A Study of Grounded Theory Identities,
Childhood Identities and the Culture of
Physical Activity

by

Charles Alan Buckley

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

July 1998

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Whilst it is realised that children's attitudes are established in the early years there has been a dearth of studies into the socio-cultural factors affecting young children's perceptions of physical activity. It has been recognised that there is an urgent need for investigators to try and develop insights into how these children interpret the messages they receive from significant others.

Grounded theory has become accepted as a valuable approach to gathering and interpreting qualitative data. It encourages the researcher to make sense of the social world by providing a framework which allows theories to emerge from data collected in contrast to traditional research methodologies where the emphasis is on testing set hypotheses.

This study reviews the status of the grounded theory literature and assesses the potential use of this approach in developing substantive and formal theories accounting for behavioural phenomena amongst young children. There exist two almost contrasting approaches to using grounded theory, the Glaserian and Straussian, both of which are complex and difficult to understand; if however the researcher is to make an informed choice about which approach is most suitable it is necessary to evaluate and consequently choose one of these two approaches.

Fifty four children, seven to nine years of age, were studied over a four year period, using interview and observational data collection techniques to establish their activity choices and attitudes towards physical activity. Peers were found to have a strong influence, particularly in the later years spent in primary school. The grounded theory analysis produced a core category subsequently labelled, 'Interpreting Myself - The Identity Profile Continuum' and composed of three axes. There were also three mediating categories which, together with the core category serve to account for behavioural phenomena amongst the sample.

Children were found to create an identity for themselves based around the way that they interpret messages from parents and peers. Identities can change in different social contexts and over time. As they become older, however, children begin to accept their identity which contours their behaviour and attitudes towards both organised sport, physical education and playground activities.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

PUBLICATIONS

Parts of this thesis have been reported in the following publications;

Buckley, C., Almond, L. & Waring, M. (1994). Socio-cultural factors affecting British children's involvement in sport and physical activity: implications for educational and leisure policy. Proceedings AIESEP World Congress. 'Physical Education and Sport 94: Changes and Challenges'. Berlin, 24-28 June.

Waring, M., Almond, L. & Buckley, C. (1994) Grounded theory in physical education. Proceedings AIESEP World Congress. 'Physical Education and Sport 94: Changes and Challenges'. Berlin, 24-28 June.

Buckley, C. & Almond, L. (1996). Children's physical activity and engagement in physical education lessons in the primary school. Proceedings AIESEP International Seminar. 'Research on Teaching and Research on Teacher Education: What Do We Know About The Past? What Kind Of Future Do We Expect?' Lisbon, 21-24 November.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research

Whilst there is now a substantial amount of evidence documenting the potential health benefits which can accrue from regular physical activity participation (Bouchard and Deprés, 1995; Paffenbarger et al., 1994; Pate et al., 1995; Shephard, 1995), research indicates that a substantive part of the child and adolescent population do not engage in regular physical activity (Sallis et al., 1992). Freedson and Rowland (1992) argue that there has been an overemphasis on the importance of physical fitness and that more attention should be given to increasing regular physical activity, this complements research indicating poor associations between physical activity and fitness levels of children (Armstrong et al., 1990; Armstrong and McManus, 1994), tracking of sport involvement into adulthood (Activity and Health Research, 1992; Kuh and Cooper, 1992), and a concern that the way in which exercise is presented to young children may carry important implications for future activity patterns and consequently their health and well-being as adults (Fox, 1996). Despite wide acknowledgement of the desirability of promoting physical activity in youngsters, relatively little is known about their physical activity patterns (Armstrong, 1993). Researchers in the psychological domain have made some advances in developing insights into youngsters' experiences and decision-making processes relative to physical activity, in particular within motivation research using Nicholls' (1989) achievement goal theory (Duda et al., 1995; Roberts, 1992; Vlachopoulos, et al., 1997); Harter's (1978, 1981) competence theory (Feltz and Petlichkoff, 1983; Weiss, 1987; Weiss and Chaumeton, 1992) and modifications of Harter's (1985) Self Perception Profile for Children (Biddle et al., 1993; Whitehead and Corbin, 1988; Whitehead, 1991). Unfortunately, much of this research has been conducted with older children in formal sport settings and, according to Weiss and Glenn (1992)

1

such research tends to ignore consideration of the social context in which self-perceptions and goal orientations are formulated.

Socialisation research has shed light on the way in which significant others influence a child's social development into, through and out of sport. However, in a similar way, research has tended to focus on formal sport situations, adopt a deterministic rather than interactional perspective (Coakely, 1993) and, according to Brustad (1992) has ignored the way in which self-perceptions and goal orientations are shaped and modified in the social context.

Fox (1996) outlines a number of domains in which youngsters have the potential to be active including formal activities such as sport, physical education sessions, getting to and from school and, informal active play that takes place at break, lunchtime and after school. The final category has received limited attention in the literature; Blatchford (1994) claims that the playground can lay claim to being the forgotten part of the school curriculum, yet observations of seven year olds showed that breaktime took up 28 percent of the school day (Tizzard et al., 1988) and it is thought that it is within the context of the playground that children do their identity work (Kelly, 1994). Peers are recognised as being particularly important in influencing behaviour and attitudes, particularly at the pre-adolescent stage (Weiss et al., 1996), yet despite the widespread study of peer relations among children and adolescents in developmental psychology (e.g. Asher and Coie, 1990; Belle, 1989; Berndt and Ladd, 1989; Newcomb and Bagwell, 1995) little research has been conducted into the area of peer relations in the physical domain (Brustad, 1996).

Sallis and Hovell (1990) contend that exercise behaviour is the result of a complex web of interrelated factors and processes. However, research to date has tended to concentrate on investigating phenomena associated with childhood physical activity within the confines of a specific academic discipline; consequently, processes which contribute to young peoples' activity decisions

2

remain relatively unexplored. There is a recognised need for longitudinal, small-scale, case-studies using qualitative investigative methods which can illuminate our understanding of such phenomena (Martinek, personal communication, 1996).

Grounded theory represents an approach to qualitative data collection and simultaneous analysis which generates theories that are grounded in the data, and allows for the voices of those investigated to be recognised. In encouraging researchers to make sense of gathered data, such an approach can be seen to provide a potentially suitable framework for investigators trying to overcome some of the obvious difficulties and barriers associated with collecting meaningful data and generating credible theories with young children. The approach emphasises the need for researchers to enter an area of study without pre-conceived ideas or hypotheses and involves working inductively. in contrast to traditional verificational methods of investigation. Glaser (1992) recommends the investigator enter the field of study with an 'area' rather than 'problem' in mind; as a consequence of following the recommendations of the approach there are no set hypotheses, problems, or objectives to be posited in this introduction; rather the general aims are to incorporate a grounded theory methodology, recognised as being useful in generating theories in relatively unresearched areas, into a study of socio-cultural factors affecting young children's participation in, and attitudes towards physical activities.

Fifty-four children aged between seven and nine were investigated over a period of four years using interviews and observations in schools in the North and North West of England. Equal amounts of girls and boys were selected using the process of theoretical sampling. A full description of sampling procedure and schools included within the study is given in the thesis, as recommended within the grounded theory literature (Glaser, 1978).

1.2   Structure of the Thesis

Throughout the project the researcher has attempted to incorporate the recommendations of the grounded theory approach allowing for a more detailed evaluation of its inherent weaknesses and possibilities as a research tool.   Unlike conventional theses there is a comprehensive review of this methodology together with an analysis and critique of interviewing and observation techniques with young children.   The findings section is followed by a review of literature. This ordering is part of grounded theory and reflects the nature of the research process whereby the literature review is delayed till relatively late on in order to reduce potential researcher bias.   Furthermore, unlike verificational research, grounded theorists do not usually set out to relate findings with existing studies, nevertheless, as recommended by May (1986) within the concluding chapter there is a short section which compares the essential features of this study with some of the prominent findings and weaknesses in the related literature in order to allow the reader to make a more informed assessment of the relevance of the study.

1.3   Outline of Contents

Following this introduction, the second chapter presents a review of the development and contemporary status of the grounded theory methodology. The philosophical underpinnings of this approach are considered.   Whilst grounded theory is generally described as being inductive, interpretive, and based in symbolic interactionism, its position in the paradigms debate is contested by a number of researchers.

The chapter continues with an outline of the basic tenets of the methodology which include working inductively, constant comparison of collected data, theoretical sampling and saturation of categories, coding procedures and theoretical sensitivity.

4

Differences in approach between the founding authors have received a great deal of attention in the grounded theory literature and there are now at least two separate approaches recognised as being related but having distinct and distinguishing features. The Strauss and Corbin (1990) approach has been described by Glaser (1992) as marking a shift in emphasis from the original method which stressed emergence and generation of suggested hypotheses. Glaser (1992) is critical of the new model which, he argues, resembles a form of full conceptual description and encourages forcing. The Strauss and Corbin (1990) model was designed to provide more structure for the neophyte researcher struggling with the complex and sometimes esoteric descriptions offered in the existing guidelines.

The grounded theory approach has been subject to a number of misunderstandings which are reflected in some published material claming to adopt its strategies. These are discussed and reference is made to a selection of studies within the areas of education, sport and leisure, where such misunderstandings are manifest. The chapter concludes with a consideration of common criticisms associated with the method.

There follows a chapter on interviews and observations with young children using grounded theory. Most interviews within this case study were conducted with focus groups. The advantages and disadvantages associated with this type of research are discussed and related to interviewing in the primary school environment. Issues of validity and reliability are considered in the context of a qualitative grounded theory study. Data analysis is an integral part of the grounded theory process, a critique of this dimension is offered in light of evolving criticisms of the method from postmodern perspectives, in particular concerns over maintaining researcher neutrality in interpretation of data. Non-participant observation formed a small part of this study, primarily as a check on trustworthiness of interview data, this method as a form of triangulation is briefly considered.

There is a relatively large section on the main findings of the study, again reflecting the recommendations of the grounded theory methodology. In order to allow for an informed assessment of contextual features. a brief description of the data sites is included. A central aim of grounded theory is the generation of a core category which seeks to explain the variation in patterns of behaviour within the group under study. In this case, the 'Identity Profile Continuum' explains how individuals define themselves and how such an interpretation contours their relationships with others and ultimately, their perceptions of the value and their attitudes towards physical activity. A number of mediating categories were identified which impact on the children's position within this core category. All categories are conceptual rather than descriptive and are basic social processes which are context and time specific. The findings chapter locates the children's relationships with one another and, based on collected data, makes a number of recommendations for physical educators and playground provision. Examples of field notes are included in the appendix to allow readers to assess the credibility of coding procedures adopted by the researcher.

The review of literature follows, and presents a brief but critical analysis of related theoretical and empirical evidence. The consequence of using a grounded theory approach means that emergent theories tend to cut across existing traditional discipline boundaries, making a succinct review difficult as the subsequent explanations have potential relevance for many areas. The focus is on socialisation studies and parental influences on children's sport participation. Differences identified in studies between activity levels and types of participation by boys and girls are considered and, there is a review of research indicating the gendered nature of children's physical activities and sex-stereotyping of certain games. Playgrounds are recognised as an important site for both social learning and a place where hierarchies and cliques are established. Research on the nature of children's play is examined, including the place of traditional games and the dominance of football in playground culture, the notion of gendered peer cultures, identities and hierarchies is also considered. Peer acceptance and friendships have

received a great deal of attention in developmental psychology and have been shown to impact on children's participative patterns and motives in activity choices. A summary of psychological factors includes Harter's competence theory and Nicolls' achievement goal theory. An assessment of their potential in illuminating understanding of children's participation motives is also considered. Children's self-concept is recognised as being multidimensional in nature, and its dimensions found to influence children's behaviour. Finally, the playground as a potential site for positive interactions and the promotion of valuable play is examined, together with various recommendations for interventions.

The concluding chapter includes a section entitled reflections and observations which concentrates on the interpretations of the study's findings in relation to existing literature, as well as a section highlighting the limitations of the study. in particular, the potential use of grounded theory as a useful tool for investigating young children. Some recommendations are made for future researchers.

CHAPTER 2

GROUNDED THEORY

"I have no data yet. It is a capital mistake to theorise before one has data. Insensibly one begins to twist facts to suit theories, instead of theories to suit facts."

(Sir Arthur Conan Doyle)

2.1 Introduction

There are several approaches available to researchers investigating social phenomena, each of which derive from particular philosophical and theoretical underpinnings. Methods of data analysis for qualitative researchers are well-documented in contemporary research method texts (eg. Dey, 1995; Bryman and Burgess, 1994). Grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is a method which stresses discovery and theory development rather than logical deductive reasoning which relies on prior theoretical frameworks characteristic of many of the existing approaches to collecting qualitative data. Data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously to produce substantive theories which emerge and are therefore grounded in the data. Implicit within the method are a number of coding procedures designed to encourage researchers to interpret and disentangle the observed and narrative data.

The evolving nature of grounded theory has led to a number of different interpretations and a rift between the original founders. Furthermore, in the view of Strauss and Corbin (1994) the method has suffered from misinterpretation and has subsequently been misused by many researchers.

The following review outlines the development and current status of grounded theory with a focus on its paradigmatical classification, basic tenets, criticisms, differing interpretations and methodological misunderstandings.

2.2   Researching Relatively New Areas

There has been very little research in Britain in the area of social and cultural factors which serve to mediate children's _types_ of participation in, and attitudes towards, physical activity. Grounded theory is particularly suited to investigations for which little theory has been developed (Minnis, 1985). Furthermore, as Stern (1994) emphasises, such an approach is especially helpful, even necessary, in attempting to study complex areas of behavioural problems where salient variables have not been identified. This is also supported by Hutchinson (1988) who states: "If little is known about a topic and few adequate theories exist to explain or predict a group's behaviour, grounded theory is especially useful" (p.124).

The approach is recognised as being useful in providing an opportunity to create theory in subject areas that are difficult to access with traditional research methods (Rennie et al., 1988). The framework encourages the researcher to make sense of interview and observational data obtained from young children. It "allows for the voices of the participants to be heard as they tell their stories" (Keddy et al., 1996, p.450). Moreover, compared to the phenomenological and new paradigm approaches, it places less emphasis on the role of the researcher in re-constructing the respondent's accounts.

2.3   Studying Young Children Using Grounded Theory

Making sense of children's responses, especially those who are reticent and/or unable to articulate in a fully coherent manner is a challenging problem for a potential researcher. Grounded theory operations typically generate a

rich, deep and well-integrated conceptual system, organised at various levels of theoretical abstraction, all of which in some way articulate with the data. As such, it engenders great confidence in the researcher's theoretical account (Henwood and Pidgeon, 1993). It directs the researcher immediately to the creative core of the research process, and facilitates the direct application of both the intellect and the imagination on the demanding process of interpreting research data (Turner, 1981).

A further advantage of using grounded theory in studying young children's lifestyle behaviours is that the substantive theories generated relate to the influence of social interactions on outcomes, critical junctures that affect processes of adaptation and, ways by which the social environment influences human experiences (Benoliel. 1996).

A method of study is required which emphasises process, can accommodate the sometimes transient nature of young children's behaviour characteristics, and allows the researcher to follow emerging concepts and changing ideas. A major strength of grounded theory is its open-endedness and flexibility (Charmaz, 1990), since analysis and data collection proceed simultaneously a researcher can follow up ideas as they develop. It lends itself well to data which requires processual analysis and behaviour/interactions over relatively short-term processes (Brown, 1973).

The materials generated from grounded theory are designed to offer those involved in the area of research (in this case teachers, parents, coaches and to some extent the children themselves) 'understandable explanations' (Glaser, 1993) and ways of accounting for a complex world.

2.4 The General Nature of Grounded Theory

2.4.1 Development

Grounded theory was developed in the early 1960's by two sociologists from two very different but complementary backgrounds. Anselm Strauss came from the University of Chicago, which had a long tradition in qualitative research and analysis. His thinking is said to have been influenced during his studies and work at this university by 'the Chicago tradition' and the work of John Dewey, G.H. Mead and Herbert Blumer. Barney Glaser came from Columbia University and reports that his thoughts were strongly influenced by the methodology of Paul Lazarsfeld, an innovator of both qualitative and quantitative methodology. He had also been inspired by Robert Merton and Alvin Gouldner who were involved in doing inductive theory generation from quantitative and qualitative data. The two worked together teaching graduate research courses at the University of California.

Glaser and Strauss published their account of the grounded theory approach and practices they followed in their study of dying in health institutions (1964, 1965a, 1965b) as The Discovery of Grounded Theory in 1967. This publication came at a time when researchers were concerned with testing hypotheses from the work of a few specialised theorists. Framed as polemic against traditional verificational enterprises in sociological method, the new approach was aimed at encouraging researchers to use their intellectual imagination and creativity to develop theories relating to their areas of inquiry, provide a suggested methodological framework for data generation and analysis, and offer criteria for evaluating discovered, rather than tested theory. Glaser (1992) defines grounded theory as "a general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area" (p.16).

Although, their initial formulation was met with only limited interest, the number of studies using grounded theory has grown steadily since the

11

publication of Glaser and Strauss's methodological treatise in 1967. The Discovery of Grounded Theory. The methodology has been used widely in qualitative sociology studies, however, it is also being used more extensively in psychology and anthropology. Researchers in fields such as education, social work and particularly nursing have increasingly used the approach either on its own or in conjunction with other methodologies.

Strauss and Corbin (1994) report that the general methodology's actual use in practice has varied with the specifics of the area under study, this diffusion of the method and influence of contemporary intellectual trends including ethnomethodology, feminism and varieties of postmodernism, which in turn reflect changes in approaches to the use of grounded theory, have been an area of concern for some critics. Strauss and Corbin (1994) emphasise that:

> "This methodology now runs the risk of becoming fashionable. Part of the risk is that users do not understand important aspects of the methodology, yet claim to be using it in their research (p.277).

This confusion is further compounded by the acknowledgement by contemporary writers that the originators of grounded theory have developed very different methodologies, Glaserian and Straussian approaches (Stern, 1994). Indeed, Glaser cites the reasons for this seeming dichotomy in the fact that Strauss apparently "never understood grounded theory from the start" (1992, p.124).

Surprisingly, the differences in approach have only really become obvious since the publication of Basics of Qualitative Research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In reviewing the grounded theory approach therefore, it is necessary to include a section on the differences between these two methods, various researchers adopt either one or the other depending to some extent on whether their background training and tutoring is based on a Glaserian or Straussian model. However, a number of features remain common to both approaches and the original text, The Discovery of Grounded Theory,

presents an apparently unified model useful in highlighting the main tenets of the methodology.

2.4.2 Philosophical Underpinnings

Grounded theory is based on the systematic generating of theory from data. It involves the researcher working inductively to create hypotheses for further subsequent analysis. Glaser (1992) emphasises that the research problem and its delimitation is discovered as open coding begins. The inductive nature of the process determines that the researcher "moves in with the abstract wonderment of what is going on that is an issue and how it is handled" (p.22). This is in contrast with many other forms of research, particularly verificational research whereby a problem, hypothesis or priori is set before the research process begins. Glaser and Strauss do make reference to the epistemological routes of the perspective e.g. "our position is not logical; it is phenomenological" (Glaser and Strauss, 1978, p.55). They are, moreover, aware of the possible contradiction in their work between an inductivist approach to analysis and the need (which they fully recognise) to actively encourage the researcher in the creative and interpretive process of generating new theory from qualitative data: hence they note that "the researcher does not approach reality as 'tabula rasa'" (1967, p.3). In this way, an understanding of grounded theory is partly dependent on an awareness of the method's ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. Annells (1996) points out that the actual formulation of the research question is somewhat dependent on the 'worldview' of the researcher and that "although the research focus may emerge from a variety of sources, the actual formulation of the question arises from the researcher's notions about the nature of reality, the relationship between the knower and what can be known, and how best to discover reality" (p.379).

The location of grounded theory in relation to its position in the methodological debate surrounding the search for truth is unclear. This manifests itself in three ways, firstly, as Stern (1994a) points out, there is a

13

general lack of understanding among some researchers who claim to be doing grounded theory but are actually 'muddling methods'. Secondly, the approaches adopted by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994. 1997) and Glaser (1992, 1994) are seen as reflecting different paradigms of enquiry (Annells, 1996), and thirdly, some researchers (Charmaz, 1990: Henwood and Pidgeon, 1995; Annells, 1996) would argue that the methodology is evolving and moving toward the constructivist inquiry paradigm.

A useful starting point in this complex debate is the distinction made by Stern (1994b) between ethnography, phenomenology and grounded theory, terms often used interchangeably by some researchers describing the grounded theory approach. Ethnographers approach the field armed with theory and consider the culture within the framework of a particular theoretical perspective. Phenomenologists or hermeneutic phenomenologists hope to discover the deeper meaning of 'lived experience' for individuals in terms of their relationship with time, space, and personal history. "The framework for the grounded theorist", argues Stern, "is rooted in symbolic interactionism" (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1964), wherein the investigator attempts to determine what symbolic meaning artefacts, clothing, gestures, and words have for groups of people as they interact with one another" (p.215).

As inductivists, grounded researchers are faced with a paradox. The 'phenomenological reduction' they seek (Giorgi, 1970; Spiegelberg, 1972), whereby they rid themselves completely of preconceptions can never be achieved. This paradox raises philosophical implications, the researcher becomes the mediator of the phenomenon under investigation, therefore, different investigators might develop somewhat different views of the same phenomenon. However, as Rennie et al., (1988) describe, the approach forces investigators to stay close to their data, consequently:

> "different theories arising from the data are the result
> of different analysts emphasising different aspects of
> them. Hence, the relative impact that investigators
> have upon their data bears more on the scope than
> on the credibility of an emerging theory" (p.141).

