

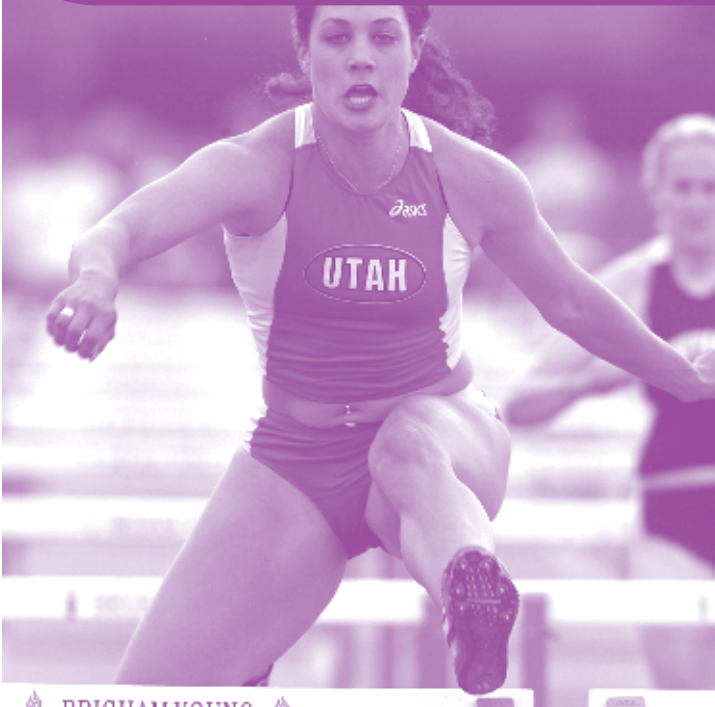


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Mianne Bagger: A Transitioned Woman's Efforts for Inclusion in Professional Golf

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Abstract

The presence of transitioned women in sport is currently a contested issue. Mianne Bagger, a transitioned woman, has been an important figure in developments related to this issue during her efforts to play on various women's professional golf tours. Using a standpoint perspective, which begins with the assumption that some social locations, such as those of marginalized individuals, are better starting points than others for seeking knowledge, the researchers interviewed Bagger about her experiences. Since she has begun seeking the right to play on various women's professional tours, a number of golfing organizations have introduced or created "gender policies" regarding who is allowed to participate. While such policy developments may seem on the surface to be progressive measures designed

In his popular *Sports in Society* textbook, Coakley (2007) frames much of his discussion around the concept of sports as *contested activities*. By this he means not only are sports literally contested on the field of play, but also that people regularly struggle and disagree over the meaning, purpose, and organization of sports. One question over which individuals within sport have frequently struggled is who will be allowed to participate and under what conditions. Recently, the presence of transgender and transitioned¹ persons in sport is one issue that has been a highly contested subject. As we will discuss, Mianne Bagger has been heavily involved with this contested issue during her efforts to compete on various women's professional golf tours. It is our hope that exploring Bagger's perspective and experiences will provide a valuable platform from which to analyze and critique the developments that have taken place impacting the participation of transgender and transitioned individuals in sport.

¹As Cavanagh and Sykes (2006) explain, "transitioning refers to the process through which one alters the sex of the body to bring it into alignment with an internal sense of what the sexed body should have been" (p. 77). In addition, Mianne Bagger favors the term "transitioned woman" to refer to herself when required.

One of the most notable recent developments in the contested issue of transitioned individuals' participation in sport is the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) 2004 Stockholm Consensus on sex reassignment in sports. The policy, recommended by the IOC Medical Committee, enables transitioned athletes having undergone sex reassignment surgery (SRS) after puberty to be eligible for competition so long as they have: 1) legal recognition of their gender from the appropriate official authorities, 2) undergone hormonal therapy administered by medical personnel for at least two years, and 3) lived in their newly-assigned gender for a minimum of two years following SRS (IOC, 2004). While the Stockholm Consensus has been praised by some as a progressive measure designed to include transitioned athletes, Cavanagh and Sykes (2006) argue that the policy is more similar to sex-tests used in the Olympics from 1968-2000 to police gender and is representative of efforts to manage the traditional gender binary. They contend that such attempts to manage gender come at a time when the sex of the body is increasingly being seen to be unstable and not determined by biology.

