media representations of female professional golfers competing in a men's tour event', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, DOI: 10.1177/1012690219842544, 2019, pp. 1-21; Kate Petty and Stacey Pope, 'A new age for media coverage of women's sport? An analysis of English media coverage of the 2015 FIFA women's world cup', *Sociology*, vol. 53 (3), 2019, pp. 486-502.

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