14

Grounded theory is generally classed as being distinguished from ethnography although it shares some of the features associated with phenomenology. It is generally recognised as being interpretive, the interpretive focus of the investigator includes the features of (a) consideration of social and inter-personal context, (b) emphasis on intentionally and conscious construction of meaning, (c) emphasis on experience and basic social processes and, (d) consideration of reflective intelligence and conscious choice (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1991). The focus of analysis is behaviour and its constituted meanings as these are expressed through symbols and social interactions. Grounded theory method, with its aim to develop explanatory theory concerning common social life patterns, is classified by many writers, (eg. Stern, 1994b; Chenitz and Swanson. 1986: Hutchinson, 1988) as having its philosophical foundations in symbolic interactionism.

Sparkes (1992) suggests that this perspective is located within the interpretive paradigm, together with other research traditions such as ethnography, hermeneutics, naturalism, phenomenology, constructivism, ethnomethodology, case study and qualitative research.

Symbolic interactionism is both a theory about human behaviour and an approach to inquiring about human conduct and group behaviour. The approach is usually credited to G.H. Mead and Herbert Blumer. Mead's interactionist perspective was the essential defining of self through social roles, expectations, and perspectives cast on self by society and by those within society. He argued that humans come to understand collective social definitions through a socialising process.

In the 1960's Blumer, a former student of Mead, refined and extended the notion of symbolic interactionism. Blumer's (1969) three basic premises were:

- The meanings that things (such as persons, institutions, objects, situations, and combinations of such) have will determine what actions will occur toward those things.

- This meaning is derived from social interactions.

- An interpretative process is used to direct and modify the meanings as the situation is dealt with by a person.

The notion of symbols is intrinsic within Blumer's premises and according to symbolic interactionism, social life is expressed through symbols. Language is usually considered the most symbolic system by present-day symbolic interactionists (Sarantakos, 1993). Classic symbolic interactionism (differences in interpretation do exist as identified by Lewis, 1992) is a microsociological theory which does not deal with the larger questions concerning the shape of society. It can be criticised for ignoring influences from factors such as institutions, moral structures and class struggle, thereby producing a resultant distortion of social phenomena. Considerable criticism has been levelled at symbolic interactionism within sociology for not adequately recognising the objective restraints on social action (Abercrombie, et al., 1986). Furthermore, Denzin (1988) has suggested that the three central terms within the perspective ie., 'social act', 'language' and 'self' be relocated within interactionist theory. Thompson (1990) argues that symbolic interactionism and grounded theory have long been informed by hermeneutical philosophy. Hermeneutics within sociology was partly instrumental in a general critique of positivism and the move to non-positivist theories.

2.4.3 Grounded Theory in the Paradigms Debate

Hutchinson (1988) believes that grounded theory research strives to be paradigm transcending (Kuhn, 1970). Heretical and iconoclastic, such research goes beyond existent theories and pre-concerned conceptual frameworks in search of new understandings of social processes in natural settings (Stern, et al., 1982). However, Dey (1993) points out that whilst this

approach may seem heretical in some quarters, where purity of procedure takes precedence over a more pragmatic perspective "epistemological and ontological arguments are more useful if they examine knowledge as a practical accomplishment - how research works in practice - than if they indulge in prescriptive wrangles about how we really ought to proceed" (p.267).

Bryman (1988) also questions the role of such programmatic statements in relation to the pursuit of good social research. He suggests that research methods are probably much more autonomous and adaptable than some epistemologists would like to believe. However, Sparkes (1992) emphasises, "the individual research act does not take place in a vacuum but in the social context of 'invisible colleges', that is, a community of scholars who share similar conceptions of proper questions, methods, techniques, and forms of explanation" (p.11). The place occupied by grounded theory in the paradigms debate is one of contention. Some prominent writers on the subject of grounded theory (Charmaz, 1990; Henwood and Pidgeon, 1995) emphasise the need to locate the position of grounded theory in the ontological and epistemological continuums, e.g. "grounded theory research can be enriched by clarifying the researcher's epistemological premises", (Charmaz. 1990, p.1171). Indeed, many of the contemporary criticisms relating to the methodology are based upon inherent assumptions implicit with the approach regarding the nature of reality and discovery of knowledge. It would appear, therefore, appropriate to include some discussion on this issue.

A paradigm of inquiry informs a researcher as to "what is important", "what is legitimate" and "what is reasonable" concerning systematic enquiry (Sarantakos, 1993, p.30). Although there are various interpretations as to what are the present paradigms of enquiry, the most frequently discussed classification is that offered by Guba and Lincoln (1994) who consider that in the present era, the four basic enquiry paradigms are:

- positivism
- postpositivism

- critical theory et al., and
- constructivism

The latter three paradigms are viewed as still tentative and subject to reformulation. Although Guba and Lincoln (1994), labelled the fourth paradigm as constructivist, Denzin and Lincoln (1994), used the term constructivist-interpretive. Others such as Schwandt (1994), seek to draw a distinction between constructivist and interpretivist approaches. Guba and Lincoln (1994), suggest that the four paradigms can be distinguished by answering the following basic ontological, epistemological, and methodological questions:

Ontological: What is the form and nature of reality? What can be known about reality?

Epistemological: What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the would-be knower and what can be known?

Methodological: How should the enquirer go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?

The authors provide a diagrammatic representation of the relationship between these considerations and each of the competing paradigms (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms

Item	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical Theory et al.	Constructivism
Ontology	naive realism- "real" reality but apprehendable	critical realism- "real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable	historical realism- virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallised over time	relativism-local and specific constructed realities
Epistemology	dualist/objectivist; findings true	modified dualist/ objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true	transactional/ subjectivist; value-mediated findings	transactional/ subjectivist; created findings
Methodology	experimental/ manipulative; verification of hypotheses, chiefly quantitative methods	modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	dialogic/ dialectical	hermeneutical/ dialectical

(Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.109)

Annells (1996) makes a useful analysis of Guba and Lincoln's paradigm classification in relation to the grounded theory approach:

Ontology: A symbolic interactionist ontology argues Annells, reflects a critical realist view concerning the nature of 'real' reality:

> This is reinforced by the insistence of Glaser (1992) that 'classic' grounded theory focuses on "concepts of reality" (p.14) looking "for what is, not what might be" (p.67) while searching for "true meaning"(p.55) and that generated grounded theory "really exists in the data (p.53)." (Annells, 1996, p.385).

A recent departure from this Glaserian approach in the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1994) through the suggestion of a conditional matrix marks, argues Annells, an ontological shift as macrosocial factors are considered as possible factors influencing social action: "Relativism is discernible in the

insistence by Strauss and Corbin (1990) that a developed grounded theory is a rendition of a reality that cannot actually be known, but is always interpreted (p.22)." (Annells, 1996, p.386).

Epistemology: Annells (1996) argues that there has been a shift over the past 30 years in epistemological assumptions surrounding the grounded theory method. The early work of Glaser and Strauss indicates a postpositivist stance in their suggestion that the method is independent of the researcher and has a separate existence. This represents a modified objectivist epistemology about the relationship between the knower and what can be known. More recent presentations of the method however, reflect a move toward subjectivist and transactional epistemology. Strauss (1987) for example, identifies the researcher as being actively involved in the method, not separate from it. This epistemological shift. according to Annells (1996). is also evident in Strauss and Corbin's recommendations that the researcher should draw on experiential knowledge to collect data for suggesting hypotheses and more recently that "the analyst is also a crucially significant interactant" (1994, p.278).

Methodology: Annells (1996) argues that the classic (Glaserian) approach to discovering theory values the emic viewpoint whereby theory discovery is grounded in a detailed qualitative research process rather than logico-deductive and priori assumptions which comprise the first step of positivist research. Glaser (1992) clearly states that the systematic generation of grounded theory should be seen in sequential relation to verificational research, this, believes Annells, is indicative of the classic mode's postpositivist methodological view as to how the inquirer should find out what can be known. Strauss and Corbin (1990) on the other hand, state that "doing analysis is, in fact, making interpretations" (p.59) and that these interpretations must be based on "multiple perspectives" (1994, p.280) which, being embedded in the historical moment, are always only provisional. This marks a shift argues Annells (1996) towards the dialectical constructivist answer to how the inquirer goes about discovering knowledge as the

subsequent theories produced relate to local and specific constructed realities in the realistic ontological sense, but not generalisable 'real' results in the positivist or postpositivist ontological sense.

Schwandt (1994) argues that when a grounded theory is applied within the constructivist inquiry paradigm the method may be viewed as moving toward the postmodernist perspective as the constructivist paradigm is seen by some to reflect postmodern concerns. Guba and Lincoln, on the other hand, align postmodernism more closely with critical theory. The introduction of a conditional matrix by Strauss and Corbin (1994) creates the potential for a sensitive grounded theorist to introduce "issues of class, gender, race, power and the like" (p.280) into the analysis. The openness of the approach arguably allows for the entering of intellectual movements such as postmodernism and critical theory. Indeed, Charmaz (1990), whilst recommending a constructivist approach, indicates that:

> "to date, grounded theorists have not explicated a shared set of epistomological premises. Perhaps there should not be such a set of premises, for researchers from varied backgrounds with diverse research problems can use the strategies of grounded theory" (p.1171).

Two possible arguments exist against the possibility of grounded theory evolving towards postmodernism. The first is that, as Denzin (1989) points out postmodernism marks a break from traditional sociological theories such as symbolic interactionism, on the other hand, there has been a discernible shift in the underlying sociological thought of the approach. Secondly, theory construction is a dubious activity for postmodernists. Rather than a concern for the truth of their research product, postmodernists emphasise the pragmatic applicability of the results. The evaluation criteria detailed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) are susceptible to this postmodern challenge. Henwood and Pidgeon (1995) point out that postmodernists are sceptical of the suggestion that such criteria be established as this "may revive again the spectre of absolute foundations for knowledge, whether this be the

participants' phenomenology and experiences or in the rules of scientific method" (p.118).

2.4.4 Inductive Reasoning

At the heart of the grounded theory approach is the notion that theory be generated from data using inductive principles of analysis. In their original text, Glaser and Strauss (1967) propose a strategy, "literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study" (p.37). The authors emphasise what they believe to be the limitations of traditional empiricist approaches and hypothetico-deductive methods which incorporate verification of a 'priori theory'. They sharply criticise this approach:

> "Within the hypothetico-deductive procedure the substantive hypotheses have to be formulated *before* actually beginning the research. They are deduced from general theories which have often been developed in other fields of research or originate from some researchers' speculative thinking. The possible detrimental effect of this procedure is that *social reality* of a specific field of research has to *be pressed into categories of an 'alien theory'* developed in quite another field" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p.34).

Grounded theorising is, therefore, inductive rather than deductive. By its very nature, and unlike theory testing, it requires flexibility on the part of the researcher, the structure of the research, the sample to be studied and methods to be used are worked out as the research proceeds.

Glaser and Strauss have been criticised in their original text for their lack of clarity in how the researcher can remain open-minded and initiate a search in an area without having any pre-conceptions. Since this original work, there have been more constructive indicators offered by the authors although these, to an extent, are based on the different emerging approaches identified earlier

in the Straussian/Glaserian models. A common feature of their work is acknowledgement that induction, deduction and verification all have some place in the grounded theory research process. It is the timing of these that is crucial and that distinguishes the grounded theory method from many other forms of sociological research. Strauss (1987) specifically refers to this issue, he argues that many people mistakenly refer to grounded theory as "inductive theory" in order to contrast it with theories of writers such as Parsons or Blau. He goes on to say that "as we have indicated, all three aspects of inquiry (induction, deduction and verification) are absolutely essential" (p.12). However, there is a dispute here, Glaser is not in favour of incorporating verification *within* grounded theory:

> "Grounded theory is not verificational. Its statements are probabilities that are readily modifiable as new data emerge properties of categories (1992, p.29).

In the initial stages of the project inductive strategies are used. Glaser (1992) describes how the researcher

> "moves into an area of interest with *no problem.* The grounded theorist keeps his mind open to the true problems of the area" (p.22).

This process is followed by theoretical sampling, that is, the process of data collection is guided by the emerging theory through the use of comparative analysis. The theorist consequently generates a number of hypotheses which can subsequently be investigated using deductive procedures. "By the time theoretical sampling is planned, a researcher would have some hunches or even hypotheses which he or she wishes to check". (Charmaz, 1990, p.1163). The grounded theorist however is constantly sampling new data, the process is therefore not linear, "grounded theory is induction from data, with a base minimum of deduction from the emergent, to further data collection" (Glaser, 1992, p.85).

23

Although Glaser and Strauss recognise that the techniques they recommend for theory generation do not test theory with the same degree of rigour as 'verificationist techniques' they claim that grounded theory will be more plausible than theories based around testing hypotheses. The standard of rigour required in 'verification' is only necessary in special circumstances such as "designing specific action programmes or working in rather well-developed substantive areas" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.233).

Glaser and Strauss are aware that "no sociologist can possibly erase from his mind all the theory he knows before he begins his research" (1967, p.253). Indeed, they emphasise the need for the researcher to cultivate useful existing theory but this must be done within the context of theoretical sensitivity. The researcher should assess the relevance of the existing theory. Strauss (1987) explains that:

> "there is no reason not to utilise extant theory from the outset - *providing* only that it too was carefully grounded in research - to direct the collection of new data in the service of discovering a new (and probably more encompassing) theory. Using the familiar techniques of coding, theoretical sampling, comparative analysis, and with the usual emphasis on variations associated with dimensions, conditions, consequences, interactions, the extant theory then acts as a springboard for trying out potential lines of research work" (p.306).

2.4.5 Substantive and Formal Theory

Comparative analysis of data, suggest Glaser and Strauss (1967) can be used to generate two basic kinds of theory:

> "By substantive theory, we mean that developed for a substantive, or empirical, area of sociological inquiry, such as patient care, race relations, professional education, delinquency, or research organisations. By formal theory, we mean that developed for a

formal, or conceptual area of sociological inquiry, such as stigma, deviant behaviour. formal organisation socialisation, status congruency. authority and power, reward systems, or social mobility. Both types of theory may be considered as 'middle range'. That is they fall between the 'minor working hypotheses' of everyday life and the 'all inclusive' grand theories" (p.33).

Substantive theory is generated by comparative analysis between or among groups within the same substantive area. However, if the focus were on trying to develop formal theory, analysis would be made among different kinds of substantive cases which fall within the formal area. Glaser and Strauss (1967) use the example of their work on status passage to highlight the difference. Substantive theory would relate to a single substantive case of status passage whereas formal theory relating to status passage is distinguished by its greater level of generality as comparison is made among different kinds of substantive cases and their theories.

2.5 Application of Grounded Theory

Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that there are four requisite properties for practical application of grounded theory whether substantive or formal. (These are reiterated in Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

i)   Fit: If theory is faithful to the everyday reality of the area studied and carefully induced from diverse data it should closely relate to the phenomenon under study.

ii)   Understanding: If the theory closely fits the area under study it should be comprehensible to the people working in the substantive area. This understanding, argue Glaser and Strauss (1967) is "crucial since it is these people who will wish either to apply the theory themselves or to employ a sociologist to apply it" (p.240).

iii) Generality: If the data on which the studies are based is comprehensive and the interpretations conceptual and broad, then the theory should be abstract enough and include sufficient variation to make it applicable to a variety of contexts related to that phenomenon.

iv) Control: The substantive theory must enable the person who uses it to have enough control in everyday situations to make its application worth trying.   In order to provide such a suitable framework the conditions to which the theory applies should be spelled out clearly.

2.6   Specific Nature and Characteristics of Grounded Theory

Introducing the reader to the nature of the methodology employed is arguably an important feature of the research process. This point becomes even more relevant when using a grounded theory approach as it allows the user an opportunity to assess the relevance, and modifiability (Glaser, 1978) of the theory, along with an ability to understand the basic social processes (Glaser, 1978) involved in the study. It can also empower the potential user with a deeper understanding and control (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) over the subsequent theories. Outlining the basic tenets of the grounded theory approach is, however, a difficult task, primarily because, (a) there have evolved a number of different interpretations (e.g. Turner, 1981; Schatzman, 1991; Rennie et al., 1988; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and (b) the processes involved are complex, designed to be flexible and, do not proceed in a linear form. In view of these points, the following section will identify some of the central features generic to the two original authors before the differences in approach became obvious. (Glaser admits that even in their earliest work there was perhaps a difference of understanding of which even he and Strauss were unaware.)   Later in this Chapter, the subsequent interpretations of the original methodology will be highlighted and discussed. The original work by Glaser and Strauss (1967) provides the basis for the following discussion although this work has been described as esoteric

(Keddy et al., 1996). Glaser's (1978) text, Theoretical Sensitivity and Strauss's (1987) text, Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists provide a more concrete and accessible resource with the relative congruence in detail of the original text still evident. Strauss and Corbin's (1990) text Basics of Qualitative Research, according to Glaser (1992), marks a radical shift in approach, there are however, some commonalties between Glaser and Strauss in these later works.

2.6.1 Getting Started

Grounded theory can be used in the generation of theory from qualitative and/or quantitative data. Regardless of the *area* of interest, the researcher moves into a study with no preconceptions, any research *problem* is discovered through the comparative analysis of emergent data.

Data is typically collected through interviews and observations and the research problem is subsequently delimited as data is structured through the process of open coding. *Categories* emerge through analysis of data which describe relationships between sets of data and *concepts* which are evident in the data. Glaser (1992) suggests that there are two analytic procedures involved in the process of generating categories, *constant comparative method* and, asking neutral questions about emergent categories and their *properties*. The ability to generate such categories and concepts from the data is reliant on the researcher's *theoretical sensitivity*.

In terms of procedural guidance, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967) put forward two key analytic operations that occur in tandem: making constant comparisons and theoretical sampling.

Theoretical sampling forms an early chapter of the Glaser and Strauss (1967) text and highlights the shift in emphasis from verificational approaches which traditionally employ statistical (random) sampling. In standard sampling

procedures, representation is assured by clarifying the critical variable(s) to be sought in the sample and assuring that there is a way to ascertain that the sample selected reflects these variables in the same way as does the populations (Kerlinger, 1973). In theoretical sampling, the researcher decides which additional data (events, activities, populations, etc.) are relevant to explicate and develop all properties of the evolving conceptual categories, the emerging theory controls ongoing data collection. Theoretical sampling procedure is designed to be flexible. When two or more groups are compared in traditional research, attempts are made to hold constant all variables other than those defining the comparison. However, in the grounded theory approach, groups can be compared on the basis of even a single dimension if it is judged to be germane to the emerging theory; "the basic criterion governing the selection of comparison groups for discovering theory is their theoretical relevance for furthering the development of emerging categories" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.49). Differences in approach to theoretical sampling between Glaser and Strauss are discussed later in this chapter.

Theoretical saturation is a term used by Glaser and Strauss (1967) which describes the point in which "no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category" (p.61). Strauss and Corbin (1990) stress the importance of reaching this saturation point "unless you strive for this saturation, your theory will be conceptually inadequate" (p.188). Indeed a common criticism levelled at studies using the grounded theory approach is that the researcher "fails to move beyond the face value of the content in the narrative data" (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1996, p.123). Arguably, the original text of Glaser and Strauss (1967) provided only limited guidance for researchers in developing understanding of the nature of progressive theoretical sampling (Robrecht 1995). Subsequent texts (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) attempt to clarify these issues with further description of the research process. For example, Strauss and Corbin (1990) identify criteria to be used in open sampling, relational and variational sampling and discriminate sampling (p.180-188).

2.6.2 The Constant Comparative Method

The constant comparative method is central to the generation of theory grounded in data. It is surprising therefore, that subsequent texts by the original authors do not tend to identify separate sections or explicitly identify elements of this approach to data analysis. Glaser and Strauss (1967) identify four general approaches to the analysis of qualitative data:

1) Coding the data first and then analysing it, the researcher wishing to provisionally test a hypothesis will code all relevant data and then systematically assemble, assess and analyse these data in a fashion that will constitute proof for a given proposition.

2) If the analyst wishes only to generate theoretical ideas he is constantly redesigning and reintegrating his theoretical notions as he reviews his material. The analyst merely inspects his data for new properties and theoretical categories, coding plays no part in this process.

3) Constant comparative method combines the coding procedure of the first approach and, style of theory development of the second, "while more systematic than the second approach, this method does not adhere completely to the first, which hinders the development of theory because it is designed for provisional testing, not discovering of hypotheses" (p.102). They continue to describe the four stages of constant comparative method which involve: 1) combining incidents applicable to each category, 2) integrating categories and their properties, 3) delimiting the theory and, 4) writing the theory.

4) A fourth general approach to qualitative analysis according to the authors is analytic induction which combines the first and second approaches in a manner different from the constant comparative method. It is different in that it tests a limited number of hypotheses with *all* available data, consisting of numbers of clearly defined and

carefully selected cases of the phenomena. Following the second approach, argue Glaser and Strauss (1967), the theory is generated by the reformulation of hypotheses and redefinition of the phenomena forced by constantly conflicting the theory with negative cases, cases which do not confirm the current formulation. "In contrast to analytic induction the constant comparative method is concerned with generating and plausibly suggesting (but not provisionally testing) many categories, properties and hypotheses about general problems" (p.104) Glaser and Strauss provide a diagrammatical representation of these different approaches which emphasises relational and contrasting characteristics.

Table 2.2

Use of Approaches to Qualitative Analysis		
Generating Theory	**Provisional Testing of Theory**	
	YES	NO
YES	Combining inspection for hypotheses (2) along with coding for test, then analysing data (1) Analytic induction (4)	Inspection for hypotheses (2) Constant comparative method (3)
NO	Coding for test, then analysing data (1)	Ethnographic description

(Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.105)

2.6.3 Theoretical Sensitivity

The issue of theoretical sensitivity received little attention in the original Glaser and Strauss (1967) text, despite it being a fundamental element running throughout the grounded theory process, from the initial steps to the writing of any subsequent theories. There is mention of the term on pages 46 and 47, though its relevance and application is not developed. This fact is acknowledged by Glaser (1978) in his book entitled, Theoretical Sensitivity:

> "Discussing this sensitivity, the authors soon discovered, was a major gap in the Discovery book. Readers would only get so far in doing grounded theory before they floundered, on how to set down theoretically in the end product what they had discovered" (p.1).