The Gay Games, which states its purpose as being "to foster and augment the self-respect of lesbians and gay men throughout the world and to engender respect and understanding from the nongay world, primarily through an organized international participatory athletic and cultural event held every four years," (Federation, 2009, ¶ 1) has struggled to develop an inclusive policy concerning "male, female, transgender, and intersex" athletes (Federation, 2004, Background section, ¶ 1). Sykes (2006) discusses how officials from the Gay Games have faced ongoing protests and pressure from trans activists, and in turn, have made numerous changes to their gender policy since 1994. She argues that despite the Gay Games' efforts at gender inclusiveness, the fact that the organization remains invested in the need for a gender policy "continues to be driven by the assumption that gender needs to be policed through policy in order to maintain the fairness of sporting competition" (p. 10). In other words, while the organizers of the Gay Games have aimed to be embracing of gender variance, they still remain committed to the use of policy to manage

gender. Overall, the resistance to changes in the gender binary shown in policies such as those of the IOC and Gay Games is indicative of a "pervasive anxiety about the instability of gender categories in various sporting contexts" (Sykes, 2006, p. 4).

Another example of the contested nature of transitioned individuals and sports participation that has been manifested in the form of a policy on participation is the United Kingdom's Gender Recognition Act 2004, which states its purpose as being to protect transsexuals' civil rights. Section 19 of the Act, however, facilitates sports organizations in excluding transitioned persons from participation on grounds of either "fair competition" or "safety." In a critique of the Gender Recognition Act's sporting exception, McArdle (2008) contends that neither ground of exclusion can be established in light of existing case law on transgender rights and current medical knowledge. He also argues that the Act's sporting exception is representative of a greater struggle over the legitimate use of the sporting body. Along with recent policy developments such as those of the IOC and Gay Games, the Gender Recognition Act's sporting exception is indicative of uneasiness with gender variance and an investment in the need to police the gender binary in the world of sport.

Notably, however, such developments are perhaps a sign that organizations have slowly begun responding to pressure from transgender activist groups and individuals. Specifically, organizations such as the Transsexual Menace, the Transgender Law Centre, and the online magazine TransHealth have influenced the policies of some mainstream sporting organizations (Sykes, 2006). Challenges have also been made by individuals such as tennis player Renee Richards, and more recently, mountain biker Michelle Dumaresq, kickboxer Parinya Charoenphol, and golfer Mianne Bagger. In particular, Bagger has been involved in a number of developments with respect to policy concerning participation by transitioned women in professional golf. For example, golf organizations such as the Ladies Golf Union, Ladies European Tour, and United States Golf Association, have addressed the issue of participation by transitioned women through various policy developments within the last few years. Such policy developments have coin-

cided with Mianne Bagger's efforts to gain the right to participate on various professional women's golf tours. Between 2004 and 2005, for example, the Ladies Golf Union of England (LGU, 2005), the Ladies European Tour (Golf, 2004), the Australian Ladies Professional Golf Tour (Membership, 2004), and the United States Golf Association (Gender policy, 2005) have removed requirements that all competitors in women's events must be female-at-birth. It is our hope that a discussion of the process through which Bagger has gone in seeking to play on various professional women's golf tours and her comments about her experiences will help provide readers with insight about these issues and the varied reactions of sporting organizations.

Methods and Research Process

There were several factors that led us to want to work with Mianne Bagger for this study. Specifically, in a study of a biographical nature one needs to find an individual who is accessible, willing to provide information, and distinctive for her/his accomplishments or who sheds light on a specific phenomenon or issue being explored (Cresswell, 1998). First, throughout the research process, Bagger was extremely accessible and helpful; this paper certainly would not have been possible without her assistance and willingness to provide information. In terms of being distinct for her accomplishments, in this article, we will talk about how Bagger has made a significant impact in challenging the participation policies of various golfing organizations and potentially raising awareness of transgender and transitioned peoples' rights through her participation in sport. In addition, we believe that examining the experiences of Mianne Bagger has the potential to shed light on issues that are relevant and important to transgender and transitioned individuals in sport. We believe that by giving attention to Bagger's viewpoint and experiences, it may help readers of this article develop a better understanding of issues related to transitioned persons in sport and how sporting organizations are reacting to such issues.