It can be seen from the original definition why subsequent researchers found little guidance in Glaser and Strauss' (1967) definition that:

> "theoretical sensitivity is forever in continual development. It is developed as over many years the sociologist thinks in theoretical terms about what he knows, and as he queries many different theories . . ." (p.46).

Strauss (1987) also offers little help to the researcher in defining theoretical sensitivity when he states: "Sensitivity to the nuances of social relationships is not such a directly teachable skill, since it depends more on the abilities developed since childhood, and perhaps is associated with such terms as personality and temperament" (p.299). Glaser (1992) suggests that theoretical sensitivity refers to the researcher's knowledge understanding and skill which foster his generation of categories and properties, increase his ability to relate them to hypotheses, and further integrate the hypotheses, according to the emergent theoretical codes. In Theoretical Sensitivity (Glaser, 1978), and Basics of Qualitative Analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) the issue receives more attention although the Glaserian and Straussian models were now established as being very different. For the purposes of

31

describing theoretical sensitivity, Glaser's (1978) text provides a more comprehensive explanation. a shortened version of this concept is offered in Strauss and Corbin's 1990 book. Strauss and Corbin do have a section entitled, 'Techniques for enhancing theoretical sensitivity', which introduces new concepts. Glaser (1992), in a re-write of this book is highly critical of these alterations. A summary of these criticisms will be highlighted later in this chapter when differences between the Glaserian and Straussian approaches are considered.

Glaser explains that the way a researcher fractures the data to get off the empirical level is through coding. There are two types of codes, substantive codes which are "the conceptual meanings given by generating categories and their properties, which conceptually sum up the patterns found in the substantive incidents in the field" (1992, p.27) and, theoretical codes which are "the conceptual modules of relationships that are discovered to relate substantive codes to each theoretically" (1992, p.27). Glaser (1978) suggests that the two types of coding often go on simultaneously, however, the analyst will focus more on substantive codes when discovering codes within data and, later, focus more on theoretical coding when theoretically sorting and integrating memos.

2.6.4 Substantive Coding

Glaser (1978) further subdivides this into open coding and selective coding.

The analyst begins with open coding which is the initial step of theoretical analysis and ends when it yields a core category. Data are broken down into incidents which are then compared for similarities and differences (the constant comparative method). At the same time the analyst is encouraged to ask neutral questions about the data such as, "What category or property of a category does this incident indicate?" (Glaser, 1992, p.39). As the analysis

progresses concepts emerge and then the researcher is able to compare incident to concept, this leads to the generating of categories.

Glaser (1978) lists five essential rules associated with this stage of coding; ask neutral questions to open up the data; analyse the data line by line; stay within the confines of the substantive area of study; do your own coding and finally; always interrupt the coding to memo ideas (memos are simply written records of analysis related to the formulation of theory). It is interesting to note a contradiction in this original formulation of Glaser (1978) wherein he emphasises the need to "analyse the data line by line, constantly coding each sentence" (p.57). In his 1992 monograph, set out as a critique against the Strauss and Corbin (1990) text, he appears to shift towards considering larger sections of data before giving conceptual names:

> "we do not mean taking apart a single observation, sentence, or paragraph, and giving each discrete incident, idea, or event a conceptual name . . . This single incident analysis would end up on a helter skelter of too many categories and properties that yield no analysis" (p.40).

A second element of substantive coding is that of selective coding which is when the analyst ceases open coding and "delimits coding to only those variables that relate to the core variable in sufficiently significant ways to be used in a parsimonious theory" (Glaser, 1978, p.61). Other variables are not lost, but the focus on the analysis of one core variable merely demotes possible other core variables to a role subservient to the variable under focus.

2.6.5 Identifying Core Categories

The core category becomes a guide to further data collection and theoretical sampling, Glaser (1978) describes how the researcher arrives at the core variable in his chapter on basic social processes (BSPs). This basically involves the analyst identifying a core category using the following criteria:

i)   It must be central, that is, related to as many other categories and their properties as possible.

ii) It must re-occur frequently in the data.

iii) It takes more time to saturate.

iv) It relates easily and meaningfully with other categories.

v)   It has clear and grabbing implication for formal theory.

vi) It has considerable carry through (does not lead to dead ends)

vii) It is completely variable (its relations to other categories makes it highly dependently variable in degree dimension and type).

viii) While accounting for variation in the problematic behaviour, a core category is also a dimension of the problem. Thus, in part it explains itself and its own variation.

ix) The criteria above generate such a rich core category, that in turn, they tend to present two other sources of establishing a core.

x)   The analyst begins to see the core category in all relations, whether grounded or not.

xi) The core category can be any kind of theoretical code.

(Glaser. 1978)

It is worth mentioning Glaser's notion of BSPs here as they are central to grounded theory and frequently referred to in studies using this approach.

BSPs are one type of core category. They are processual and have two or more clear emergent stages. A BSP may not always be present in a grounded research study. They are ideally suited to generation by grounded theory from qualitative research which can pick up process by field work continuing over time.

A number of terms have been used in the preceding chapters which require clarifying. All are central to the process of grounded theory. Glaser (1992) provides a section entitled 'definitions' which provides a useful summary of key terms.

Concept: "The underlying meaning, uniformity and/or pattern within a set of descriptive incidents" (p.39). Concepts are coded by sets of empirical indicators which is the essence of grounded theory. Comparisons are made between indicators themselves and between indicators and the emerging concept.

Both Strauss (1987), and Glaser (1978) use this explanation and diagram which most clearly describes the basis of the generation of theory, particularly in the initial stages.

Fig. 2.1 Relationships between Incidents and Concepts

CONCEPT

I_1 I_2 I_3 I_4 I_5 I_6 I_7 I_8 I_9
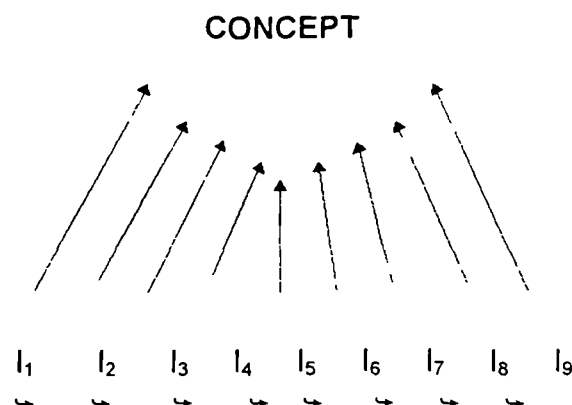
Category: "A type of concept. Usually used for a higher level of abstraction" (p.39).

Property: "A type of concept that is a conceptual characteristic of a category, thus at a lesser level of abstraction than a category. A property is a concept of a concept" (p.39).

This however, is rather confusing. Swanson (1986) more clearly explains that a property is just a characteristic of a category. She provides the example of the category "contraceptive talk" (p.123).

Category - Contraceptive talk

35

Properties - initial talk - later talk, forced talk - spontaneous talk, deliberate talk- chance talk, individual talk - group talk.

The properties of talk in this example relate to timing, familiarity, comfort, privacy or degree of intrusion and number of persons involved.

Glaser (1992) explains that coding is the conceptualising of data by constant comparison of incident with incident, and incident with concept to emerge more categories and their properties.

A second type of coding after substantive coding for developing theoretical sensitivity is theoretical coding.

2.6.6 Theoretical Coding

Theoretical codes are the conceptual models of relationships that are discovered to relate the substantive codes to each other theoretically (Glaser, 1992). They are emergent and "weave the fractured story book together again" (Glaser, 1978, p.72). In order for the researcher to be able to step back from the data and establish these theoretical relationships that emerge between substantive codes, and subsequently organise categories, Glaser (1978) lists 18 families of theoretical codes. These help the analyst maintain a conceptual level, avoid becoming bogged down in the data and, criticise other sociological work since one can tell how the writer overlooked aspects of the 'family'; in simple terms they give the applicant something to say about the data.

A full list of the coding families is provided in Chapter 4 of Glaser's (1978) Theoretical Sensitivity. Glaser suggests that in order to be sensitive to the data the researcher should know many of the codes; The first family will be used as an example, Glaser (1978) recommends this family for the beginner

researcher. It is the, "Bread and butter theoretical code of sociology" (Glaser, 1978, p.74).

The Six C's: Causes, Contexts, Contingencies, Consequences, Covariances and Conditions. Most studies, argues Glaser (1978) fit into either a casual consequence or condition model, some of the six C's have sub-families, e.g. the casual has a sub-family called 'sources', 'reasons', 'explanation', 'accountings' or 'anticipated consequences'. The researcher is advised to ask general questions relating to the substantive codes based on the theoretical codes, for example, "is this category a condition of some other category?". "Is it a cause, a context, or a contingency bearing on a category?" etc. Glaser (1978) provides a diagram to illustrate an example of the six C's as properties of A.

Fig. 2.2 The Six C's as Properties of A
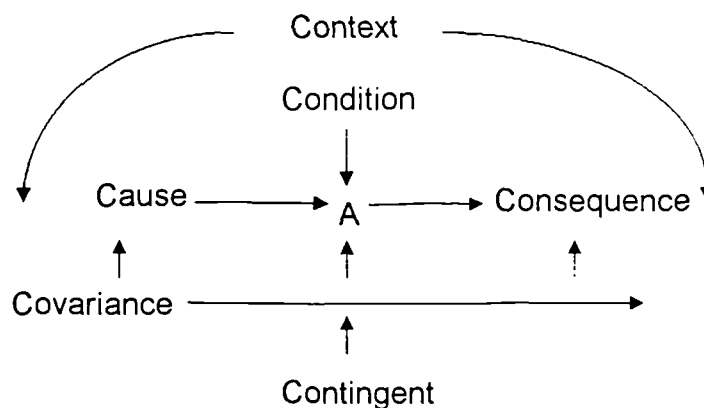
(Glaser 1978, p.74)

It is important, according to Glaser (1978) that theorists do not focus on 'pet' codes, they should remain sensitive to the data having all these codes in mind. He even suggests that analysts should "look at codes from other disciplines for new and sophisticated theoretical ideas" (p.73). Indeed, one of his criticisms of the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990) is that it encourages the researcher to force the data into one of a number of 'pet' coding families.

The relevance of a coding family must be discovered as part of the grounded theory method.

The discussion above relating to Glaser's notion of theoretical coding demonstrates an arguably complex aspect of the grounded theory process. It is interesting to note that theoretical coding receives little attention in the Strauss and Corbin (1990) text which is designed to provide a workable format for beginner researchers in understanding the grounded theory process.

It should be noted here also that Strauss and Corbin (1990) include axial coding as part of the process for the researcher, i.e., their strategy for the analyst involves open, axial then selective coding. For Strauss and Corbin axial coding is a set of procedures, whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding. This is done by utilising a coding paradigm involving 'conditions', 'context'. 'actual', 'interactual strategies' and 'conveyances' (a selection from Glaser's theoretical codes family). For Glaser (1992) however, this is an unnecessary process which "excludes and ignores theoretical coding" and "undermines and confuses the very method that he is trying to build" (p.61). To expand further on axial coding appears unnecessary as it would confuse the reader of this chapter. A comprehensive explanation of the Strauss and Corbin (1990) approach has been covered by Waring (1995) in his study on Gatekeeping Processes, Grounded Theory, Young People and Physical Activity. It would appear more appropriate here therefore, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, to concentrate on Glaser and Strauss' original formulation and to highlight major differences in the Glaserian and Straussian approaches later. Waring (1995) also provides a useful but brief description of differences in the stages of grounded theory process of Glaser, Strauss and a number of other theorists (see Appendix A). The manifest differences between the variety of approaches appears to receive substantial attention in contemporary discourse and will therefore, be discussed in more detail in this chapter.

2.6.7 Basic Social Processes

Process is the second coding family identified by Glaser (1978). It is worth noting because it is central to the production of a valid grounded theory and is often referred to by researchers (e.g. Miller, 1995; Swanson, 1986; Fagerhaugh, 1986). Indeed, Glaser (1978) has a chapter devoted entirely to basic social processes.

Process analysis serves as a central analytic approach to the development of a substantive theory accounting for change in the social phenomenon being studied over time. The purpose of grounded theory is the generation of a core category which explains as much variation in behaviour as possible. There may be more than one core category in a study; however, Glaser (1978) recommends, especially for the beginner researcher that the focus should be on one core category at a time. A BSP is *one type* of core category that accounts for process change which occurs over time.

Glaser (1978) argues that BSP's allow for greater generalisability as the focus is on properties of process rather than, as with most sociology, on a rendition of a social structural unit, i.e. process analysis rather than unit analysis. He devotes 5 pages of his 1978 text to highlighting differences between unit and process (p.109-113). This idea is rather complex and therefore difficult to explain in a short and interesting way and is included as Appendix B. Fagerhaugh (1986) describes that the strength of such an approach to being able to generalise to a greater extent than with some other grounded theories lies in the fact that, "the use of constant comparative method and theoretical sampling wherein the process being studied is constantly compared and analysed under different sets of unit properties, greater generalisations can be made" (p.144).

2.6.8 Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses data, decides what data to collect next and where to find it in order to develop the emerging theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In this way new groups or sites are chosen as they are needed. According to Glaser (1992), apparent non-compatibility of groups is not a problem as with conventional sampling, since comparisons are based on concepts or categories and properties appearing in both groups. The process of data collection is then controlled by theoretical sampling according to the emerging theory. Theoretical sampling on any category ceases when it is saturated, elaborated and integrated into the emerging theory. Glaser (1978) points out however that theoretical sampling is merely a way of checking on the emerging conceptual framework rather than being used for the verification of pre-conceived hypotheses. He emphasises that grounded theory is an inductive process. Deduction, he argues, is used minimally and closely in order to derive, from emergent codes, conceptual guides as to where to go next.

Strauss and Corbin's (1990) explanation of theoretical sampling differs from Glaser's. They identify a number of different stages of theoretical sampling within each of the coding procedures which form part of their grounded theory method. During their first stage of open coding, the analyst uses open sampling being aware of all possibilities for the research process and making comparisons which give the capacity to theoretically sample on site. During the next stage, axial coding, where the aim is to relate more specifically the categories and sub-categories that were uncovered during open sampling and coding, the analyst uses relational and variational sampling. This involves finding as many differences as possible at the dimensional level in the data and then proceed systematically to choose who, what and when to sample, proceeding deductively to hypothesise about the relationships and differences that may occur.

For Strauss and Corbin (1990) the final stage of selective coding which involves the integration of categories to form a theory, is characterised by discriminate sampling which is very directed and deliberate. Sites and individuals that will maximise opportunities for verifying the story line are specifically targeted. This sampling is continued until theoretical saturation of each category is reached.

Glaser (1992) is particularly critical of Strauss and Corbin's approach to sampling which, he argues, involved a forcing of a paradigm on the data:

> "Strauss looks for his paradigm in the data, and data collection in his method is not guided by the emergent, but by testing his logically deduced hypotheses in service of his paradigm. This is just conventional verificational methodology: logically deduce hypotheses and test them. This method is a far cry from grounded theory which goes on what is emerging in the data as the theory is generated, and that is all" (p.103).

2.7   Basic Operational Strategies in Grounded Theory

Most of the procedures implicit within the grounded theory process have been mentioned. These include asking questions, constant comparative method/analysis, moving from substantive to formal theory, theoretical sensitivity and sampling, coding and discovering categories. Glaser and Strauss (1967), and subsequent texts on grounded theory offer other advice on discovering categories, identifying core categories, and linking categories. There are also details in texts relating to handling qualitative and quantitative data, assessing the credibility of grounded theory studies as well as the use of grounded theory studies in interview situations. There are a number of other important features to which most texts make reference (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) call these adjunctive procedures, these are memos and diagrams.

2.7.1 Memos and Diagrams

Writing memos and sorting field notes and data might appear to be an unavoidable task for the qualitative researcher and therefore, something which shouldn't require attention in this chapter. The literature on grounded theory however, often includes a separate section or chapter on this subject. The task is not straightforward though, as with many of the other elements of grounded theory, there are differences in interpretation on the correct use of memos between Glaser and Strauss.

In Discovery of Grounded Theory Glaser and Strauss (1967) there is little mention of memoing (and no mention of the use of diagrams). Memo writing is simply described as a useful strategy which "provides an immediate illustration for an idea" (p.108). In Theoretical Sensitivity (1978) Glaser devotes a chapter to theoretical memoing. He explains that memos are "the theorising write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding" (p.83). Memos permeate the grounded theory process from the initial stages of coding through to writing papers or monographs.

The four basic goals of memos are, according to Glaser (1978):

1) to theoretically develop ideas (codes), this raises the data to conceptualisation level, develops properties of categories, presents hypotheses and begins to locate the emerging theory.

2) alleviate the usual constraints of writing theory by providing freedom, the analyst records ideas in any kind of language whereby sentence construction and punctuation should not be a pre-occupation (as with existing forms of research).

3) to provide a memo fund which acts as a source of all writings and lectures from a study.

4)   to be highly sortable, in order to achieve this memos should include titles or captions; any categories or properties should be highlighted; relationships between categories (hypotheses) should be discussed; be typed on at least one carbon so one set can be easily scissored; they can then be placed on index cards and finally, the analyst must be prepared to sort memos wherever they may fall, even if they contradict an idea.

(Glaser, 1978)

Strauss and Corbin (1990) include a chapter entitled memos and diagrams, they provide a similar definition for memoing to Glaser (1978) then identify seven general and fifteen specific features of memos, again similar to Glaser's interpretations (1978). The main difference is that Strauss and Corbin (1990) divide the notion of memoing into various types.

a)   Code notes: memos containing the actual products of the three types of coding.

b)   Theoretical notes: products of inductive and deductive reasoning.

c)   Operational notes: memos containing directions to self and others e.g. possible future questions.

d)   Diagrams: visual representations of relationships between concepts.

e)   Logic Diagrams: diagrams of analytical thinking that show the evolution of the logical relationships between categories and their sub-categories.

f)   Interpretive diagrams: used to try out and show conceptual linkages, these are not tied to the paradigm but left to the imagination.

The identification of types of memos by Strauss and Corbin is criticised by Glaser (1992) who believes that:

> "the grounded theorist just writes memos as formulated by the emergent theory . . . Strauss's types are used to preconceive the theorising of the data while the analyst searches for what he is supposed to find and write up in memos" (p.109).

43

2.7.2 Writing Grounded Theory

Both Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) provide the analyst with advice on the structuring and writing up of this unique approach to data analysis. There appears little difference in recommendations between the two authors, indeed, Glaser (1992) in his damming critique of the Basics of Qualitative Analysis text (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) is praiseworthy of Strauss when he writes, "Strauss's chapter on writing is sensitive and perceptive" (Glaser, 1992, p.114).

Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) in some ways, follow conventional structuring of report writing with the recommendation that reports have an introduction, methodology and then prose outlining the substantive theory and its elements into various chapters. The convention of including a literature review appears to receive little attention from the original authors. Glaser (1978) recommends 'footnoting the literature', in this way the analyst's role is one of "carefully weaving his theory into its place in the literature" (p.137) Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommend that the format be decided on by "the careful thinking through of what topics, or concepts, or theoretical formulations, will be of greatest interest or value to each audience" (p.241).

May (1986) suggests outlining the research problem with a relatively short literature review compared with traditional hypothetico-deductive studies to reflect the importance of the grounded data within the project; a methodology section outlining the analytical processes, data collection procedures and subject characteristics. The findings section includes a presentation of the theoretical scheme containing segments of actual data. There is not, she emphasises, a separate discussion section as in the course of presenting the theoretical scheme findings are discussed in sufficient detail. There should however, be a final section which examines the theoretical scheme in relation to weakness in existing knowledge and the implications the theory may have for further inquiry or practice. May continues that whilst most research

reports will have these components more or less in this order, grounded theorists on the other hand will report different slices of the findings for different purposes and, how these are reported are primarily based on what the researcher wants to communicate and to whom.

The actual structuring of the report or thesis appears to be left to the researcher and the nature of the audience, most authors offer no more advice than this. What is made clear however, is that the way the data is interpreted and reported is unique to the grounded theory process and reflects the inherent characteristics of the methodology, both Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) identify a number of strategies for the analyst in this respect. As such it would appear an oversight on the part of the original authors not to suggest that the reporting of existing literature, whether grounded or not should be presented towards the latter stages of the report, again reflecting the nature of the process in which "grounded theorists generate a theory based on behaviour patterns observed in the field and then turn to the literature to find support for the emergent theory" (Hutchinson, 1988, p.137).

There are a number of characteristics, identified in the recommendations from both original authors relating to the writing process, which are unique to grounded theory.

Introduction: Authors often derive the problem from a general perspective, a literature search or general interest or a combination of these. Within grounded theory, however, the problem and core variable is derived from that which has been generated in the research. Existing literature and perspectives are only used as supplements or contrasts, if at all (Glaser, 1978).

Conceptual Style: It is important that the grounded theorist writes conceptually by making theoretical statements about the relationship between concepts rather than writing descriptively. This can be developed by sketching an overall logic outline and thinking about the analytic logic that informs the story. Secondly, the analyst should construct outlines, the provisional listing and ordering of chapters through scanning and re-reading the pertinent memos. Thirdly, it is important to imagine visually the architecture of the main outline of the story.

Continuous writing: In many hypothesis testing projects, much of the writing is done before data are collected (the presentation of the research question, the hypothesis, conceptual framework, literature review and methodology). However, the researcher using grounded theory must be writing continuously. Field notes and memos are subsequently combined and re-integrated into major memos which must be organised into a framework or integrative outline explaining the theoretical connections between concepts. The theory should be written so that others unfamiliar with the field can understand it. The writing and re-writing process is given consideration by both Glaser and Strauss who recommend a number of strategies; one of these is the flip-flop technique: A basic reworking strategy for conceptualising the data. Most of us, describes Glaser (1978) write paragraphs which start with description then work up to the concept and general hypothesis in the last sentence. What is necessary, argues Glaser, is to put the last sentence first, flip flop the paragraph by starting with the concept and then illustrating it, though it originally grew in reverse.

2.7.3 Conditional Matrix

Grounded theory analysis is extremely complex. The preceding pages have identified some of the key features of the process. The potential user of grounded theory faces a further difficulty in realising that there is more than one interpretation of the methodology and that the original authors, Glaser

46

and Strauss now have two very distinct, almost mutually exclusive approaches. This chapter has concentrated on the original text and generic features from subsequent texts with differences in approach being identified where appropriate. The conditional matrix is a feature unique to Strauss and Corbin (1990). It is described as a "complex redundancy" by Glaser (1992), however, as it forms a whole chapter of Basics of Qualitative Research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and has been incorporated into various analyses of authors using a grounded theory methodology it deserves inclusion.

The conditional matrix is used to connect and specify the place of micro and macro conditions and consequences in a resulting theory. It is represented as a set of circles, one inside the other, each level corresponds to different aspects of the world around us. As such, researchers can use the matrix as a framework to distinguish and link levels of conditions and consequences relative to the phenomenon under investigation. To maximise generalisability of the matrix as an analytic tool, according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), each level is represented in its most abstract form by tracing the conditional and consequential paths through the different matrix levels, one can determine which levels are relevant, and relate then to the phenomenon through their impact upon action/interaction. Strauss and Corbin, (1994) point out that as conditions change however, at any level of the matrix this effects the validity of theories, that is, their relation to contemporary social reality.

Fig. 2.3 The conditional matrix

Diagram showing concentric circles labelled from outer to inner:
International, National, Community, Organizational & Institutional level, Sub-organisational, Sub-institutional level, Group Individual, Collective, Interaction, with central circle: Action Pertaining to a Phenomenon

(Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.163)

Strauss and Corbin (1990) point out that a theory studied at an outer level does not make the theory more general as it is not the level of conditions that makes the difference between substantive and formal theories, but the variety of situations studied. Glaser (1992) disagrees, stating that a formal theory is

48

one developed or discovered for a conceptual area of inquiry not the number of situations studied. Glaser's main criticism of the matrix is that it has to be forced onto the data, "the grounded theorist will only use levels analysis when it occurs, he does not preconceive it" (1992, p.97).

2.8 Glaserian and Straussian Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is one of a number of interpretive methods sharing the common philosophy of phenomenology, methods used to describe the world of the person(s) under-study (Stern, 1994a). If one accepts the view that "each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions that are asked and the interpretations that are brought to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.13) then one is likely to agree that a researcher claiming to be using a grounded theory approach should understand the method that has been used. A great deal of recent literature on grounded theory highlights the apparent dichotomy between approaches of the two original authors with their methods described as "fundamentally different" (Stern, 1994b, p.221). Brief reference has already been made to some of the differences in interpretation, however, in this 'decade of diversification' of the method (Benoliel, 1996), further consideration of the emerging debate on what constitutes 'real' grounded theory appears logical. Stern (1994b) believes that many researchers who claim to be using grounded theory are really muddling methods. Furthermore, in a review of 84 studies from 1990-1994 claiming to be using grounded theory as a method Benoliel suggests that "only 33 could be interpreted as GT research" (1996, p.412).

The original book describing the method of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) became popular with social scientists attempting to quantify qualitative data. However, certain difficulties were identified with this book. The language was esoteric and contrary to the principles of grounded theory, sounded static and linear (Keddy et al., 1996). It has also been argued that in their discourse, in an attempt to make themselves clear to quantitative

researchers and reflecting their own biases (particularly Glaser who was trained in quantitative analysis), the standard language of their research was positivistic. The key authors presented a more detailed account of the method in subsequent texts, (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987). Students of the two authors have attempted to write clear accounts of the method, in particular, Wilson (1977), Stern (1980, 1985, 1991, 1994), Stern and Pyles (1986), Chenitz and Swanson (1986), and May (1991, 1994).

There have been many other descriptions of the approach which arguably, whilst maintaining some of the original criteria represent a shift in emphasis (e.g. Turner 1981, 1983; Schatzman, 1991; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Charmaz, 1990; Pidgeon et al., 1991). The main differences in approach however, were illuminated by the arrival of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) book which Stern argues came as an answer to the "multiple charges laid against grounded theory's seeming looseness, its lack of verification; and the tangled description of it in the Discovery book", (1994b, p.220). Dissension about the method and arguments for the presence of 'two schools' surfaced in Glaser's 1992 re-write of Strauss and Corbin's book. This text is designed as a rebuttal to Strauss and Corbin's change of approach from the original methodology. The debate continued in future texts from Glaser reiterating earlier criticisms (1994) and a rationale and description of the evolving nature of grounded theory by Strauss and Corbin (1994). There are many differences between the approaches and to provide an analysis of all of these would be tiresome for the reader, therefore, a selection of the essential dilemmas will be highlighted.

A central difference in approach is the role of the researcher in the phenomenon under study. Strauss locates agency for theory development in human researchers, whereas Glaser confers agency on neutral methods and data. Strauss and Corbin (1990) emphasise a very active, even provocative role, in which researchers essentially interrogate the data, this violates Glaser's restrained approach in which researchers remain distant and independent from the phenomenon under study. Bazerman (1988) refers to

this as the active seeking of passive constraints, that is researchers actively seek to prevent and minimise their impact on the data through methods that restrain their influence. In this way, it can be argued that Glaser's recommendations are consistent with the positivist tradition, the natural world is 'out there' and with an appropriate method executed with discipline and restraint, it will embed itself in theory.

Evidence of these two approaches is apparent in Strauss and Corbin's suggestion that conceptualisation is facilitated by asking numerous questions of the data. Strauss and Corbin see this as useful for the researcher as it can actively "open up the data" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.77). The questions Strauss and Corbin ask are specific to the emerging data; Glaser on the other hand, finds questioning to be unnecessary and corrupting. The only questions appropriate to Glaser are those he outlines as totally neutral such as "what category or what property of what category does this incident indicate" (1992, p.43). The importance of being neutral is also emphasised in Glaser's (1992) recommendation that the researcher enter an 'area' to discover a 'problem'. Strauss and Corbin, on the other hand recommend finding a problem to research, such a problem may come from conversation with a tutor, the technical literature or personal and professional experience. Glaser advocates the position that the researcher should be wary of bringing any prior knowledge to the area and warns against taking advice from others as "he may just end up studying his advisor's pet problem with no yield for him and data for the supervisor" (1992, p.23), Locke (1996) points out that Glaser's (1992) stance whereby the researcher should not bring any prior knowledge to the research endeavour appears to re-write the flexible orientation toward cultivating insight articulated in The Discovery of Grounded Theory where Glaser and Strauss suggested it was possible for researchers to cultivate fruitful insights from many sources without compromising those suggested by the data. Indeed, suggest Keddy et al., (1996) phenomenology and hermeneutics suggest this is a conceptual impossibility. To be fair to Glaser (1992), he does acknowledge that "using the literature can have a level of groundedness in it" (p.23) and his stance

towards not entering the field with prior knowledge is not as rigid as authors such as Locke imply. Although disparate approaches to data collection and identification of an area or problem of research are apparent, a commonality is present in that the exploration of categories can develop in tandem with a simultaneous critique of existing literature. For Glaser (1992) the use of literature however, would be delayed until relatively later in the process.

2.8.1 Coding Paradigms

Strauss and Corbin (1990) set out an elaborate hierarchy of coding types with their related forms of theoretical sampling, i.e.

Open Coding	→	Open sampling
Axial Coding	→	Variational and relational sampling
Selective Coding	→	Discriminate sampling

Two important issues become apparent here: the first is that it could be argued that students reading Strauss and Corbin's framework are prone to the development of a linear analysis. The logic of creating a number of procedural steps for the neophyte grounded theorist has, according to Keddy et al., (1996), "introduced a rigidity that the originators never intended" (p.450). The emphasis in the original grounded theory was that theoretical sampling was used as a way of checking on the emergent theoretical framework. Glaser (1992) argues that "Strauss's sampling is controlled by the evolving relevance of concepts, and relevance comes from testing out what is looked for, not what is emerging" (p.103). Glaser continues to argue that Strauss's model represents a forcing of the data, which is diametrically opposed to grounded theory, where the goal is to discover by letting ideas emerge.

2.8.2 Emergence v Forcing

Glaser labels Strauss's approach involving induction, deduction and testing as full conceptual description. Glaser also criticises the Straussian approach of analysing the data line by line and using questioning to elicit categories. Rather, suggests Glaser, analysis should be based around comparing incident with incident and/or concepts, any theoretical codes should emerge rather than the researcher looking for these in the data. "If you torture the data enough", argues Glaser (1992) "it will give up" (p.32). Interestingly, Strauss and Corbin (1990) early on in their book state that there are a number of variations in open coding available to the research which include line by line analysis, by sentence or paragraph or considering the whole document. They leave the choice up to the individual researcher. This appears to have been overlooked by Glaser (1992).

The main differences in approach then, according to Glaser (1992) can be summarised as follows:

Table 2.3   Glaser's Explanation of Differences between Strauss and Corbin's Approach and Glaserian Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin (1990)	Glaser (1992)
Full conceptual description	Grounded theory
Forcing	Emergence
Keeping the problems of forcing data	Giving them up in favour of emergence, discovery and inductive theory generation
Super control over data by pre-conception	Trusting emergence and being controlled by the data
Verification	Generation and suggested hypothesis

(Adapted from Glaser 1992)

Glaser (1992) makes a vehement attack on Strauss and Corbin towards the end of the book relating to the notion of intellectual property, whilst acknowledging that he has no tangible ownership rights over the methodology, he believes that as an original formulator of grounded theory, he has the right to keep his product on course for its users. He uses this as a justification for his condemnation of Strauss and Corbin's work.

2.8.3 The Evolving Nature of Grounded Theory

In response to Glaser's criticisms Strauss and Corbin (1994) point out that the grounded theory methodology provides a way of thinking about and conceptualising data. In this way, it is easily adapted by users in diverse fields studying various phenomena. As with any methodology, they emphasise, "grounded theory's actual use has varied with the specifics of the area under study, the purpose and focus of the research, the contingencies faced during the project, and perhaps also the temperament and particular gifts or weaknesses of the researcher" (p.276). The obvious potential criticism of putting the direction of research more in the hands of the investigator highlights the criticism of reducing replicability. Keddy et al., (1996) however, make the point that "grounded theorists have never considered themselves 'objective'; as Strauss said, 'everything is data' (personal communication 1974), and this includes experiences in the researcher's own life" (p.451). The important thing however, argues Stern (1991) is that this is clearly acknowledged in studies using the method. A subtle, but different observation is also made in that, a feature of the method, is that it is 'open' (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). In this way, they emphasise that the process is directly influenced or indirectly affected by different assumptions, "Our interpretation of this development in the use and conceptualisation of grounded theory is not that its central elements - especially constant comparison - are altering, but that additional ideas and concepts suggested by contemporary social and intellectual movements are entering analytically as conditions into the studies of grounded theory

researchers" (p.276). They suggest that the conditional matrix can allow researchers to respond and change with the times whether changing conditions are in the form of ideas, ideologies, technologies, or new uses of space.

In response to the claims relating to intellectual property made by Glaser the authors agree that:

> "no inventor has permanent possession of the invention - certainly not even of it's name . . . we will always prefer the later versions of grounded theory that are closest to or elaborate our own, but a child once launched is very much subject to a combination of it's origins and the evolving contingencies of life. Can it be otherwise with a methodology?" (p.283).

An important point that emerges here and is reinforced in various ways by many authors (Locke, 1996; Stern, 1994; Melia, 1996) is that researchers claiming to use grounded theory, especially those working in the United Kingdom where one is generally more reliant on books and articles published by the originators (Stern refers to this as 'minus mentoring' and argues that grounded theory cannot be learned from books as it is too complex) do not acknowledge which approach has influenced their work.

A useful article by Melia (1996) extends this section on differences in approach by Strauss and Corbin and Glaser and explains that several studies in health research, using grounded theory indicated that many writers appeared unaware of the dispute between the co-originators. She goes on to say that:

> "in some quarters grounded theory, although being strongly associated with Glaser and Strauss, is synonymous with a usage, to greater or lesser degrees, of the Strauss and Corbin text. At worst, this can amount to little more than a nod in the general direction of grounded theory and then a progression to a generalised qualitative analysis" (p.376).

2.9   The Current Status of Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin (1990) provide the prospective researcher with procedures designed to work out the complexities of grounded theory. On the surface it would appear that, particularly for the novice researcher, this is an advantage but, the formulaic approach with its plethora of categories, sub-categories, properties, dimensions, forms of coding and the appearance of so many rules might actually deter the researcher who can easily become overwhelmed. More importantly, if the researcher does not constantly step back from the data to try to ensure categories are emergent rather than forced, following the complex analytical stages of Strauss and Corbin's model may blind the theorist to the real point of grounded theory which is to try to let the data speak for itself.

The question then arises regarding the use of Glaser's work. The original authors admit that the Discovery book is difficult to follow, it has been described by others as esoteric and containing "some near mystical passages", (Melia, 1996, p.377). The alternative is Glaser's (1978) book Theoretical Sensitivity and his subsequent critiques of Strauss and Corbin's work (1992, 1994). There is an enticing simplicity about the central theme of Glaser's approach, the constant comparative method:

> "categories emerge upon comparison and properties
> emerge upon more comparison. And that's all there
> is to it" (Glaser, 1992, p.43).

The researcher though, following Glaser's recommendations should be aware that the starting point for their research should be an 'area' rather than a 'problem' and that asking specific questions should not form part of the analysis. For the beginner researcher this could present a dilemma and challenge in gathering initial data for coding. Glaser (1992) recommends that the researcher enters the field "with abstract wonderment of what is going on that is an issue and how it is handled" (p.22) and that "the researcher never never asks the question directly in interviews as this would preconceive the

emergence of data". He goes on, "think theory, talk everyday common sense English" (p.25). The greater freedom offered to the researcher in Glaser's model might facilitate the generation of concepts which are emergent and discovered from data but present a very difficult challenge for inexperienced researchers. To be fair, Glaser makes the point that mentoring is a vital part of the process.

Theoretical Sensitivity (1978) is designed to offer guidance to the researcher and develops some of the abstract notions presented in the Discovery book. The book is divided into chapters but, unlike the Strauss and Corbin's (1990) monograph, does not give the idea that there is any linear progression. In other words, from the outset of the research the theorist needs to have in mind all of what Glaser recommends (including the 18 theoretical codes outlined in Chapter 4). Glaser's (1992) text is a re-write of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) book, he even uses the same title and chapter headings. It outlines his disagreements with their approach and highlights points at which he argues they have deviated from the original grounded theory. In this sense the text is useful for those wishing to understand how the two approaches are different and extrapolate information which may deepen their existing understanding of Glaser's previous texts. The (1994) text of Glaser reiterates some of the previous criticisms outlined in (1992) and provides some case studies using what he refers to as appropriate methodology. Consequently, it can be said that whilst the two approaches are fundamentally different, any researcher wishing to use grounded theory must first fully understand the process. Both Glaser's and Strauss and Corbin's approaches are extremely complex in their own way. Stern's (1994b) emphasis on the need for mentoring reiterates both Glaser's (1978) and Strauss's (1987) call for this approach. She believes that it cannot be learnt from a book:

> "it may be possible to learn brain surgery from a book, but it is far from usual. And brain surgery is easier!" (p.219).

Moreover, it could be argued that if the researcher is to make an informed choice about the correct methodology which suits their field of research and views on the nature of reality, then an understanding of the complexities of the Strauss/Glaser debate is essential.

2.10   Misunderstandings in Grounded Theory Research

Strauss and Corbin (1994) argue that the grounded theory method is frequently misunderstood. The contemporary emphasis in this and other forms of qualitative research is on informing the reader how data was collected and providing insights into how the research process was conducted. It could be argued that as there now exists a number of different approaches, researchers should specify which rendition they are using. This, however, may not be as straight forward as it sounds. Whilst there are obvious differences between approaches there are also many similarities. Melia (1996), who has been involved in grounded theory research since the 1970's, in an article comparing the Straussian and Glaserian approaches states, "I am not sure if I am a Straussarian or Glaserian, I suppose I am neither" (p.376). Furthermore, Glaser's (1978) and Strauss's (1987) texts should also be added here as, whilst they generally maintain the same paradigmatical stance as the original 1967 text, they offer methodological advice which does not appear in other monographs and also, are often referred to by the original authors of grounded theory as key texts for guiding researchers.

Charmaz (1990), points out that "a number of criticisms of grounded theory reflect an incomplete understanding of the logic and strategies of the method" (p.1163). This statement can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, that common criticisms of the method are based on a limited knowledge of the method itself. Secondly, that the method is not fully understood by practitioners and is therefore applied in inappropriate ways. Moreover, as mentioned previously, there now exists a variety of interpretations of the

original method, therefore, any criticism must identify the appropriate model. This section will deal with the second point, i.e. mistakes made by researchers claiming to use grounded theory. The following section entitled 'criticisms of grounded theory' will focus on the potential strengths and weaknesses inherent in the approach.

Premature Closure: This refers to the 'underanalysis' of textual or narrative data in which the researcher fails to move beyond the face value of the content in the data (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1996). Premature commitment to a set of analytic categories is a problem in grounded theory studies and other types of qualitative research (Emerson, 1983; Katz, 1983). Strauss (1987) emphasises that the researcher must ensure continuing use of the constant comparative method to theoretically saturate categories until the appropriate conceptual density has been reached. This stage is reached when 1) no new or relevant data seem to emerge, 2) the category development is dense, and 3) the relationships between categories are well established (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Muddling Qualitative Methods: Grounded theory is one of a number of qualitative, naturalistic, interpretive methods along with ethnography, phenomenology, hermeneutics, ethnoscience, discourse analysis, ethno-methodology, thematic analysis, conceptual description and historical research, each with their own philosophical underpinnings. The problem occurs, according to (Baker, Wuest and Stern, 1992) when the canons of a method are compromised through intentional or unintentional 'muddling'. Locke (1996) provides an example in an analysis of studies purporting to use the grounded theory approach whereby participants were randomly selected for interview. Random sampling does not form part of grounded theory (though Glaser 1992 would argue that Strauss and Corbin's 1990 model involves forms of conventional sampling). The central analytic tenet of grounded theory is theoretical sampling whereby the selection of groups is guided by the data collected (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The pitfall of methodological transgression (as Wilson and Hutchinson 1996 call this

phenomenon) must be differentiated from triangulation or the combining of qualitative and quantitative methods, the critical guideline they argue, is that each approach must be employed with its own philosophy and operational practices. Interestingly, the researcher should perhaps make themselves aware of the 'epistemological version' (Bryman, 1988) of the quantitative and qualitative debate in which the paradigmatical underpinnings of these forms of research are considered and the appropriateness of mixing methods discussed. Henwood and Pidgeon (1995) argue that "while the interplay of various forms of subjectivity and interpretation is foregrounded in qualitative research, it is a feature of all forms of scientific practice" (p.117).

Importing Concepts: Battersby (1982) emphasises that, particularly in the early stages of research, the analyst may face difficulty in naming emergent categories, the danger being that concepts borrowed from existing theories are used rather than letting concepts emerge from the data. Strauss (1987) himself identifies this as a potential "stumbling block to effective analysis" (p.151). Importing Concepts (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1991) occurs when the researcher does not suspend preconceptions regarding disciplinary perspectives and previous readings when examining data. This potential weakness can be overcome using the notion of theoretical sensitivity and delaying the review of existing literature. (Here again the differences in approach of Glaser and Strauss impact on this issue, for Strauss a review of literature is acceptable so long as the researcher uses it critically to add to analysis of developing theory, while for Glaser 1992 only unrelated literature should be read.)

The transparency of culture: Qualitative methods seek to understand the respondent's worldview. Ethnography specifically acknowledges the culture concept and seeks to understand the respondent's cultural system (Aamodt, 1989). Barnes (1996) argues that grounded theory's emphasis on process can lead to the issue of culture being marginalised, "the danger with qualitative methods that do not make culture explicit is that culture can become transparent, lost in the pages of observations, interviews, and

analysis of social processes" (p.430). Chenitz and Swanson (1986) point out that language provides the primary mechanism for meanings to be shared by people and is the concrete building block of data collection and analysis in qualitative research. Lipson (1991) stresses that how respondents frame their responses and conduct themselves both in interviews and in naturalistic settings is shaped by their cultural habits, beliefs, and learned styles of interaction. Some grounded theorists do not report the cultural background of the respondents, nor do they suggest how the presence of cultural biases of researcher and respondent may have shaped the results (Howell, 1994; Sandelowski, 1994). Barnes (1996) recommends that the researcher should consider cultural filters during analysis and suggests that the researcher finds out as much as possible about the respondent's culture, describe the context of the information exchange and collect information on physical gestures, postural attitudes as well as other forms of non-verbal communication. This observation would apply to any scenario in which the respondent's culture is different to that of the researcher, whether it be adults analysing children, a researcher from a Western culture interviewing/studying Eastern culture or a middle-class, middle-aged researcher investigating Hip-Hop culture. To be able to ask sufficiently insightful generative questions, Barnes argues, the researcher should experience living and working within the culture of the respondents. Barnes raises important issues which are admittedly given little specific attention in the grounded theory literature. However, a number of potential problems arise in his suggestions, the first obvious one is that in some circumstances the researcher may be refused access to the culture or sub-culture (eg. middle-aged researcher in Hip-Hop culture). Secondly, the aim of grounded theory is to discover the most important concepts which account for behaviour amongst a group. Therefore, issues relating to aspects of culture should emerge within a grounded theory analysis if they are relevant. Barnes' view of the notion of culture in this sense appears to be rather narrow in that subtle differences in culture are evident, even in apparently culturally homogeneous collectivities.