Our approach to this research is based upon a framework of *standpoint epistemology*. In our interviews and analysis, we sought to understand the standpoint

of Mianne Bagger on her own terms as much as possible. As meaning cannot be simply transferred from one individual to another, by no means can we claim to completely and fully understand Bagger's standpoint. However, through seeking an appreciation of her perspective and experiences, we hope to gain a fuller understanding of issues relevant to transitioned individuals participating in sport and the reactions of sporting organizations. In utilizing a standpoint perspective, we begin with the assumption that knowledge is socially situated and that some social locations, such as those of marginalized individuals, are better starting points than others for seeking knowledge (Harding, 1991, 1993; Olsen, 2005). For example, Krane (2001) uses standpoint epistemology to study the experiences of lesbian women in sport, noting that often they experience discrimination and are relegated to outsider or "other" status. Similarly, as a transitioned woman, Mianne Bagger has faced a significant amount of discrimination and has often been defined as an "other" in her attempts to play golf on women's professional tours. Thus, we believe that Bagger's standpoint is a valuable place from which to seek knowledge about issues faced by transitioned individuals in sport as well as to analyze and critique related policy developments implemented by golfing organizations.

Important in Harding's (1993) conception of standpoint epistemology is the idea of *strong objectivity*, which calls for critical examination of the researcher's social location. In other words, because knowledge claims are always socially situated, it is important for those in dominant groups to critically consider their advantaged social situation as well as the effects of such advantages on their beliefs. For us, this self-reflection brings to mind the question: why are we interested in researching this issue? The first two authors of this paper, who carried out the interviews used in the study, are males who have had stable gender identities their entire lives. In our discussions with each other and with other scholars, we have come to a few realizations that may provide some insight about how our research may be interpreted. Overall, our best explanation is that we feel the issue of transgender and transitioned individuals in sport is an important topic that is currently contested

in many ways but has not received much scholarly attention. Although the third investigator had previously conducted research involving interviews with a transitioned female athlete, the first two researchers were relatively uninformed about issues relevant to transgender and transitioned individuals in sport prior to beginning this research project. Thus, the social situation of the investigators played a key part in our use of standpoint epistemology in focusing our research on the perspectives of Mianne Bagger. Overall, we hope that providing some social situation of the researchers in this study will help give readers insight through which to better interpret our discussion and reach their own understandings.

Interview Procedures

The first two investigators of the study initially contacted Mianne Bagger through e-mail to inform her about the purpose of the research and to ask if she would be willing to participate. After she expressed her interest to participate, we gained the necessary approval from our university's Institutional Review Board to help ensure that the research was conducted in an appropriate manner. Our first interview with Bagger was conducted in April of 2006, prior to the start of the Ladies European Tour golf season, while she was still in Australia and the researchers in the United States. Our second interview took place approximately one month later, after Bagger had returned to Europe to begin her preparations for the forthcoming golf season. Both interviews were conducted over the telephone, and were audio taped and transcribed by the researchers to ensure accuracy. While there may be certain limitations associated with conducting interviews over the telephone, we believe that our continued correspondence with Bagger during the process of preparing this paper helped us gain better insight into her perspective, in turn, helping us to more accurately represent that perspective in this paper. In addition, Lee (1993) has argued that there is no reason to expect differences in disclosure between face-to-face or telephone interviews when examining sensitive topics.

Our interview techniques were guided by Van Manen's (1990) concept of the *hermeneutic interview*. In

the hermeneutic interview, the interviewee functions more as a co-investigator of the study than as a participant being researched. During our conversations, we attempted to establish a collaborative quality and asked Bagger to think critically and analytically about her experiences and the impact she has made in her efforts for inclusion on various professional golf tours. We were able to discuss the themes of our research with Bagger, as well as receive critical feedback from her. In addition, we asked Bagger to review the manuscript we had written prior to submission for publication to further ensure that her perspectives had been represented as accurately as possible. We believe that such an approach is appropriate within the framework of standpoint epistemology, as a standpoint approach challenges members of dominant groups to make themselves "fit" to engage in collaborative projects with marginal individuals by listening to and learning from those who have been marginalized (Harding, 1993). Overall, it is our hope that employing such a collaborative strategy as advocated by the hermeneutic interview enhances this paper's ability to provide insight into issues relevant to participation in professional sport from the perspective of a transitioned woman.