2.11 Criticisms of the Grounded Theory Approach

The topic of induction was introduced earlier in this chapter when discussing the nature of grounded theory. However, subsequent to the sections relating to the various approaches which have developed in the use of grounded theory, it appears relevant to re-examine this issue in light of the view that it is arguably the most common criticism levelled at this methodology. Indeed, the central notion of grounded theory (at least that of Glaser, 1992) that the researcher should enter the field without pre-conception and that "the research problem and its delimitation are discovered" (p.21) appears alien to some critics of inductivism. Phillips and Pugh (1989) for example state:

> "The myth of scientific method is that it is inductive . . . from a disorderly array of factual information an orderly, relevant theory will emerge. However, the starting point for induction is an impossible one" (p.13).

Bulmer (1979) accuses Glaser and Strauss of espousing pure induction since they propose reading the literature in relevant fields after having developed a set of categories. Charmaz (1990) argues that this is a misunderstanding of the grounded theory method. She points out that reading and integrating the literature later in the research process is a strategy to prompt exploring various ways of analysing the data; the review however is only delayed not overlooked. Once the researcher has developed a fresh set of categories, points out Charmaz, "he or she can compare them with concepts in the literature and can begin to place his or her study appropriately within it" (p.1163). Glaser (1978) though warns that grounded theorists must do their own analytic work; if they borrow concepts from the literature, then they should ensure that these concepts merit a place in their analysis. Strauss (1987) explains that categories and hypotheses which have been derived from other grounded theory studies can be incorporated into the process. Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommend using what they call technical literature in the early stages of the research. Glaser (1992) stresses that

non-related literature only should be used initially and later, when the researcher is sure of the emergent categories, related literature can act as more data.

Hammersley (1988) has highlighted some differences in the work of Glaser and Strauss whilst considering the relationship between analytic induction and grounded theory. Hammersley argues that analytic induction is, in essence, the hypothetico-deductive method in that it is designed to test hypotheses, testing of theory should be left to more rigorous, usually quantitative approaches. The emphasis in The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967) is, argues Hammersley, slightly different. Here grounded theory is contrasted with verification studies and it is argued that for many purposes rigorous testing of the conclusions produced by grounded theorising is not required. The implication is that grounded theorising itself involves hypothesis testing. Strauss's 1987 book, argues Hammersley, moves further in this direction, declaring that "grounded theorising is designed especially for generating and testing theory" (Strauss, cited in Hammersley, 1988, p.199). This difference in approach is even more evident in the most recent texts of Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Glaser (1992). In his critique of Strauss and Corbin's Basics of Qualitative Research which incorporates the testing of theory Glaser (1992) states:

> "The research product constitutes a theoretical formulation or integrated set of conceptual hypotheses about the substantive area under study. That is all, the yield is just hypotheses! Testing or verificational work on or with theory is left to others interested in these types of research endeavour" (p.16).

Further investigation about the nature of induction and its place in grounded theory is made by Rennie et al., (1988) who identify differing interpretations of induction. They cite Whewell (1971) who maintains that propositions are formed by bringing imagination, or 'conceptions' to bear on facts. It is the

power of conceptions to collegiate facts that leads Whewell to conclude that the formation of theory is a more critical aspect of induction than is the proof of it.

Rennie et al., (1988) point out that Mill (1973) argues with Whewell on both counts. He believes that a conception is something seen in the facts, not something added to the facts. It is this downplay of the role of creative inferencing in induction that leads Mill to conclude that the proof of inductive propositions is more essential than their generation. The grounded theory approach, argue Rennie et al., (1988), "is more in keeping with the philosophy of Whewell than of Mill" (p.146). However, again, recent developments in Glaserian and Straussian revisions of grounded theory mean that whilst this might ring true for Glaser, Straussian grounded theory is more likely to fit the philosophy of Mill where the colligation of facts as an essential part of induction is incorporated into a system which involves inferencing and hypothesis testing. The nature of induction and its relationship with grounded theory is given detailed attention in Lincoln and Guba, 1985, (pp.204-208), for the reader interested in this topic.

Another criticism sometimes levelled at grounded theory is lack of rigour. Emerson (1983) argues that:

> "while grounded theory glorifies and tries to further
> generate theory in its own right, it also treats
> discovery as a stage prior to verification. This rigid
> divorce between discovery and verification lends
> support to the critique of fieldwork as insightful but
> not rigorous" (p.97).

In response to this criticism Charmaz (1990) points out that the stark contrast between discovery and verification characterised in The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967) was made because Glaser and Strauss saw the need for developing new lines of theoretical development within qualitative research. Secondly, argues Charmaz, qualitative research generally and

grounded theory specifically derive from different canons than logico-deductive verification models and thirdly:

> "what grounded theory provides is a rigorous method
> for qualitative studies. Hence, grounded theory must
> be assessed from an internal logic of its own method,
> not by the inappropriate application of external
> criteria founded in other methods" (p.1164).

This is an important point made by Charmaz however, the transient nature of grounded theory in both epistemological and methodological terms means that it would be very difficult for any evaluation to establish generic criteria which could be used to establish the 'goodness' of the study. Furthermore, as Charmaz (1990) admits even the 'original' grounded theory exhibited both phenomenological and positivisitic roots, this was compounded by the original co-authors borrowing terms from existing disciplines to describe a new approach, a strategy which the authors of 'Discovery' themselves criticise.

Charmaz (1990) points out that most criticisms of grounded theory turn on misunderstandings or misuse of the method. Some of these points were covered in the previous section. The author suggests that one of the major problems however, is "glossing over its epistemological assumptions and in minimising its relation to extant sociological theory" (p.1164). The first part of this critique has been discussed to a large extent by several authors in Denzin and Lincoln's Handbook of Qualitative Research (1994), these issues were covered earlier in the section relating to the epistemological roots of grounded theory. Charmaz advocates a social constructionist perspective for use with grounded theory which, she argues, "offers an open-ended and flexible means of studying both fluid and interactive processes and more stable social structures" (p.1162). Charmaz (1990) recommends the researcher takes an active role in the grounded theory process and makes reference to how, within her social constructionist view, the specific questions characteristic of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach should be taken a step further to look at deeper meanings associated with emergent

phenomena by addressing definitions, feelings and awareness. These recommendations clearly represent a contrast to Glaser's (1992) approach which emphasises the passive role of the researcher and the asking of neutral questions. Interestingly, Charmaz appears in Glaser's 1994 text which is, as with the 1992 text, set as a critique against Straussian methodology and includes case studies from authors (including Charmaz) who "stick closely to the essential elements of grounded theory, from start to finish, of their research and of the application of grounded theory" (Glaser, 1994, p.1).

Contemporary discourse on grounded theory reflects its evolving (Strauss and Corbin, 1994) or, eroding (Stern, 1994b) development. In light of this, criticisms made of the process have a limited relevance to its current status. There is obvious concern amongst writers that the methodology is not fully understood by many researchers claiming to use grounded theory. Its rapid development to the extent that it is in danger of becoming 'fashionable' (Strauss and Corbin, 1994) means that creating evaluative criteria to judge its potential merit has become very difficult. Perhaps the main criticism that can be levelled at grounded theory is the fact that there exist so many different alternative approaches.

Schatzman (1991) criticised the original grounded theory method for its lack of a structural foundation that would allow for the explicit articulation of the analytic process. Kools et al., (1996) point out that written documentation of this method has lagged behind that of Glaser and Strauss (1967), yet Schatzman, who worked with Strauss at the time the method was being developed devised his "alternate method of generating grounded theory conceived for the purpose of improving the articulation and communication of the discovery process in qualitative research" (p.314).

The first basic element of dimensional analysis that distinguishes it from the grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss (1967) is 'natural analysis', this is a natural analytic process learned through early socialisation which provides

individuals with a scheme they can subsequently use to structure and analyse the intricacies of phenomena of ordinary life as well as in complex scientific problem solving. For Schatzman (1991) then, the researcher draws on past experience and knowledge whilst traditional grounded theory generally rejects the use of received theory as a basis for analysis. The second basic element for Schatzman is that of dimensionality. This refers to an individual's ability to address the complexity of a phenomenon by noting its attributes, context, processes and meaning. Embedded in symbolic interactionism, "dimensionality is the specific process of natural analysis that allows one to derive meaning via interpretation or analysis of the component parts of a phenomenon or situation (Kools et al., 1996, p.315).

Schatzman (1991) creates an explanatory matrix which is aimed at providing a framework that enables the researcher to move analysis beyond description and into the realm of explanation.

Fig. 2.4   Schatzman's Explanatory Matrix
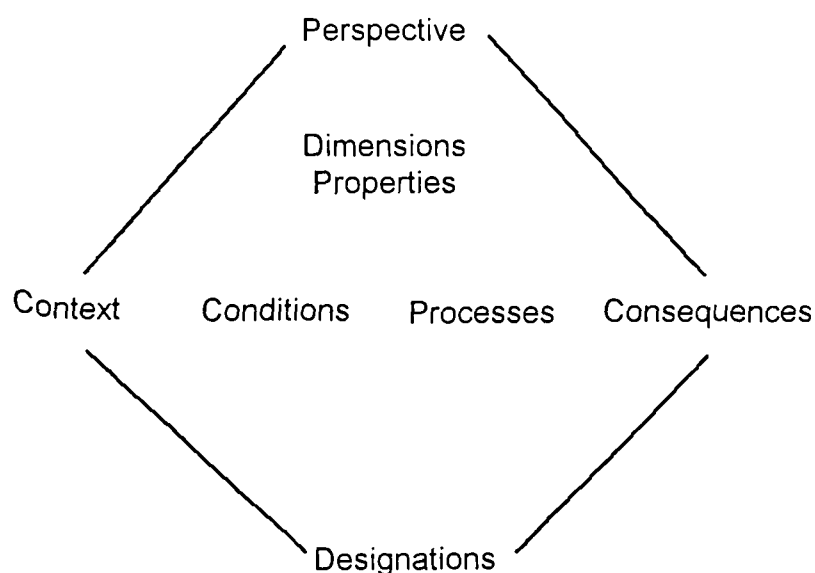
(In Kools et al., 1996, p.318)

Researchers are encouraged to seek for a perspective which assumes a key position within the matrix, this is then used to organise the placement of all but the irrelevant dimensions as either context, conditions, processes, or consequences.

Schatzman's framework uses words and phrases commonly associated with traditional grounded theory. The selective re-arrangement of key terms such as conditions, consequences, contexts (from Glaser's 1978 6,C^s) juxtaposed with other familiar grounded theory terms such as processes, properties and dimensions is aimed to provide a framework for the researcher. This is not as complex as Strauss and Corbin's (1990) model although Schatzman's notion of giving the researcher more control by encouraging the use of 'natural analysis' and 'dimensionality' represents a paradigmatical shift further away from Glaser's inductive model.

The current debate as to the exact nature of grounded theory and the negative criticisms aimed at some of the originators in that they did not fully understand the process creates an obvious barrier to neophyte grounded theorists wishing to embark on a study using this methodology (even if they are fortunate enough to have a mentor). There is a strong case for arguing that there is a need for any researcher to be fully cognizant with not only grounded theory but also its variations and potential limitations if they are to make an informed choice about which approach best reflects their own ontology and is most suitable for the area of research. This is a mammoth task for most social science researchers.

2.12   Examples and Misunderstandings in Grounded Theory Studies

Wilson and Hutchinson (1996) identify a number of studies which claim to use grounded theory methodology and point to several features which clearly show that the researchers had a limited understanding of the approach. As a guide to structuring a grounded theory report, thesis or monograph

68

researchers can turn to theoretical frameworks provided by Glaser and Strauss for support. However, good examples of reports using the methodology can serve as more tangible and concrete tools in the process of learning essential criteria for writing case studies, particularly if they relate to a similar field of study. Glaser (1994) provides a set of examples of studies from authors who he endorses because, they stick closely to the essential elements of grounded theory. Strauss and Corbin (1997) emphasise the necessity of studying substantive materials, (existing examples of good research using grounded theory), yet point out that, "Although many monographs and articles in the grounded theory mode are quite accessible, some are less so, and perhaps some people who use our approach do not seek out the substantive writing" (p.vii). The authors provide a selection of published articles from researchers who have studied with them and understood their style of research which, "should be valuable in filling out with fuller coloration(sic.) the more abstract discussions (despite all the illustrations in our method books)" (p.viii). There is an acknowledgement of some of Glaser's earlier texts (1967, 1978) although the authors make no mention of the later monographs (1992, 1994), that are deeply critical of their approach which emerged in their 1990 publication which, according to Atkinson (1997):

"introduced simplifications and codified processes that in reality escape translation into formula and prescription. Glaser certainly had a point, but over-reacted to the pedagogically-inspired style of the book" (p.370).

An interesting point which is evident in reading the books offered by the two sets of authors who implicitly recommend their approach (although Strauss and Corbin, 1994, 1997, are more subtle in their criticisms of Glaser) and provide examples of authors who follow their guidelines is that Charmaz is included in both of the monographs. Furthermore, although Strauss and Corbin (1997) suggest that their book demonstrates "the range of substantive topics . . . (and) . . . disciplines in which grounded theory researches are written" (p.vii), both their book and that of Glaser (1994) include mostly

examples of studies in the area of nursing and health. Indeed, there are few studies which relate to physical education and/or sport with young children, to inspire researchers investigating this area.

The following review highlights a selection of some studies claiming to use grounded theory and reveals a number of methodological mistakes inherent in research procedures. The review is not meant as an exhaustive analysis of all studies, its purpose being only to make the point that misunderstandings of grounded theory are evident in a number of projects. As far as possible, the focus of attention is on studies in the areas of education, sport and leisure and closely related disciplines.

Côte et al., (1995a, 1995b) in a study with 17 expert high-performance Canadian gymnastic coaches set out to identify the different variables that could affect coaches' work and provide a grounded heuristic model of how their knowledge is processed to solve problems and develop athletes. A number of pitfalls are immediately evident in reading the (1995a) study in which the authors claim, "All coaches' interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the unstructured qualitative data were inductively analysed following the procedures and techniques of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.1).

Wilson and Hutchinson (1996) point out that "researchers are now obliged to specify whether the grounded theory approach they employ is the original 1967 Glaser and Strauss version, the 1990 Strauss and Corbin rendition or the 1992 Glaser interpretation" (p.122). Côte et al., (1995a) acknowledge both sets of authors in the reference section and throughout the text with no acknowledgement of differences in approach. On page 7 for example, they incorporate both sets of authors (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 1994) under the headings of constant comparative method and conceptualisation of categories, with no mention of the clear disparity in application of this concept detailed by Glaser (1992) in chapter 8 which represents one of his most clear objections with the Straussian model.

The researchers are also guilty of a number of common pitfalls in grounded theory studies described by Becker (1993). In particular, they do not use theoretical sampling, the researchers specify their sample at the outset and remain with the same subjects throughout the study, rather than as Glaser (1978) recommends that the researcher "analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them" (p.36). Secondly, Becker (1993) warns against using the wrong theoretical lens. Rather than allowing categories to emerge from the data and then concentrate on core variables, which accounts for the apparently most important issue or mode of behaviour, Côte et al., (1995b) admit that,

> "the investigator had to arrange and re-arrange the components and categories in terms of their effects on the goal. The resulting model and stories about 'developing elite gymnasts' were 'grounded' with interview quotations and fit the original data found in the interview transcripts . . ." (p.8).

The authors also admit to using the Expert System Approach (Buchanan et al., 1983) and a method for dividing text into 'meaning units' (Tesch, 1990). These points, coupled with the fact that the researchers set out with a number of specifically stated objectives reflects that they were not using the grounded theory 'theoretical lens', and are also guilty of what Stern (1994b) calls 'generational erosion', whereby they undermine the original canons of grounded theory.

Wilson and Hutchinson (1996) point out that some studies in grounded theory are guilty of being 'overly generic'. By this they mean that names for so-called discovered conceptual processes are not situation specific but could apply to any experience or phenomenon. In the articles by Côte et al., the researchers apply descriptive rather than conceptual labels to categories such as 'competition', 'training', 'organisation', 'coach's personal characteristics' and 'contextual factors' which are overly generic. The Côte

(1995b) article reports separate findings from the same study and repeats initial methodological misunderstandings.

Crossett (1995) in a study of professional female golfers examined how a system of reciprocity works in establishing the bond between athlete and fan. A number of methodological errors are also evident in this paper which claims to use "qualitative sociological research and grounded theory building" (p.31). The researcher explicitly sets out with a specific objective in mind, "This paper explores athlete-fan relations from the perspective of a reciprocity system outlined by Mauss (1954) and recently advanced by Hyde (1983), Margolis (1989) and Caplow (1984)" (p.31). The author continues with some other sub-objectives. Although there is some discrepancy between Glaser (1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) regarding the degree of open-mindedness that the researcher entering the field of study should possess, neither would advocate the use of specific objectives which undermines one of the most central principles of the method, that theories emerge from data which lead to the generation of hypotheses. Furthermore, the researcher creates a typology which mixes methods that Baker et al., (1992) refer to as unintentional muddling. Although the paper was written in 1995 the author quotes Glaser and Strauss 1967 and Charmaz 1983 with no reference to more recent texts which reflect "the evolving nature of grounded theory" (Strauss and Corbin, 1994).

Battersby (1984a, 1984b) looked at the socialisation and induction of primary school teachers in New Zealand during their first year of teaching. The author has also produced several articles on grounded theory methodology (1979, 1981, 1982). He endorses a point being made in this chapter about the need for good examples of grounded theory studies for neophyte researchers, "Because so few grounded theory studies have been undertaken, the researcher has no yardstick to use in judging the results of this data analysis, and the pressure this creates to present a credible and an acceptable theory may be felt throughout the time it takes to do a study" (1982, p.2).

In reporting the results of the grounded theory study, Battersby (1984a. 1984b) cites Glaser and Strauss (1967) in the first paper, yet no reference is made to any other grounded theory texts. In the author's second article there are no such references. Locke (1996) in a review of 16 published grounded theory studies in the Academy of Management Journal makes the point that whilst all of the studies were published at least two years after Glaser's (1978) important text, eleven appeared at least two years after Strauss's (1987) text, and three appeared at least two years after Strauss and Corbin's (1990) book, only one article cites any of these subsequent works. Locke concludes that "the elaborations of the approach offered by the co-originators and the controversy surrounding these developments either are deemed irrelevant or unknown" (p.243). The grounded theory approach, argues Locke is being selectively re-written. Battersby (1984a) not only cites just one source, neglecting subsequent developments, but provides the reader with only one sentence describing the grounded theory approach.

Central features of grounded theory which have been identified in this chapter are that it should generate core categories to explain basic social processes which emerge from and fit the data (Glaser, 1978). Emergent categories are compared as data collection continues until categories are saturated and core categories are identified. The resultant substantive theory is one which has relevance for the people under study. Battersby's final analysis however presents the reader with "seven categories, 23 sub categories (or properties) and 83 propositions relating to the socialisation of the teachers" (p.13). The author fully details the codified set of propositions assigning each a "level of generalisability . . . which is an indication of the strength or 'thickness' of data supporting a particular proposition, and with which it is possible to generalise the proposition to other beginning primary school teachers" (p.14). Several issues of concern arise in considering Battersby's approach. The first is that there appears to be a 'premature closure' (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1996), in that there is an obvious underanalysis of data. By definition, grounded theory requires the researcher to move through the analysis, (levels of coding procedures if Strauss and

Corbin's approach is accepted), as the theory becomes more refined, yielding a parsimonious integration of abstract concepts that cover behavioural variation. It appears that Battersby has failed to move beyond the face value of the content and not sought to saturate the categories fully. Furthermore, the labels used to describe emergent categories are descriptive rather than conceptual, and overly generic (eg. "Category 1: Pupil-teacher influences", (p.14) "Category 2: Parent-teacher interaction", (p.18), "Category 3: The role of the Principal", (p.20). Whilst it first appears that the author is allowing the reader to see real data, there are no extracts from interviewees, only the descriptive labels created by the researcher. Furthermore, there is no acknowledgement of the issue of context and whether the theory is substantive or formal. An important feature of the work is the notion of levels of generalisability of the huge list of propositions. Whilst Glaser (1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) have different views on the notion of generalisability neither would condone the strategy employed by Battersby. For Glaser (1978, 1992) generalisability is possible if the category is a basic social process (which Battersby's are not). For Strauss and Corbin (1990)

> "the purpose of grounded theory is to specify the conditions that give rise to specific sets of action/interaction pertaining to a phenomenon, and the resulting consequences. It is generalisable to those specific situations only" (p.43).

Finally, Battersby (1984a, 1984b) spends considerable effort relating each category with existing literature. This particular strategy is not recommended by the founders of grounded theory.

Stebbins (1992) sets out to develop a grounded theory of barbershop singing as serious leisure using interviews with male and female barbershop chapters in Calgary. The article focuses on the emergent categories, and presents findings in an accessible manner interspersing real data in the form of quotes in the text, as recommended in grounded theory. However, a number of misunderstandings emerge in this paper, which also only includes two grounded theory references (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss 1987), with

no explanation of the methodology to allow for informed criticism by the reader.

Rather than theoretical sampling, Stebbins uses a form of conventional sampling which, argues Locke (1996) "smacks of an 'anything goes' approach to research methods in which we may indiscriminately and arbitrarily pick and choose data-gathering techniques and analytic operations" (p.243). Stebbins takes a "representative sample" (p.124) which is established at the outset of the research; there is no evidence of theoretical sampling throughout the report.

A tactic of Stebbins during interviews, was to use a show card which identified nine possible rewards that might be gained from barbershop singing which appear to have been derived from studies with other amateur pursuits. Stebbins reports that data collection was conducted through observations and open-ended interviews. The use of show cards with specified criteria, even if used as a basis for discussion, does not fit well within grounded theory in which data is sought from the people under study and the interviewer enters with an open mind. The title 'rewards' is used within the text as a subheading, indicating it is a category (although Stebbins never says this), yet this label was derived from another sample.

The article is replete with what Wilson and Hutchinson (1996) call imported concepts. This occurs, they argue, "when an aspiring grounded theorist does not suspend preconceptions, disciplinary perspectives, and previous readings when examining the data and fails to provide an original and grounded interpretation" (p.124). Stebbins even admits that "some of these rewards (eg. self-actualisation) are recognisable as generalised benefits from the psychology of leisure" (p.125). The labels used to structure the theory are descriptive, generic and do not describe process, eg. 'rewards', 'thrills', 'costs', 'dislikes' and 'tensions'.

'Methodological transgression' (Wilson and Hutchinson 1996) is evident in Stebbins' research. This occurs when investigators incorporate positivistic terminology imported from other methodologies into the study. On page 135 Stebbins reports "no significant difference could be observed in the reward patterns of choral and quartet singers".

A number of useful examples of studies using grounded theory exist which can help the researcher who is new to this area by providing a framework for structuring reports. Wilson and Hutchinson (1996) highlight a number of studies they believe closely follow the original conventions of grounded theory (Hitchcock and Wilson, 1992; Kearney et al., 1994; Sohier, 1993). Glaser's (1994) text provides a compendium of studies reported as being true grounded theory by the author. Strauss and Corbin (1997) also include ten case studies in their monograph and precede each chapter with a commentary on why they believe the studies are helpful. Unfortunately, this text has arrived late on in the development of this project and there still exists an absence of studies using grounded theory to investigate young children's physical activities and cultures.

2.13 Summary

Grounded theory is a general methodology for developing formal and substantive theories grounded in data that is systematically gathered and analysed. The framework can be used for investigating areas in which little theory has been developed or areas which are difficult to access with traditional research methods. The method was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and was described as contrasting to existing approaches which concentrated on testing hypotheses. Grounded theory emphasises the discovery of hypotheses and theories which emerge and are therefore grounded in the data.

The method is based on inductive reasoning although many have argued that the starting point for induction is an impossible one since a researcher's contemporary and historical biography has an inevitable influence on both initial objectives and procedural orientations. The philosophical underpinnings of the method are contested although it has frequently been related to symbolic interactionism. It is generally recognised as being an interpretive approach being distinguished from ethnography, whereby researchers set out with hypotheses, although it shares some features with phenomenology.

The location of grounded theory within the paradigms debate raises the issue of the dichotomy which is apparent in the various approaches adopted by Glaser and Strauss, or indeed the specific interpretation of the researcher, which might represent a synthesis of these almost mutually exclusive procedures.

Grounded theorists are encouraged to enter areas of inquiry with no preconceptions. Data is coded and categories emerge which describe relationships between sets of data by using the constant comparative method and asking neutral questions. Using theoretical sensitivity, categories are saturated as the researcher progresses through various levels of coding until core categories emerge which account for the behavioural and attitudinal characteristics of the sample under study. Theories are processual and therefore subject to modification. A number of operational strategies are identified for researchers, however, there are differences in the approaches recommended by Glaser (1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990).

Glaserian grounded theory stresses entering the field of study with an 'area' in mind rather than a 'problem', which is characteristic of the Straussian model that encourages a more active researcher. The latter approach is also characterised by more structured coding procedures which serve to act as a guiding framework for investigators who are relatively new to the methodology. This trait represents perhaps, the main focus of contention for

Glaser who labels this approach as 'full conceptual description' which forces the data rather than allowing concepts to emerge, leading to the title of Glaser's (1992) monograph Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs Forcing. This outlines the author's objections to the Strauss and Corbin (1990) model. Strauss and Corbin (1994) defend their pedagogical approach and suggest a necessary feature of any good methodology is that it evolves and adapts to theoretical and empirical changes.

A number of misunderstandings are evident in published materials purporting to use the grounded theory method, these include premature closure, muddling methods, importing concepts and, transparency of culture. Examples of published grounded theory reports are analysed to highlight some potential misunderstandings evident in studies within the field of sport, leisure and education.

The grounded theory approach is criticised from a number of sources although Charmaz (1990) argues that many criticisms are based on misunderstandings of the methodology. Several authors have criticised the inductive nature of the method, although Hammersley (1988) points out that hypothetical-deductive reasoning is evident in some aspects of the original writings, particularly those of Strauss (1987) which imply that theory can be tested. Charmaz (1990) indicates that there is a tendency in some studies and theoretical accounts to gloss over the epistemological assumptions inherent in the approach.

Grounded theory represents a complex process which has evolved and is evolving into a number of identifiable and distinct methodologies. Glaser (1992,1994), Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994) and Schatzman (1991) provide frameworks for analysis based on differing interpretations of the methodology. This presents a formidable barrier for researchers who are new to grounded theory, for in order to make an informed choice about which

approach is most valid and suitable for a specific mode of inquiry, they should be familiar with the fundamental tenets of the varying methodologies.

CHAPTER 3

INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS WITH YOUNG CHILDREN USING GROUNDED THEORY

3.1   Introduction

The main source of data collection used in this case study was by interview combined with some non-participant observation.   There is a plethora of literature within most academic disciplines which considers theoretical and empirical implications of research using either or both of these methodologies.   An overview of related literature locating interviewing and observation within qualitative and quantitative divides, their relative positioning in contemporary debates about the nature of truth and reality, together with practical considerations regarding implementation might assist the lay reader in deepening their awareness of such concepts and act as a guide in identifying general features associated with such research.   Rather, the purpose of this section, deliberately juxtaposed with grounded theory is to critically assess in a succinct way these methodologies in the context of this study ie. the use of formal and informal semi-structured and unstructured group interviews and observations with young children in the school environment using grounded theory.   The emphasis is placed on interviewing, as a proportionately greater amount of time was spent using this method; observation was used as an adjunctive procedure to confirm or elaborate evidence collected in interviews.

3.2   Early Stages of the Research

The initial stages of grounded theory demand that the researcher enter the field with an 'area' in mind rather than a 'problem' (Glaser, 1992).   Initial questions should be as neutral as possible.   Following this recommendation, early investigations within this study were based on informal conversations

with children and teachers in primary schools which the researcher was visiting during the course of supervising students on teaching practice placements. The early stages of the process also involved some observations of pupils during physical education lessons and playtimes. Prior to any investigations, permission was gained from headteachers and teachers in each of the schools concerned. Initially, there was no disruption to the children's timetabling, however, as the study gained momentum and involved some formal interviewing, consent of parents was obtained through contacts by the headteachers of each school.

Chenitz and Swanson (1986) identify a number of types of interview which have potential use within grounded theory. Informal interviews are characterised by natural speech and interaction between the researcher and respondent with no particular meeting time, length or place. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) point out that within grounded theory studies, "brief, situational or incidental questioning or conversation is extremely effective throughout the research" (p.71). Chenitz (1986) emphasises that the informal interview allows the researcher to engage with subjects in a natural way and get to know them as people, understand how they see their world and perceive events the way they do. This technique was employed by the researcher throughout the study, both teachers and pupils were engaged in informal conversations to elicit relevant information relating to characteristics of children's behaviour and attitudes. This was done in conjunction with the main source of data collection through formal interviews.

Formal interviews, according to Swanson (1986) are of two types, structured and unstructured. In a structured interview the researcher does not deviate from the questions in sequence. Early interviews in this case study were mostly structured/semi-structured, in order to provide a framework for the researcher who had limited experience of interviewing in this context. Nevertheless, minimal extraneous talk was employed in order to allow for the voices of the children and, questions chosen were open-ended rather than specific. In grounded theory, points out Swanson (1986) formal interviewing

is most often combined with participant observation and informal interviewing. Over time, within this longitudinal study, as the researcher developed relationships with the groups of children under study formal conversations were a mix of semi-structured and unstructured, intensive, deep interviews designed to encourage children to provide new material and speak freely, yet allow the researcher to investigate emerging trends in the data through specific questions based on categories derived from data analysis in previous interviews and observations.

The unstructured interview is also sometimes referred to as the intensive, qualitative or focused interview (May, 1995). The central difference between this form of interviewing and the structured or semi-structured interview is its open-ended character. Within the grounded theory framework in the context of investigating children whom, it has been argued have their own culture (Opie and Opie, 1959, 1969), the focused interview has several potential advantages. It can challenge the preconceptions of the researcher, allows interviewees to talk about a topic in their own 'terms of reference' providing a greater understanding of the individual's point of view. It is characterised by flexibility and discovery of meaning rather than standardisation, generalisation or a concern to compare through constraining replies by a set interview schedule (May, 1995).

3.3   Focus Group Interviewing

Most interviews conducted throughout the research were group interviews involving between two and eight children. Hedges (1985) points out however, that the distinction between individual and group interviews is not straightforward. Interviewing two people has more in common with the criteria of an individual, focused interview. Group interviews are often referred to as focus groups and are frequently used in market research. It is recognised that group interaction amongst subjects often leads to spontaneous and emotional statements about the topic being discussed.

However, the group interaction may reduce the interviewer's control leading to difficulties in data collection, with difficulties for systematic analysis of intermingling voices (Morgan, 1988).

A great deal has been written on the skills needed by a researcher using interviews (eg. Chenitz, 1986; Cohen and Manion, 1989; Burgess, 1982). These include flexibility, objectivity, empathy, persuasion and being a good listener. Some skills, however, are identified as being specific to group interviews, such as not allowing one person or small coalition to dominate; encouraging recalcitrant respondents to participate and ensuring that responses are received from the whole group (Merton et al., 1956).

Characteristic advantages and disadvantages associated with this form of interviewing are highlighted by Fontana and Frey (1994). Potential strengths include being inexpensive, data rich, flexible, stimulating to respondents, recall aiding, and cumulative and elaborative over and above individual responses. The authors also point to the problems associated with this type of research; emerging group culture may interfere with individual expression, the group may be dominated by one person, sensitive topics become difficult to investigate, individuals are influenced by the responses of others and, finally, the demands on the researcher increase due to group dynamics. Nevertheless, they argue, "the group interview is a viable option for both qualitative and quantitative research" (p.365). The authors also provide a useful table distinguishing between five types of group interview in different settings where the role of researcher changes (see Appendix C). A fuller review of recognised advantages and disadvantages commonly associated with group interviews is provided by Watts and Ebbutt (1987).

3.3.1 Interviewing Young Children Using Focus Groups

Researching and gathering valid and reliable information from young children presents a challenge for an investigator, particularly when in-depth and

meaningful interpretations explaining behaviour are the desired focus of the study. There are plenty of examples in the literature explaining the difficulties and potential traps for researchers investigating this group and perhaps unsurprisingly, few studies of this nature with children under eleven years of age; one researcher investigating the area of gender differences and playground space even admits, "Fourth year juniors were chosen . . . because of their ability to articulate more clearly than younger children" (Barnett, 1988 p.45).

There are certain factors which might lead to unreliability in interviews which tend to centre around interviewer bias and effects of the interviewer's characteristics on interviewees, these are well-documented and can be applied to both adult and child interviews (Simons, 1981; Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989; Tomlinson, 1989). Further difficulties associated with interviewing young children have been documented including children's distractibility, memory limitations, over attention to certain perceptual features in the situation (Donaldson 1987), desire to give some sort of response however nonsensical (Hughes and Grieve, 1980), susceptibility to leading questions from adults because of status differences (Spencer and Flin, 1990) and willingness to be dishonest in some conditions (Ceci, 1991). These are obviously compounded by some children's receptive and expressive language limitations even at the upper end of the primary school.

Perhaps the most comprehensive research with young children has been in the area of child abuse and concerns over accuracy of child responses to past events. It has been suggested that social support at the time of the interview about a past event may optimise children's recall of the event without compromising the accuracy of their accounts. Moston (1992) for example, found that children interviewed with a peer present during the interview recalled more accurate information than children interviewed alone. However, in a study with 24 children aged 5 to 7 and 24 children aged 8 to 10 Greenstock and Pipe (1996) found peer support did not influence children's prompted recall reports about past events or responses to questions.

Research in this area also indicates that whilst young children are more likely to comply with misleading suggestions, this tendency reduces as children approach the age of 8 or 9 years (Bringmann et al., 1989: Gee, 1994; King and Yuille, 1987) with children older than this no less resilient to suggestion than adults (Warren et al., 1991).

Lewis (1993) in a useful review article on child group interviews explains that rationales for group interviews can be divided into four broad areas; consensus beliefs; to obtain greater depth and breadth in responses than occurs in individual interviews; to verify research plans or findings and, more speculatively, to enhance the reliability of interviewee responses. Focus group interviewing with young children is, according to Lewis, a relatively unresearched area yet potentially valuable methodology as children may use prompts with one another which would be unknown to the researcher; they can lead to the disclosing by a third person which the other participants may not have revealed; the supportive environment may lead interviewees to try out relatively risky ideas and be less intimidating for the reticent child. Furthermore, group talk can be less stilted with children taking over so flow is sustained, it provides thinking time for children encouraging greater reflexivity in responses. The group context may also make it easier for children to question the interviewer and seek clarification.

3.3.2 Interviewing in the School Environment

Focus group interviews mean that children are out of classwork for shorter periods of time, this was an important consideration for the researcher, especially in the early stages of the research involving formal group interviews, where a concern is gathering sufficient amounts of qualitative data from groups of children regarding activity choices and friendship groupings. Over the course of the study groups became smaller (initially group size would usually be eight, in the final stages of the study there would be a maximum of four) as emerging themes were pursued in order to clarify and

saturate categories. Certain children were selected based on criteria relating to such things as their position in the identity profile continuum and friendship groupings, this form of selective sampling is a feature of the grounded theory process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Research into group composition and optimum group size with children is sparse. Spencer and Flin (1990) report that children give fuller answers when in the company of someone they like rather than an unknown or disliked child. Work in social psychology reveals that a maximum of six or seven children is best for group interviews otherwise the group is likely to fragment (Breakwell, 1990). Barnes and Todd (1977) working with 11 to 15 year olds recommend three or four as an ideal number, larger groups tend to become strained as attention becomes diverted from the task.

Children's distractibility is a key feature in determining the relative success of group interviews. In this case study the researcher found that many of the recognised potential advantages commonly associated with this form of research are manifest in groups of four or five with children of ten and eleven years of age and, that whilst smaller numbers allow for more in-depth questioning of individuals, flow and children's prompts are restrained. Waterhouse (1983) recommends five as an optimum number for most group work. Younger children of seven to eight years in this study generally appeared more spontaneous yet less able to maintain attention for long periods, smaller groups of three to four appeared the optimum size for this age group.

Finding quiet, suitable areas for research in most primary schools is difficult. Most 'free' areas, such as the library or hall are subject to interruptions which impact on the dynamics of the group. In the early stages of the research, where larger groups were employed, it was found that the quality of responses deteriorated earlier than with smaller groups, children on the fringes of the larger group began to lose interest and impact on group mood. Wheldall and Glynn (1989) found teacher researchers vary in their 'low

question rate zone', piloting of group interviews should therefore include monitoring of the area of the group to which the interviewer is addressing comments (Lewis 1992). The researcher found that the challenges placed on the interviewer in managing the group so that interest was maintained, all children being given chance to express feelings, monitoring the pace and other features associated with the dynamics involved in group research, was a difficult skill which involves a great deal of piloting and constant experimentation and refinement.

Interviews were recorded and later transcribed using an audiotape. Permission was obtained from both headteachers, teachers and the pupils for using a dictaphone to record interviews, this allowed group discussions to flow naturally. Lewis (1993) agrees that audio taping of group interviews is a preferred method but identification of individual speakers may be very difficult. This was a drawback experienced by the researcher but was overcome by making frequent reference to children's names in responding to their comments. Several pilot studies were necessary to develop this skill but through practice and as groups became smaller and the interviewees' voices became familiar this posed less of a problem. During the early stages the children saw the dictaphone as obtrusive but with subsequent interviews it became accepted and appeared to be ignored. Non-verbal cues from children were recorded during interviews although this appeared to inhibit some children despite interviewer reassurance. If flow of speech appeared to be restricted by using this method the researcher would make appropriate notes immediately after the interview. Bozett (1980) recommends that the transcribing of interviews should be done as soon as possible as self-transcription stimulates analysis of the data and allows the interviewer to identify new ideas and write directives regarding further interviews. Corbin (1986) recommends the use of a formatted sheet which includes one column for recording of data, one for coding information and a further column for making theoretical notes. The researcher used this method in the early stages but found that it was necessary to adopt and refine this model to accommodate operational features (such as interruptions, non-verbal signs

given by children, and details of methods for improving the interview process) and, a section on links with existing categories from previous interviews together with any relevant diagrams which might aid future analysis and linking of concepts. The format used in this study is shown in Appendix D. Swanson (1986) emphasises the time needed to record interviews with accuracy, which can be from three to twelve hours per interview. The researcher found this aspect of the process very time consuming, however, if the importance of effective analysis and appreciation of the impact of contextual variables is recognised within the grounded theory study careful documenting of data and process is vital. Examples of field data collected and transcribed using this process have been included in Appendix E.

Young children may find difficulty in expressing themselves particularly when asked to discuss reasons why they choose to engage in or avoid certain physical activities or forms of play. Similarly, they find it difficult to articulate more abstract feelings relating to emotions or self-analysis. Moser and Kalton (1983) suggest that there are three necessary conditions for successful completion of interviews: Accessibility, whether or not the interviewee has access to the information the researcher seeks; cognition, understanding what is required of them and finally, motivation, the interviewer must make respondents feel their participation is valued. This also means maintaining interest during the interview. The researcher found this a challenge during the initial stages of the study, however, grounded theory encourages the sensitive analysis of phrases and sentences which when viewed in the context of the interview and combined with non-verbal signals given by the child enables the researcher to develop insights into relatively complex phenomena surrounding children's attitudinal and behavioural dispositions. Ultimately, the success of the interviewing process will depend on the skills of the interviewer (Lewis 1993). The researcher in this study attempted to adopt an experimental and reflexive approach to gathering trustworthy data from young children. To support oral communication during interviews children were sometimes asked to draw pictures of what they thought a healthy/unhealthy person looked like as this was a feature of

interview questions. Examples of some of these drawings can be seen in Appendix F. A similar strategy was adopted by the Health for Life research team (Williams et al., 1989) in their studies with primary school children. Video recording was considered, although as Lewis (1993) suggests, this can be intrusive and distort responses, particularly with young children.

3.4 Issues of Validity and Reliability in Grounded Theory Interviewing

It has been argued that quantitative research is high on reliability and low on validity while the reverse is true of qualitative research (Filstead 1970). In most forms of research, validity and reliability are established through the use of certain procedures for data collection and analysis. In qualitative research, these issues are not addressed in the same way as in quantitative forms of research since the nature of the research process is different. Chenitz and Swanson (1986) point out that qualitative researchers generally avoid the terms validity and reliability and that issues of truth and accuracy of the data and analysis are usually handled by terms such as evidence and credibility. The idiosyncratic nature of a grounded theory approach which is based around different terminology and has different objectives to most other forms of qualitative research raises the question of whether issues of validity and reliability should be included in a critique of a study using this methodology. However, since some of the existing critiques of the process are based around these issues, and the fact that many research texts question the reliability and validity of interviewing, the use of such terms and their relevance to this study appears appropriate.

Cook and Campbell (1979) note that validity refers to the best available approximation to the truth of proposition. They stress the importance of the word approximation when referring to validity since no one can ever be certain of the truth. Kvale (1996) points out that in most social science text books one finds both a narrow and a broad definition of validity. In a positivist approach, scientific validity became restricted to measurements: for

instance, "validity is often defined by asking the question: Are you measuring what you think you are measuring?" (Kerlinger, 1979, p.138). Qualitative research is then invalid if it does not result in numbers. In a broader concept, Kvale points out, validity pertains to the degree that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate. Within this wider conception of validity, qualitative research can, in principle, lead to valid, scientific knowledge.

Reliability in quantitative research refers to the accuracy of a measuring instrument over repeated measures (Kerlinger 1973). A way of assessing reliability, according to Chenitz and Swanson (1986) is through replicating the study. The lack of replicability in grounded theory has been a major critique of the method. In answer to this observation Chenitz and Swanson point out that since a grounded theory study is derived from the researcher's best analysis and no two researchers are exactly alike, it is unlikely that results will be the same. A more appropriate question to ask of grounded theory they argue is whether the theory is applicable for a similar situation. Hutchinson (1988) argues that the question of replicability in grounded theory is not especially relevant since the point of theory generation is to offer a new perspective on a given situation that can then be tested by other research methods.

Kerlinger (1979) points out that the subject of validity is complex, controversial and peculiarly important in behavioural research. Different texts identify various types of validity. Campbell and Stanley (1966) have defined two major forms of validity, internal and external. Internal refers to the approximate truth in a proposition about the relationship between two variables when cause is inferred. External validity refers to the generalisability of a proposition about a causal relationship across populations. In grounded theory, generalisability is handled by detailed description during the data collection and assigning membership to a class or unit to the case under study. In grounded theory, external validity rests on internal validity. The greater the range and the variation sought through theoretical sampling, the more certain that the data is generalisable to other members of the same class or units as the phenomena under study. The

greater the internal validity, the greater the likelihood the researcher has sought out and addressed the 'negative case', that is, the case that does not fit an existing category or proposition (Glaser, 1978). A quality theory will therefore, identify a basic social process relevant to people in similar situations.