Results

A major purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Mianne Bagger as she became re-involved in golf after transitioning and eventually challenged various women's golfing organizations in her attempts to play professional golf. Thus, we will discuss, in a primarily chronological order, the process through which Bagger went in becoming reintroduced to the sport and her efforts to play professional golf. We will discuss the resistance she faced from golfing organizations and the strategies she used, such as interaction with members of the media, in attempting to challenge the policies of the organizations. Finally, we will detail Bagger's reaction to and interpretation of policy changes that have taken place since she has been playing professional golf.

Mianne Bagger was born in 1966 in Copenhagen, Denmark, and began playing golf around the age of eight. Her family moved to Australia in 1979, and she continued playing golf as a youth. When Bagger began

hormone replacement therapy at age 25, she said that golf was the farthest thing from her mind. At that time of her life, "golf was not even a consideration," Bagger said. It was not until years after undergoing sex reassignment surgery in 1995 that Bagger began to play golf again, initially just being invited along by some friends to play a recreational round. After joining a local club that had a "cheap membership," she began to play an increasing amount and was "quickly bitten again" by the sport that she had played so much while growing up. It is important to note that Bagger was completely open about her past in all the golfing events and accomplishments we will discuss in this process. Soon after taking up golf again, she went on to play in a pro-am tournament at her local club, and subsequently, one of the professional golfers in the event offered to coach her. She then joined a pennant team at her local club and began playing in competitions around Adelaide, Australia. Soon, Bagger was approached to join the women's South Australian State Squad, which played amateur state-level and national tournaments. It was after winning the 1999 South Australian State Amateur Championship that Bagger says media attention of herself began to increase.

With increased success and media coverage of her achievements, Mianne Bagger played for the state team of South Australia from 1999-2002 and achieved a ranking among the top 10 amateur women in Australia. In addition to receiving increased media coverage, Bagger found that for the first time, she was prohibited from participating in certain women's events due to fears that she may have an unfair advantage. For example, Bagger described that while she had been generally accepted in Australia, she was not allowed to play in some international team events due to gender policy restrictions. While she was initially unsure about such claims of her unfair advantage, as she had not yet researched the issue and looked at the medical facts, after playing for a few years and researching the issue, Bagger said she felt quite confident that she did not have an unfair advantage. Despite her certainty, however, Bagger described facing continual suspicion from others. As she explained:

Even if they came out to watch me play and saw that a number of the other girls were hitting it past

me – some of them way past me – they would still just say that if I happen to do well or win a tournament, that it was because of an unfair advantage.

Bagger described how she felt frustrated by these accusations because they were assumptions made by individuals without any knowledge of actual facts to support such claims. Also at this point in her life, Bagger felt that her amateur career could not go much further, and she was seeking to turn professional. It was in her efforts to turn professional that she found rules prevented her from competing professionally in Australia and on most golf tours around the world.

However, prior to turning professional Bagger received an invitation to play in the 2004 Australian Women's Open (a professional tournament) as an amateur competitor. Two weeks prior to the event, Bagger described how she "leaked" the news that she would be playing in the event to a journalist friend of hers. According to Bagger, this led to a story about her participation in the event being published on the front page of a Sydney newspaper and, in turn, a great deal of subsequent media attention. Specifically, on the day prior to the beginning of the tournament, Bagger recounted what she described as her first major press conference, where she spent about 30 minutes answering questions from members of the media. She described that she found most reporters "were just curious," and that many of them went on to write what she described as "great, factual articles." This was one of the first major instances, but certainly not the last, in which Bagger feels that she was able to work with members of the media to inform the public about her situation and bring to light issues concerning transitioned and transgender individuals that are normally not discussed.