Within the process of interview situations, threats to validity are usually based around potential bias. This includes the characteristics of the interviewer, respondent and the substantive content of the questions. Researchers commonly identify a number of strategies which might help the interviewer reduce potential bias, these include careful formation of questions so that the meaning is crystal clear; thorough training procedures so that an interviewer is more aware of potential problems; probability sampling of respondents; and sometimes by matching interviewer characteristics with those of the sample being interviewed (Cohen and Manion, 1989). The idiosyncratic nature of a grounded theory formal interview addresses some of these issues associated with validity. Researchers should be new to the area under research and will therefore be less inclined to have preconceived ideas which might impact on the construction of questions and interpretation of answers (Swanson, 1986). Formal interviewing is usually done in conjunction with participant observation and informal interviewing; such triangulation provides a check on validity (convergent validity, Cohen and Manion, 1989); grounded theory involves theoretical sampling in which emergent codes are delimited and interviewees reinvestigated (Glaser, 1978), thus providing a check on truthfulness and a chance to clarify previous findings; the concept of theoretical sensitivity (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 1994) demands that the researcher adopts a reflexive approach to interviewing whereby the potential biases of both researcher and respondent are recorded both during and after interviewing.

It has been mentioned earlier that reliability and validity have typically been associated with quantitative research. This point needs stressing here as the preceding review of these issues needs to be viewed in the understanding

that such an analysis within the context of qualitative field research creates a rough analogue between research approaches. Some qualitative researchers, reports Kvale (1996) have a different attitude towards questions of validity, reliability and generalisability. "These are simply ignored or dismissed as some oppressive positivist concepts that hamper a creative and emancipatory qualitative research" (p.231). Lincoln and Guba (1985) have used terms such as trustworthiness, credibility, dependability and confirmability when discussing notions of truth. Each of these has a specific meaning and any critique of the value of such research should arguably focus on the specific aims of the project and meanings associated with related terminology inherent in the processes employed within the study.

From a postmodern perspective, issues of reliability, validity and generalisability are sometimes discarded as leftovers from a modernist correspondence theory of truth. There are multiple ways of knowing and multiple truths, and the concept of validity indicates a firm boundary line between truth and non-truth (Kvale 1996).

3.5   Analysis of Interview Data and the Importance of Context

Grounded theory provides the researcher with a recommended approach to the analysis of qualitative data and, as Miller and Crabtree (1994) emphasise, the operating paradigm affects the researcher's approach to analysis. A critique of analytic and interpretive procedures associated with interview data contained within a grounded theory becomes complex because, it is at this stage that the approaches adopted by Glaser and Strauss' later work become most polarised. The area of data analysis using material collected through interview has become a topical focus in much of the recent literature in texts on qualitative research methods from both a philosophical and empirical base. Fontana and Frey (1994) review the history of interviewing and highlight the impact of feminist thought on redefining the interview situation and the implications for making sense of collected data. The authors also

identify recent trends in postmodern interviewing with its emphasis on ways of neutralising the influence of the researcher and questions surrounding the nature of reality. Mishler (1991) characterises this last point, "Not being able to rely on a conception of a stable, universal, and transparent relation between representation and reality, and between language and meaning, confronts researchers with serious and difficult theoretical and methodological problems" (p.278).

May (1995) makes a point on which most researchers agree, that following the interview, work is only just starting, writing up of notes and analysis are the time-consuming challenging aspects of this research process. The coding strategies, together with numerous adjunctive procedures identified in Strauss and Corbin's (1990) work present a formidable task for the grounded theory analyst. Atkinson (1985) makes the valid point that researchers, once they have collected their data:

> "often expect, if only at a subconscious level, to 'find' educational, sociological or psychological concepts staring them in the face or leaping out at them from the data. It is a common enough misconception to expect to stumble across 'authoritarianism', 'social control', or whatever, and to be disappointed - even to feel betrayed."

(quoted in Silverman, 1985, p.50)

Grounded theorists are also presented with the challenge of interpreting the data to create a theory which avoids using 'borrowed' terminology, but rather engages in the construction of abstract labels which truly fit the 'emerging' data.

Huberman and Miles (1994) point out that grounded theory acknowledges one important point, that analysis will be undifferentiated and disjointed until the researcher has some local acquaintance with the setting. Measor (1985) following various interview projects conducted in educational settings also

concludes that "the quality of the data is dependent on the quality of the relationships you build with the people interviewed" (p.57). Hedges (1985) on the other hand, emphasises the need for the interviewer to cultivate a stance of 'passionate neutrality', being both involved in the group and, at the same time detached from it.

The issue of qualitative analysis has received considerable attention over the past decade. Several books give overviews of the different methods available to researchers (Huberman and Miles, 1994; Silverman, 1993; Tesch, 1990; Wolcott, 1994). Grounded theory analysis is characterised by the generation of categories which represent abstract labels to conceptualise the data. The generation of such categories which seek to explain behavioural outcomes and attitudes within the group under study demand the researcher work inductively (and deductively if one uses the Straussian model) by using questions and constant comparison of data by revisiting the data site to confirm existing evidence and saturate categories. Grounded theorists therefore need to constantly evaluate their status and position in the group and, in this case, the developing relationship that is fostered with the children.

In the case of grounded theory, because data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously, minimising potential research bias must become an issue of concern throughout the study. The emphasis on establishing (and maintaining) validity (in grounded theory terminology this concept would be described as 'fit', that is, any explanation or theory should fit the data) in a grounded theory is, to an extent, reliant on the researcher's capacity to minimise the effects of bias. As Kvale (1996) points out,

> "An investigative concept of validation is inherent in the grounded theory approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Validation is here not some final verification or product control; verification is built into the research process with continual checks on credibility, plausibility, and trustworthiness of the findings" (p.242).

However, the attention given specifically to this issue is noticeably absent from many of the core texts. Researchers have to rely on the abstract notion of 'theoretical sensitivity' which receives some attention in Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) although they treat it somewhat differently. There exists within the literature relating to analysis of qualitative data a number of strategies for enabling the researcher to take a reflexive stance and assess potential self and interviewee bias. For example, Hycner (1985) recommends bracketing and phenomenological reduction: the researcher suspends personal meanings and interpretations and attempts to understand what the interviewee is saying rather than what the interviewer expects that person to say. Huberman and Miles (1994) analyse the many sources of potential biases that might invalidate qualitative observations and interpretations: they outline in detail tactics for testing and confirming qualitative findings. These tactics include checking for representativeness and for researcher effects, triangulating, weighing the evidence, using extreme cases, following up on surprises, looking for negative evidence, ruling out spurious relations and getting feedback from informants.

Within this PhD case study the researcher incorporated the notion of bracketing; transcripts of child interviews included operational notes (see Appendix E for example) which identified features associated with the dynamics of the interview including interruptions, non-verbal cues given by the children, and an open account of obvious mistakes made by the interviewer (such as realising a question had been misunderstood or that a prompt might have been leading). Evidence received through interviews was often validated through tactics such as reinterviewing the child about the same issue at a different time or, in relation to a different context, confirming stories with other child informants, corroborating information by questioning teachers of the children, and through observational methods. Formal interview schedules were followed although the protocol was designed as a guide, especially in the latter stages of the project where leads from children were pursued. (See Appendix G for fuller description.)

Recent emphases in research literature reflecting shifts in philosophical debates surrounding the nature of reality, the importance of context and representing data deserve mention, not only as they are beginning to become a focus of attention in current texts (eg. Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Kvale, 1996; Mishler, 1991) but also because it is recognised that the governing paradigm will effect data collection and analysis. This becomes important when considering debates surrounding the philosophical underpinnings of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1994).

The influence of researcher on the data is a concern for postmodern sociologists. Marcus and Fischer (1986) voice reflexive concerns about the ways in which the researcher influences the study, in both methods of data collection and techniques of reporting findings. Ways of neutralising researcher bias in interviews have been suggested. One such way is through polyphonic interviewing in which the voices of the subjects are recorded with minimal influence from the researcher and are not collapsed together and reported as one through the interpretation of the interviewer (Krieger 1983). The issue of accommodating 'multiple voices' is given consideration by Strauss and Corbin (1994) who accept that these voices are interpreted conceptually by the researcher. However, they suggest that "coding procedures, including the important procedures of constant comparison, theoretical questioning, theoretical sampling, concept development, and their relationships, help to protect the researcher from accepting any of these voices on their own terms, and to some extent forces the researcher's own voice to be questioning, questioned, and provisional" (p.280). Scheurich (1995) however, argues that "my postmodern perspective suggests that the researcher has multiple intentions and desires, some of which are consciously known and some which are not" (p.240).

The issue of representing the verbal data as written text and decontextualisation is also a concern of some researchers. Atkinson (1992) for example explains how:

"the ethnography embeds and comments on stories
told by informants, investing them with a significance
often beyond their mundane production. It includes
the ethnographer's own accounts of incidents,
'cases', and the like. They too are transformed and
enhanced by their recontextualisation in the
ethnography itself. These narrative instances are
collected and juxtaposed in the text so that their
meaning (sociological or anthropological significance)
is implied by the ethnographer and reconstructed by
the reader" (p.13).

Scheurich (1995) is critical of grounded theory's tendency to group concepts
that seem to pertain to the same phenomena (Strauss and Corbin 1990) and
compare aggregates or categories across interviews, interviewees, times and
places. Scheurich (1995) argues that:

"What a question or answer means to the researcher
may change over time or situations. What a question
or answer means to the interviewee similarly may
change. What occurs in a specific interview is
contingent on the specifics of individuals, place and
time" (p.240).

Mishler (1991) also stresses the importance of understanding the relationship
between language and meaning which is "contextually grounded, unstable,
ambiguous and subject to endless reinterpretation" (p.260). Scheurich (1995)
accuses the grounded theory approach of characterising a modernist
representation whereby complex phenomena are reduced into simple terms,
where differential relations are transformed into firm identities, and diffusely
textured situations squeezed into tightly bound containers.

Mishler (1986) is critical of conventional interviewing which, he argues is
characterised by asymmetries of power. Mishler lists a number of ways in
which interviewees can be given more power including encouraging the
notion of interviewees as competent observers and interviewers, and
accepting them as collaborators in the development of the study and in the
interpretation of data. Such recommendations can be found permeating

much of the grounded theory literature, particularly the earlier work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) which emphasised the need to ensure subsequent theories had use, and were comprehensible to those under study, together with obtaining feedback from interviewees about the accuracy of collected data. These strategies were also incorporated into this PhD research whereby children were encouraged to take an active role in the research process. They would be asked to confirm previous statements and assess the relevance of the researcher's interpretation through informal discussion and, also played a part in determining future questions for interview as they became familiar with the objectives of the project. Individuals were also encouraged to help in selecting other children (theoretical sampling) for future interview based on friendship relations and perceived status of other children in the school. Appendix H provides a natural history of the research specifying dates and rounds of interviews together with details of reinterview dates involving selected children.

Scheurich (1995) argues that within a postmodern perspective, in order to reconceptualise interviewing researchers should highlight the 'baggage' they bring to the research enterprise. The emphasis in postmodern thought is on showing the human side of the researcher and the problems of unstructured interviewing. The text created by the rendition of events by the researcher is deconstructed as his or her biases and taken-for-granted notions are exposed and, at times, alternative ways to look at the data introduced (Clough, 1992).

Scheurich (1995) also recommends (in what he calls a postmodern account) that in subsequent interviews with actors there is a discussion of previous interviews which highlights ambiguities and is used as a basis for further analysis and should be presented in written reports. Thirdly, recommends Scheurich, what is needed is experimentation with interviews "that highlight the indeterminacy of interview interactions, ways that allow for the uncontrollable play of power within the interaction" (p.250).

98

Feminist researchers have suggested ways to circumvent traditional interviewing which has been described as a masculine paradigm (Oakley, 1981), embedded in a masculine culture and stressing masculine traits, while at the same time excluding such traits as sensitivity, emotionality, and others that are traditionally viewed as feminine. Oakley (1981), Reinharz (1992), and Smith (1987) emphasise that women are interviewed as objects rather than individuals and there is a call for closer relations between interviewer and respondent and minimising status differences. Clough (1992) calls for a reassessment of the whole sociological enterprise and for a re-reading of existing sociological texts in a light that is not marred by paternalistic bias.

The presentation of research findings has received some attention within recent qualitative research texts. Clough (1992), a feminist writer, for example has presented some of her fieldwork in the form of poetry. This is echoed by Scheurich (1995) a postmodern writer who states "Patai's (1988) creative conversion of interview text into poetry is certainly provocative in this regard since poetry tends not to fear ambiguity or indeterminacy" (p.250).

Furthermore, as postmodernists seek new ways of understanding and reporting data, some are combining visual and written modes of communication. Ulmer (1989) introduces the concepts of analysis in which interview talk is coupled with recordings from videos which, argues Ulmer, is a product more consonant with a society that is dominated by the medium of television. Becker (1981) and Harper (1982) also recommend and engage in visual/written sociological commentaries. Other ways of reporting data are considered by Kvale (1996) who recommends going beyond the standard requirements for scientific reports and using innovative ways of presentation such as narrating the report or, taking a lead from journalists and reporting interviews simply as interviews using a specific audience with a non-negotiable deadline.

3.6 Non-participant Observation Combined with Interviewing

Participant (and non-participant) observation has received a great deal of attention in texts relating to qualitative research methods. Adler and Adler (1994) assess the current status of this particular methodology. Observation however formed a very small part of this study, most of the data being gathered through formal and informal group interviews, consequently this introduction is a brief review of the use of this methodology in the context of this project. The form of observation was unstructured and was primarily used to validate information offered by children relating to their types of play and their friendship groupings. Most observations were carried out by the researcher although some supporting observations were obtained through teachers supervising playtimes. A form was given to teachers in order to provide a framework for their observations (Appendix I) and training was given by the researcher in the use of this methodology through formal meetings in school and with individual teachers during playtime itself. This latter strategy was relatively unsuccessful as there was a very poor response from teachers who found they were too occupied during breaktimes to effectively collect useful data in an accurate way. Subsequently, in consultation with staff in the school this approach was terminated and observations made by the researcher. Hurst (1995) points out that observation is often the first pedagogic process to suffer when practitioners are under pressure because of inadequate resources and staffing.

Chenitz (1986) recommends the use of participant observation in conjunction with interviewing in a grounded theory study as it can heighten the ability of the researcher to collect and validate data. Evans (1989) also emphasises that using observations when researching children's play can enhance validity and reliability and act as a means of cross-checking interview findings, however, he points out that observation with children is usually of the non-participant type. Such non-participant observation is useful, suggests Evans, when the objective is to identify such factors as the game

type, the gender of participants or to code pro-social and anti-social behaviour.

The influence of an observer on the behaviour of the actors has received much attention in the research literature (eg. Singer, 1973a). In relation to children Eifermann (1971) noted that while children are distracted by the presence of an observer at first this impact dissipates quickly and children soon return to natural play. The detached nature of the researcher in this study allowed for note taking which was used to supplement and support data collected during interviews with children. A distinct disadvantage with such observations however is highlighted by Evans (1989) who states that, "The observer can record many behaviours, such as where and with whom children play, but the meaning and interpretations of the behaviour will remain obscure and ambiguous unless it is explored and discussed with the children involved" (p.83). Schatzman and Strauss (1973) support this claim and point out that reliance on observation is unlikely to produce valid accounts of behaviour as researchers are susceptible to bias from their own subjective interpretations of situations.

There are some studies which focus on play activities, friendship groupings and play culture using observational methods which include, the Opies (1959, 1969 and 1993) who adopted this strategy, although they were not always detached from the group under study; Sluckin (1981) sought a better understanding of the way games were devised although he submerged himself in the playground culture to the point where he was able to record conversations. Evans (1985) used opportunistic conversations with children who were chosen last for a game or not chosen at all. In 1989 Evans used teachers to record date, time and the nature of their interactions with children to establish patterns of teacher-child interactions during playground duty in his Australian study. Fine (1987) used in-depth participant observation with 10 teams in five Little Leagues in Minnesota and Massachusetts and found existence of an idioculture which regulates group behaviour and provides a sense of cohesion. For the most part, researchers in this natural setting used

relatively unstructured methods for collecting data. However, Boulton (1992) used focal individual sampling (Altmann, 1974) to document sex partners and temporal distribution of activities throughout playtime with eight and eleven year old British children.

3.7 Summary

Most of the data collected throughout this study was through the use of interviews, combined with a small amount of non-participant observation used to validate narrative data received from focus group interviews. A brief review of literature on these research methods is considered in the context of a grounded theory study with young children.

Informal interviews characterised by natural speech formed the basis of initial investigations with both teachers and children in a number of primary schools with the intention of generating relevant themes for future formal interviewing. Throughout the course of the project the shift in interview procedure moved from a semi-structured to a more unstructured process in which children were allowed to talk in their own terms of reference with minimal extraneous interviewer interruptions. This is characteristic of the flexible nature of data collection recommended in grounded theory approaches.

Focus group interviews are recognised as a valuable tool for collecting data although they place great demands on the skills of the researcher. They have the potential to generate rich data, are inexpensive and flexible; however, a number of disadvantages have been associated with the method including the effects of group culture, which may inhibit expression, difficulty in investigating sensitive topics and the effects of potential bias as individuals are affected by the response of others in the group.

There has been relatively little research with young children using focus groups when compared with that conducted with children over eleven years of age and adults. Particular difficulties associated with gathering valid

narrative data from this age group have been documented including children's susceptibility to distraction, memory limitations and willingness to be dishonest. Nevertheless, it is believed by some researchers that focus group interviews with young children can provide researchers with a valuable research tool; a number of considered advantages have been highlighted including, providing a supportive environment, encouraging trying out of relatively risky ideas and maintaining a flow of responses. Despite the recognised potential, most research has been conducted with young children in the area of child abuse. Researchers are in disagreement about optimum sizes for such groups which appear to be, to some extent, dependent on age, although groups of five have been recommended by some authors.

The school environment presents challenges for researchers trying to find suitable quiet areas to conduct focus group interviews. Within this study the researcher found the necessity to spend a lot of time piloting both different sizes of groups and finding ways of recording data in different sites within the school building. Interviews were taped using a dictaphone and transcribed verbatim. Analysis of data was done simultaneously with data collection recording both verbal and non-verbal communication and noting group dynamics and interruptions.

Validity and reliability are issues of concern to researchers in both qualitative and quantitative methods of study, although some would argue that because different qualitative approaches have their own particular objectives, that alternative terminology such as trustworthiness, evidence and credence might be more appropriate. Validity tends to be associated with truth, though Kvale (1996) emphasises that there are different interpretations of this term. Indeed, Kerlinger (1979) points out that the subject of validity is complex and that there are a number of interpretations associated with the term. Internal validity has been related with degrees of truth whereas external validity has been associated with the generalisability of a proposition (Campbell and Stanley, 1966). In grounded theory such generalisability is handled by seeking out a wide range of variation in data through theoretical sampling,

which in turn generates a basic social process relevant to people in similar situations. The relevance of assessing the reliability of a grounded theory study is questioned by Hutchinson (1988), as the purpose of such research is to offer new perspectives which can be tested by other research methods.

Threats to validity are often aligned to potential bias in the interview situation. A number of strategies to reduce such bias are contained within standard textbooks on research methods. Grounded theory encourages investigators to minimise this bias as it recommends entering an area without prior theories, involves theoretical sampling in which interviewees may be reinvestigated and demands the researcher adopt a reflexive approach to collection of data.

Issues associated with analysis of qualitative data have become a focal point for debate in many contemporary research texts. The idiosyncratic nature of grounded theory demands that data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously which encourages constant checks on credibility and trustworthiness. Huberman and Miles (1994) outline a number of other strategies available for reducing potential bias which the researcher adopted in this study and are part of a grounded theory process, such as looking for negative evidence, ruling out spurious relations and triangulation.

It is recognised that the governing paradigm will affect data collection and analysis. Postmodern sociologists have voiced concern over the way in which investigators influence the study and suggested ways in which the multiple voices of subjects can be recorded with minimal bias. Strauss and Corbin (1994) highlight a number of strategies inherent in grounded theory which, they argue, encourage a reflexive approach on the part of the researcher. Scheurich (1995) however is critical of the grounded theory approach in the way it groups together concepts, representing a modernist representation whereby complex phenomena are reduced into simple terms.

Mishler (1986) expresses concern over asymmetries of power which often exist in interview situations. Arguably, the grounded theory approach

incorporates a number of recommendations and strategies which encourage investigators to empower interviewees. Within this study children were encouraged to take an active role in the research process and assess the trustworthiness of researcher assumptions. The emphasis within a postmodern perspective is highlighting researcher baggage to recontextualise interviewing (Scheurich 1995).

The interview has been described as a masculine paradigm (Oakley, 1981). Feminists call for closer relations between interviewer and respondent to minimise status differences. Clough (1992) argues a more radical approach is needed whereby the whole sociological enterprise is reassessed and, there is a re-reading of existing sociological texts in a light not marred by paternal bias.

A number of researchers have experimented with alternative ways of presenting research findings such as conversion of text into poetry (Patai, 1988) and analysis in which interview talk is coupled with recordings from videos (Ulmer, 1989). Kvale (1996) has recommended narration of texts or just reporting interviews simply as interviews to a specific audience.

Unstructured, non-participant observation was employed during the research process primarily to provide a check on validity of interview data. Evans (1989) emphasises that such observation with children can be useful in establishing general features such as game type and gender participation. However, he also stresses that deeper meanings associated with such behaviour need to be investigated through discussion with the children. Observation has been used by a number of researchers working with children in the play and sport domain (Evans, 1985, 1989; Opie and Opie, 1959, 1969, Opie, 1993; Sluckin, 1981; Boulton, 1992; Fine. 1987). The brief review of observational methodology reflects the relatively short amount of time devoted to this strategy within this study where the emphasis was on collecting data via focus group research interviews.

CHAPTER 4

'INTERPRETING MYSELF - THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'

4.1   Theorising the Data

Conventional theses at degree and higher degree level generally follow a standard format of presentation whereby the 'analysis of results' chapter is preceded by a 'review of literature'. This tends to reflect the order in which the researcher conducted the project. Within grounded theory study however, the literature review is delayed until relatively late in the research process following data collection and analysis, in order to reduce potential researcher bias. Consequently, in this particular study, the review of related literature is presented in a subsequent chapter. The term 'analysis of results' has little relevance as a suitable title for this chapter as it only reflects part of the grounded theory study and, unlike traditional research methods, the data analysis in a grounded theory project runs concurrently throughout the project together with data collection and theory generation. It is the interpretation of data and discovered substantive theories which are reported in a grounded theory study.