After the 2004 Australian Women's Open, and having moved back to Denmark, Bagger aspired to play professional golf in Europe. She contacted the Telia Tour in Sweden, which did not have a female-at-birth requirement for its players, about playing in tour events. As Bagger describes, "they didn't develop any policy. They just discussed the issue, researched it, and I had a tour to go and play on." While playing on the Telia Tour in 2004, Bagger was also lobbying for other women's golf tours to change requirements that com-

petitors must be female at birth. She described initially contacting personnel at major tours throughout the world via e-mail but receiving no responses. Due to this lack of response, Bagger not only sent follow-up letters to the golf organizations, she also used other means in attempting to have her message heard. Specifically, Bagger again made use of the media to help the story of her attempts to play on women's golf tours receive more publicity and attention. As her story received more publicity in the media, more pressure was placed on the golf tours to address the issue of a transitioned woman seeking to play in events. For example, Bagger described that reporters would often contact her for updates about what interactions she had had with the golf tours on which she was seeking to play. When she informed members of the media that she had not received any response, those reporters would often contact tour officials directly to inquire about the subject. This "taking public" her efforts to play on various women's golf tours led to increased correspondence the tour officials and, perhaps, increased pressure on tour officials to respond to her requests.

Policy developments and resistance to change.

Unsurprisingly, Bagger has faced some resistance during the process of interacting with personnel from golf organizations. Because she feels strongly that she does not have an unfair advantage and because of the passion she had about wanting female-at-birth requirements to be changed, one might expect Bagger to be frustrated or angered at the resistance she encountered when interacting with golf organizations. However, while she did discuss some frustration, Bagger also reflected upon the fact that she found such resistance to policy change to be relatively reasonable in many cases. As she explained, "in hindsight, I can realize that the sports bodies were basically faced with an issue that they knew nothing about and didn't really know where to go to find out." Despite such resistance to change, a number of major golfing organizations, including the Ladies Golf Union of England, the Ladies European Tour, the Australian Ladies Professional Golf Tour,

and the United States Golf Association (USGA) have removed requirements that all competitors in women's events must be female-at-birth.

However, despite the fact that various golfing tours have made changes to their policies, Bagger has not perceived all such changes as being of a positive nature. For example, in March 2005, the USGA adopted a policy that "sets forth the procedures by which a transgendered player may participate in a USGA Championship" (Gender policy, 2005, Purpose section, ¶ 1). The policy has been hailed by some as a progressive measure designed to include transgender individuals. For instance, a headline about the USGA's policy change on the website *Outsports.com* hailed, "USGA Welcomes Trans Golfers" (Ziegler, 2005). On the conservative end of the spectrum, meanwhile, the USGA's policy has drawn the fire of groups such as the Concerned Women for America, which describes its mission as being to "protect and promote Biblical values among all citizens" (Concerned, 2007). Robert Knight, director of Concerned Women for America's Culture and Family Institute, said of the policy: "The USGA has now surrendered to the decadence and political correctness that is sweeping over Europe. One would have thought that the USGA would have had more backbone. The women's golf tour should be about women, not castrated males" (as cited in Lambert, 2005, ¶ 4). Thus, while the USGA's policy has been hailed by some as progressive and, in turn, attacked by conservative groups, Mianne Bagger's comments about the policy reveal how she frames it as anything but a progressive measure:

The USGA has done nothing to develop a policy to include transitioned women on tour. Rather, they have explicitly, through their policy, excluded transitioned women from competing on tour, and have disguised it as a policy to say they include people. It basically, what they request, is a signed waiver by the entrant giving the USGA complete and unrestricted access to one's medical records and pre-operative and post-operative psychiatric records. And I just find that horrendous. We are treated as a complete freak, and we are treated so differently to any other competitor with complete disregard to

the real facts and medical conditions involved in our treatment and the person who we are. It's an obvious policy developed based on emotion and fear.

Upon reflecting on Bagger's comments, we see some evident similarities between the USGA policy and the IOC's Stockholm Consensus, which Cavanaugh and Sykes (2006) critique as a measure that polices the traditional gender binary while being disguised as a progressive and inclusive measure. Similarly, the USGA policy may put on a guise of being a progressive measure, but Mianne Bagger feels that it is anything but inclusive of transitioned women. Rather than working to be inclusive of transitioned players, the USGA's policy may act to reinforce their status as "others," or as Bagger says, "complete freaks."

In contradistinction to the policy changes enacted by a number of aforementioned golfing organizations, the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) has maintained a policy that competitors must be female at birth. Mianne Bagger described the resistance she encountered when contacting the LPGA:

To change their rules, they need to rely on a membership vote. It's basically being left up to the personal opinion of their membership and how well-informed they are. But the problem is that this isn't something that should be left to anyone's personal opinion. This is not about opinion. This is purely about allowing females to compete in women's sport.

Bagger went on to voice her frustration with the LPGA's stance: "What they're saying is that they want every one of their members – professional golfers, not doctors or medical professionals – to be completely informed about medical and physiological issues. You know, sorry, hello, that's not going to happen." This last point brings up another important factor to consider when examining how sporting organizations have reached decisions related to gender policy. As Bagger lamented about many of the policies, "they are being determined by non-medical people. The policies are based on peoples' own personal opinions and ideals, not medical facts or science. It takes the form of people

in the sporting world deciding who is normal, and who is not." Overall, examining Bagger's experiences in her interactions with the LPGA highlights some of the complexity involved in this issue and the myriad factors that may impact the reactions and policy developments instituted by sporting organizations.

Discussion

The policy developments within women's golf which we have discussed may initially appear to be primarily motivated by the desire to maintain a level playing field for genetic women. As Bagger reflected, when she had success in women's golf events, some people would attribute that success to a masculine competitive advantage that they believed she possessed. However, we believe that the argument made by Cavanaugh and Sykes (2006), that the IOC's Stockholm Consensus was only manifestly about the rights of genetic women, has equal relevance to many of the policy developments that have occurred in women's golf. In an attack of the USGA's policy change, Robert Knight stated that "the blurring of the sexes is a direct insult to God and athletes who expect to compete with their own [gender]" (as cited in Lambert, 2005, ¶ 5). Much like Sykes (2006) argues that the gender policies established by sports organizations are representative of a "pervasive anxiety about the instability of gender categories in various sporting contexts" (p. 4), Knight's comments can be read as indicative of a fear of similar anxiety about the instability of gender categories in society in general. Just as with the Stockholm Consensus, policies in golf such as that of the USGA may be "driven by a compulsive attempt to validate the age-old western, categorical gender binary...in the face of social, medical, and legal uncertainty" (Cavanaugh & Sykes, 2006, p. 78). It is an investment in the need to manage the gender binary that may be at the heart of such policies, more so than simply a desire to preserve a level playing field.

Related to the apparent concerns about maintaining a level playing field for genetic females is a concern that policies such as those we have discussed would encourage genetic men to transition in order to pursue competitive success in women's sports. Birrell and Cole (1990) make this point when they state that it is "not at

all unlikely that some man would willingly sacrifice his penis for victory; drug abuse, steroid use, blood doping, urine transplants, overtraining, and risking life-threatening or severe injuries are all a part of the modern sport scene" (p. 18). We tend to agree with McArdle (2008), however, that this argument may be flawed. The strategies mentioned by Birrell and Cole could be seen as acts of over-conformity to the sport ethic (Coakley, 2007) and a celebration of masculinity in sport. Thus, such practices would seem quite at odds with a man undergoing sex reassignment surgery to compete in women's sport. In addition, Cavanagh and Sykes (2006) point out that an athlete who transitioned solely in pursuit of competitive success "would experience gender dysphoria: a feeling of being at odds with the sex of the body and the mind's imagination of it, which would undermine balance, coordination, and agility (all of which are necessary for superior athletic performance)" (p. 94). Further, through her own experience, Mianne Bagger describes the effects of such a condition as involving severe anxiety and depression, often leading to suicide by many people. As Bagger explains, though, she does not feel her gender was "changed" through having treatment and surgery; rather, she feels that it was corrected. Hence, if a person who had always identified himself as a man were to go through surgery to change the physical appearance of his gender, he would likely suffer a number of severely negative effects from a sense of being in conflict with the sex of his body. While it is impossible to say that no man would ever transition for the purposes of playing women's sport, the scenario that women's sports would be taken over or altered significantly by men transitioning with dreams of competitive success seems a highly unlikely possibility based on the ties between men's sport and masculinity and the prospects of suffering from gender dysphoria.

Another major issue relevant in examining the reactions of sporting organizations we have mentioned is, in a more general sense, the way in which society most commonly views transgender and transitioned individuals. As Mianne Bagger describes the way transitioned women are viewed in society:

We're not being treated as women. We're generally thought of as men with a psychological problem, or

males with a psychological problem, when in fact, we're really females with a physical problem. And it's not just saying, "I've decided to live as female so I want you to accept me as such" to the world. It is, "I am female and I am just a variation of female and this is how it needs to be understood."

As Sykes (2006) concludes, a capacity to live with instability is needed in the future development of sport gender policies. The reactions of many sporting organizations, however, and the way in which many people view transitioned and transgender individuals are representative of an inability to live with gender instability. This uneasiness with accepting gender variation and refusal to live with gender instability seem to be at the core of many of the reactions to transitioned individuals and policies formed by sporting organizations.

Conclusion

In this research, we have taken an approach based on a framework of standpoint epistemology in which we sought to center our analysis from the perspective of a transitioned woman, Mianne Bagger, as she went through a process of becoming re-involved with golf and seeking to play on women's professional tours. Because of our focus on Bagger's viewpoint, some might argue that we have chosen to frame this issue within "the classic American liberal tradition of the heroic struggle of one individual against the bureaucracy" (Birrell & Cole, 1990, p. 11). When Birrell and Cole wrote that line, they were criticizing the media's framing of Renee Richards' attempt to play as a female in the U. S. Open tennis tournament some 30 years ago. In terms of an individual struggling against bureaucracy, Bagger's story may contain a number of similarities to that of Richards. Thus, Birrell and Cole's criticism may apply to this article about Bagger's efforts to play professional golf. While this may be a limitation of this study, our purpose was to understand the standpoint of Mianne Bagger in her own terms rather than seeking to critique or deconstruct her viewpoint. We believe that Bagger's standpoint is a valuable place from which to "produce knowledge that can be *for* marginalized people (and those who would know what the marginalized can know) rather than *for* the use only of dominant

groups in their projects of administering and managing the lives of marginalized people" (Harding, 1993, p. 56), which is a key project of standpoint epistemology.

Overall, Mianne Bagger sees the efforts she has made for inclusion in professional golf as being related to the broader problem of gender atypical women not being viewed as women. During the process of reviewing this paper, however, Bagger made some comments that we believe provide an important overview of her perspective and appropriate conclusion to this discussion. Specifically, she noted that a dominant message in our portrayal of her perspective was that she has merely wanted sports leaders to understand her perspective and to broaden their own perceptions of gender. In other words, Bagger felt our paper often connotes that she wanted sporting organizations to be "aware" that gender diversity exists, and to accept it in sports merely because it exists. While Bagger explained that at the time she first began her efforts to play professional golf, this was the most she could request, she expected that over time, "experts" would be able to research and present medical facts about the issue. Bagger has expressed that a significant source of her frustration comes from the fact that such developments have not occurred. Instead, as Bagger explained, when she and other transitioned women have gone to sporting organizations to confront them about the issue, the organizations have often requested that she (and other non-medically trained transitioned women) provide them with the medical evidence to support their requests. It is this resistance by sporting organizations to address what she describes as the medical facts and science related to the participation of transitioned individuals in sport that is a major source of her frustration at this time.

As is seen in Bagger's comments on these issues and the recent actions of many sporting organizations,

the topic of participation by transitioned individuals in sport is currently a highly contested matter. Sporting organizations have recently begun addressing the topic of participation by transitioned women and men, as evidenced by policy developments such as the IOC's Stockholm Consensus. In the area of women's professional golf, meanwhile, a number of organizations have created policies related to gender and participation since Mianne Bagger has been seeking to play on women's professional golf tours. Reactions by golfing organizations to the challenges of Bagger have come in many forms. In the case of the USGA, its response has resulted in a policy that, while putting up a guise of being progressive and inclusive, may act in some ways to reinforce the status of transitioned individuals as outsiders or "others." For the LPGA, its response has come in the form of an unwillingness to make any changes to its rules that competitors must be female at birth. It is important to re-emphasize, however, that what Mianne Bagger is seeking is not the development of more inclusive "gender policy," but rather the removal of female-at-birth policies in favor of what she considers "a fuller understanding and acceptance of gender variance and human diversity." This will require not only a greater understanding but also a greater capacity to live with instability in categories such as gender. We suggest that scholars must pay close attention and critically consider the positive and negative effects, both intentional and unintentional, that may result from future "gender policy" developments by sporting organizations.

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