In order to clarify the processes incorporated in this study the writer will, where appropriate, identify how strategies integral to grounded theory were utilised at different stages of the research. It could be argued that a common rhetorical device used in conventional reporting of research findings is the reluctance of the analyst to specify stages and processes involved in the study, or 'open up' the data for the reader to make an informed assessment about the credibility and trustworthiness of findings (Buckley and Almond, 1993). In this case study, reference is made to the basic social processes which form the theoretical framework, examples of field notes have been included, real data is interspersed within the text to contextualise findings and, relationships between emergent categories are discussed. There is,

furthermore, a tendency for existing studies to delimit complex matrices of interacting phenomena and impose adult labels on aspects of child culture to account for patterns of behaviour (eg. Mason, 1995; Hutson, et al., 1995). This study, in remaining faithful to grounded theory recommendations, aims to highlight factors contributing to children's attitudes towards physical activities and physical education lessons by grounding interpretations in the perspectives of the children themselves and, reporting data in a way which is comprehensible, meaningful and has relevance for primary school teachers and other educationalists interested in this field.

4.2   Area v Problem

Glaser (1992) emphasises the need for the researcher to work inductively and enter the field with no preconceptions. The area of interest comes first rather than a specific problem or question.   In this study the area was children and physical activity.   Initial stages in the process involved the researcher talking to teachers and children, observing children in physical education lessons and at play and, discussing with colleagues in universities potential avenues of research which had not already been explored. After a period of about six months, during which children were interviewed, a salient feature which emerged as a potentially useful and important area was the underlying factors contributing to children's perceptions of and attitudes towards physical activity and physical education. There was apparently, an urgent need for qualitative studies in the area of socio-cultural factors influencing young children's participation in types of physical activity, most research had previously focused on levels of activity or reasons for participation/non-participation in types of activities with older children.

Glaser (1992) points out that grounded theory studies should produce theories which work at a conceptual rather than descriptive level, however, he argues that appropriate descriptions of the context of the research should be

included for the reader to accurately locate the theoretical analysis. A description of the schools involved in this study is included in Appendix J.

4.3   The Emergence of the Core and Mediating Categories

The aim of this particular study was to try to develop a substantive theory which could account for patterns of behaviour and attitudes towards physical activity and physical education in primary-school-aged children. Within grounded theory the goal is the generation and explication of a core category which "accounts for most of the variation in a pattern of behaviour" (Glaser, 1978, p.93). During the initial stages of the research process, Glaser argues that the analyst consciously looks for the core category, a main theme that sums up what is going on in the data, for what is the essence of relevance reflected in the data and, for gerunds which bring out process and change. After a period of months the category which appeared most relevant to accounting for children's attitudes and behaviour was the way in which children interpreted themselves. This led to a personal identity which appeared to be mediated by a number of other processes (which eventually became mediating categories).

Early codes (a label to describe recurring incidents of behaviour) included 'pretend', 'inventiveness', 'following', 'copying'. 'purpose', 'being with others', 'adopting a sporty image', 'opportunity' and 'local heroes' amongst many others. A number of responses indicated that children's interpretations of what was perceived as important changed over time, consequently, a cross-sectional sample was used with children of 7 and 8 years of age and, 9 and 10 years of age. These same children were then re-interviewed and studied over the next few years to establish longitudinal changes. This initial sample consisted of eleven boys and eleven girls from schools A and B. As the study developed, theoretical sampling was used whereby specific schools and children were selectively chosen in order to develop, and ultimately saturate the emerging categories. School C for example, was chosen as a contrast to

schools A and B in which children were found to exhibit certain traits particular to the catchment area in which the school was situated. School C had a much smaller number of children on roll and was set in a small village area with more parental involvement and extra-curricular sporting activities for children than in the other schools. School D was situated in a different part of the country from the existing schools under study and was selected partly to establish potential regional as well as demographic differences. School E was an all girls secondary school containing pupils who had already been interviewed earlier in the study. The theoretical sampling of children was based on codes and categories which were emerging in the analysis of data, such as friendship patterns, status of children as well as criteria such as compatibility of certain individuals in the group interview situation.

A core category, according to Glaser (1978) is one which is central, re-occurs frequently, takes more time to saturate and is highly dependently variable. (Note Glaser's use of terminology commonly associated with traditional research, he also often calls the core category a core variable). Importantly. when the core category refers to a process over time it is a basic social process, other categories may influence this core category. In conjunction with emergence of the core category of 'interpreting myself' (this later developed and became more refined as recommended by Glaser (1978), Fagerhaugh (1986) and Charmaz (1990), other categories were identified as being important and related to the core category. These were 'playing the rules', 'challenging, changing and accepting personal identities of self and others' and 'mediating the messages'. (These have been referred to as mediating categories.)

Grounded theorists recommend the use of diagrams in the analysis and presentation of data. The following diagram shows the relationship between the core category (a BSP) which accounts for behaviour over time and the related categories which mediate this core category.

Fig. 3.1   The Relationship between the Core Category and
             Related Mediating Categories
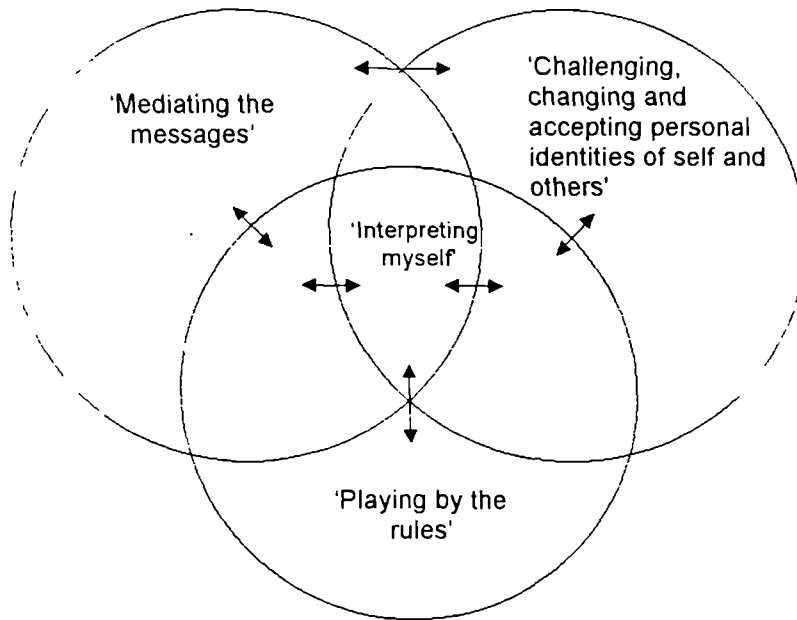
A number of other diagrams appear throughout this chapter to provide a visual representation of relationships between emerging categories and sub-categories derived from data collection.

4.4   The Core Category

'Interpreting myself' is a process in which children make judgements about themselves, their physical abilities and skills, their relationships with peers, parents, teachers and coaches.   Such interpretation contours the child's attitudes towards physical education and activity as well as things such as the importance of health and value of exercise.

An important feature of this core category, wherein children create, and have created for them a typology, is that it is processual and is mediated by the other three categories.   In this way, it is both time and context specific.   In

other words, a child might exhibit characteristics of one type of identity in a certain place and time, and characteristics germane to another identity in other contexts or time zones. The term 'Interpreting Myself', (later developed and refined to 'Interpreting Myself - The Identity Profile Continuum') is a conceptual term arising from analyses of causal conditions and consequences, rather than a descriptive label. Similarly, the terms 'sporty innovator', 'sporty participant' and so on, used to identify features of the continuum are abstract labels based on observed phenomena found in the data, rather than descriptive labels referring to types of children. Thus, a child could be described as exhibiting qualities of say a 'sporty innovator' but as this is a conceptual rather than descriptive identity one would not call the child a 'sporty innovator'. Therefore, to argue that children may be 'sporty innovators' in one context yet 'followers' in another context (or time period) would be inappropriate and contaminate the process. Rather, the idea would be to match up a child's current biography and lifestyle behaviours and seek to match these to the identity of the closest fit (e.g. 'Sporty Innovator'. 'Follower' or 'Emulator' etc.) The term 'continuum' was chosen in favour of 'matrix' to describe the core category as the writer feels it more accurately reflects the flexible and temporal nature of grounded theories and. in this case, the continual movement of individuals within the core category. The movement of children between identities within the continuum across all three planes is most noticeable when they are younger, i.e. seven and eight years of age. However, when they begin to mature through the primary school years towards ten and eleven there is less movement, then children appear to accept and be accepted as a character within, or most closely fitting a particular identity.

One of the central features inherent in a good grounded theory analysis, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967), is that it should be comprehensible and of some use to practitioners in the field under study, in this case, those involved both directly and indirectly in working with children in physical activities and/or researchers interested in developing insights into factors affecting children's perceptions of physical activity and physical education.

This being so, each 'identity' is described and its characteristics outlined. Features of each identity will be discussed, their place in the continuum identified as well as their typical relationships with peers from other identities. These products are based on grounded theorising from the data. At the end of each section, and again, based on responses from children, there will be discussion of the implications for physical educators and playground provision (where sufficient and relevant data has been collected).

An important point to consider here is that the continuum, having been discovered from the data, is in itself part of the substantive theory, and can therefore be interpreted and evaluated (also subsequently tested if one chooses to ascribe to the Straussian model) by the potential reader/user. Moreover, it must be recognised that the continuum arose from analysis of data, which appeared to the researcher to be the most important category accounting for the behaviour and attitudes amongst those children studied. The intention was not to try to construct a model which would enable the researcher to present a number of tips for teachers. It may be that, in considering an individual child, one can place him/her in more than one 'identity', or as Charmaz (1990) found in a study with chronically ill patients, there are 'merged identities' which exhibit characteristics of two adjacent identities. This should not however, be a concern of the reader or user of these research findings, nor should one attempt to fix a child into one of the 'identities' The children in this project generally displayed characteristics common to no more than two of the identities (at one particular time) and, in order to assist the user/reader, essential characteristics and secondary characteristics are presented. For a child to fall into the identity of 'sporty innovator' for example one would expect at least 3 of the essential traits to be evident.

Within each section relating to an identity there are quotes included from field notes/interviews from children. For the sake of expediency the identity most closely fitting the particular child when they offered the information will be identified where quotes from children have been included in the text.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to offering a description of the core category. It begins with a diagrammatical representation of the continuum which shows the relative position of each identity (Fig. 3.2). The diagram represents two dimensions, that is, a longitudinal axis, those identities higher up the continuum valuing activity more than those identities lower in the continuum, as well as having a more positive physical self-image and better relationships with peers when involved in physical activity. A second dimension is the lateral axis whereby identities towards the left of the continuum i.e. sporty innovators and sporty participants, have higher levels of interest and, tend to give up more of their voluntary time to physical activities than those positioned more to the right i.e. reluctant participants and distants. The point to emphasise here is that it is the level of interest and voluntary time deliberately given to physical activities which is the determining factor; for example, followers may be active but this might be because they have a lot of activity organised for them by parents or choose an activity merely because friends choose it. Their main reason for choosing the activity is not because of personal interest in the activity. It follows, therefore, that neither lateral nor longitudinal positioning on the continuum is specifically indicative of activity level, rather it indicates the level of interest and the value orientation of the identity towards physical activity. There is, unsurprisingly, a strong relationship between such interest in activity and the amount of time children seem to be active. It should be stressed that this area did not become a focus of inquiry during the study. Rather than levels of activity, the emphasis has been on types of activity, attitudes towards activity and relationships with significant others.

A third dimension is evident within the continuum whereby individuals unconsciously assimilate and, at the same time consciously manipulate, their relative position based on contextual, relational and biographical dimensions of perceived realities. Consequently, individuals may traverse the continuum in more than two planes. They may also shift within an identity, particularly the identities of emulators and socialisers which have broad defining characteristics.

Each identity is considered in turn starting with the 'sporty innovator' and continuing through to the 'distant'. There is a diagram showing the essential and secondary traits preceding descriptions of each identity and a miniature version of the core category diagram to remind the reader of the identity's position on the continuum. The essential and secondary traits are outlined for each identity, an essential trait refers to a frequently recurring feature associated with that particular identity (the assigning of a child to a particular category is normally dependent on the child exhibiting at least three essential traits, although the specific requirement is highlighted within each identity.) A child assigned to any identity would normally also exhibit two of the secondary traits (in a similar way, the specific requirement of a number of secondary traits is highlighted within each identity). When quotes from children have been used, their closest fitting identity is provided together with age and related school at the time of the interview and school to contextualise the conversation.

Through the process of the research, children were asked about friends and friendships; patterns which emerged from this data have been recorded in the form of diagrams which appear at the end of each description of an identity. A summative diagram of these friendship patterns is included at the end of the first part of this chapter which is devoted to the core category (Fig. 3.12).

The latter part of the chapter describes the mediating categories which share a symbiotic relationship with the core category. There are three mediating categories, each is discussed separately and preceded by a diagram showing its internal structure and relationship with the core category (Figs. 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15).

Appendix K provides examples of how data were coded and analysed at various stages during the research in relation to selected dimensions of the core category.

Fig. 3.2 Diagrammatical Representation of the Core Category - 'Interpreting Myself - The Identity Profile Continuum'

Level of Interest and Voluntary Time Given to Physical Activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

115

Fig. 3.3

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY

'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

'INTERPRETING MYSELF – THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
SPORTY INNOVATOR

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

Willing to organise other groups/individuals

Often provides equipment for other children

Prepared to join in informal play activities

Strong desire to be active in formal sports

IDENTITY

SPORTY INNOVATOR

Can play activities perceived as unpopular without ridicule from others

Usually initiates play/games for the rest of the group

Has good knowledge of structure of most playground games and formal sports played in their school

A sporty innovator will demonstrate at least 3 of the essential traits and usually a couple of secondary traits.

116

4.4.1 Identity: Sporty Innovator

General Characteristics

Few children tend to fall into this identity, although there are more or less equal numbers of girls and boys. This type of child is very enthusiastic about sport participation both inside and outside the school environment and appears to have an ability to mix amongst different social groups within the playground. They show a willingness to join in less formal, structured games when lack of opportunity or available equipment precludes them from vigorous team games.
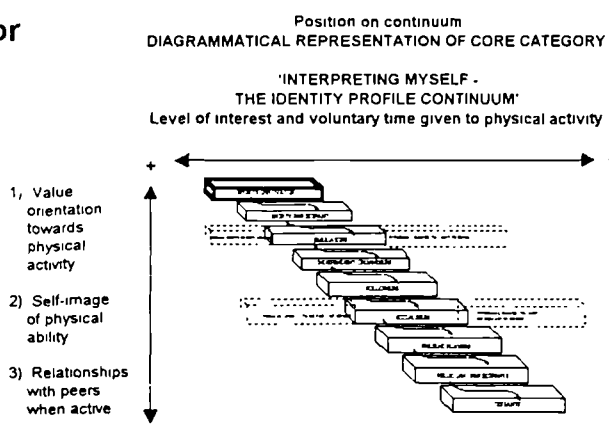
Essential and Secondary Traits

During playtimes the innovator is very often responsible for organising other groups of children, starting the game and even restructuring the game if it deteriorates through such things as teams being unfair or disruptions from others. This trait is however more common amongst boys than girls. Innovators enjoy fluid games that are active, they generally have positive relationships with other pupils whilst at play and in physical education, although they show disregard for those who disrupt games, distants and being paired with children of a low skill level in physical education lessons.

Nicholas exhibits many features of this identity, this quote exemplifies the innovators enthusiasm for play, knowledge of rules and disregard for distants:

Nicholas:
(Sporty innovator
aged 11)

"We play football at playtime and there's always an argument going on between year 5 and year 6, so if nobody's brought a ball and you're not allowed to play

117

with the school ball we just play a catching game which is, get yourselves into two groups, decide who's catching and who's not, then when you're caught, you get sent to a den and you have to get 'tuck' to get free."

Interviewer: "A den?"

Nicholas: "Just a space where you go when you're caught at the end of the playground."

Interviewer: "Who plays?"

Nicholas: "Mostly all boys in year 6."

Interviewer: "Are there any that don't join in?"

Nicholas: "About three - they normally come in and play football stickers - it's a bit boring."

Interviewer: "What about year 5? "What do they do?"

Nicholas: "They've got someone called Phillip in their class and he always brings a ball - so they're okay - they always play football." (School B)

The final sentence also indicates a recurring feature which emerged in the data, that of the status which can accrue from having and being willing to supply equipment for games. This is discussed in detail in the mediating category 'playing by the rules'. This extract also typifies a trend which emerges in the latter years of primary school where cross-age play is less evident than amongst children of seven to eight years. This is especially so for children at the upper end of the continuum such as sporty innovators and

sporty participants who appear to enjoy the challenges presented in playing with children of the same age rather than younger children.

Children can enter this category with moderate levels of physical skill as long as they exhibit enough of the traits associated with this identity such as providing equipment, having a strong desire to be active and a willingness to organise groups. However, as definitions of skill become more focused towards physical abilities at the top-end of the junior school and the importance of being skilful is given more value, particularly for innovators and sporty participants, skill level is perceived as a valued currency in maintaining or establishing respect from others. When asked who she would most like to play with in games lessons and activities, Charlotte replied:

Charlotte:
(Sporty participant aged 11)

"Someone athletic like Simon or Mark. They're good runners and Simon is an extremely good thrower. From the playground he could probably get the ball down to the other end of the field." (School C)

Laura,
(Sporty innovator aged 11)

(interrupting): "He has done, he's got it over the hedge." (School C)

For children from many identities at 10 and 11 years of age, there appears to be a move towards single-sex play in both play and lunchtime periods, innovators however, with a pre-occupation on the continuity of activity, and their shared trait with sporty participants of the importance of having a good game appear accepting of mixed-sex play. Innovators have an ability to move amongst many groups, tend to be popular and are accepted without ridicule in many types of playground activities which they may choose if their first choice is unavailable. They generally however, seek out children from at least the pretend player level of the continuum, or above. As they approach 10 and 11 years, more time is spent with characters conforming to identities higher up the continuum. Furthermore, when opportunities arise, innovators

will seek out older and/or more skilled players to test their levels of physical competence inside and outside the school environment.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

These types of children, i.e. innovators, respond to being able to organise others and enjoy team games which involve fair competition and vigorous activities. They have a detailed knowledge of many formal games and rule conventions and have an ability to be creative in game situations. They would therefore, probably respond well to opportunities involving responsibilities for ensuring fair play is taking place. enforcing rule structures and inventing new rules or game features. They usually enjoy all aspects of the physical education curriculum but are frustrated by inactivity or pursuits which do not present a worthwhile challenge. Whilst they enjoy helping all other children develop their skill and demonstrating their physical capacities, they are demotivated when partnered with children who are not physically skilled. They respond to activities in physical education in which the teacher sets open-ended tasks such as ways of moving around the apparatus in gymnastics where they can test their strength and courage. When asked to rate which aspects of the physical education they prefer, innovators prioritise things they are good at, often athletics and games are placed at the top, with swimming if they attend a club.

Innovators have a broader definition of health than most other identities and when asked to draw and write about a healthy/unhealthy person include concepts of diet, exercise and picture a smiling person for health and unhappy person for unhealthy (see Appendix F1 for example). Their knowledge could be shared with other children through reciprocal child teaching strategies whereby opportunities to teach health related exercise occurs during physical education sessions.

In the playground, innovators enjoy organising games and appear to motivate other children. They particularly enjoy games with equipment and using space, they ensure game continuity through fair teams. Giving them suitable equipment to organise playground activities could be a good strategy as such innovators demand respect from other children in the physically active playground.

Fig. 3.3.1   Friendship Patterns between Sporty Innovator and Other Identities

Fig. 3.4

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY

'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

'INTERPRETING MYSELF' THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
SPORTY PARTICIPANT

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

IDENTITY

SPORTY PARTICIPANT

Clubs outside seen as very important to developing their image

Tangible rewards are seen as very important

Occasionally inventive and may take on characteristics of innovator in their absence

Willing to play most games despite traditional gender labels attached to the activity, though less versatile than innovator

Interest mainly in activities with an obvious purpose, structure, clear goals and objectives

Will manage time to ensure opportunities for sports to develop skills

Good knowledge and interest of health concepts

Strong desire to be viewed as a sporty person by significant others.
Good awareness of their physical strengths and weaknesses

A sporty participant will demonstrate at least 3 of the essential traits and 2 secondary traits

122

4.4.2 Identity: Sporty Participant

General Characteristics

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Children in this category are viewed as 'sporty' by other children and have a desire to be seen as 'sporty' by significant others. They do not have ambitions to become innovators but may adopt some innovator characteristics in their absence. This identity tends to be more populated than the innovator category and is similarly made up of more or less equal amounts of boys and girls The identity becomes more manifest at 10 and 11 years of age with the essential and secondary traits more easily discernible. The obvious desire for recognition is evident in the children's attitudes towards the importance of achievement and attaining certificates and awards for performance. The club environment and coach are sometimes seen as more important than school physical education in satisfying the criteria set by the sporty participant. This identity merges in some areas with the sporty innovator.

Essential and Secondary Traits

Sporty participants voluntarily play with children from many other identities however, their desire to be viewed as 'sporty' may lead to them choosing friends who decide to play active formalised games during playtimes. Charlotte exhibits this trait in her choice of friends,

Interviewer: "Who do you most like to play with in the playground?"

Charlotte: "People who are sporty; I mean my best friend Joanna

(Sporty participant aged 11)   doesn't really play as much as I do, so I play with
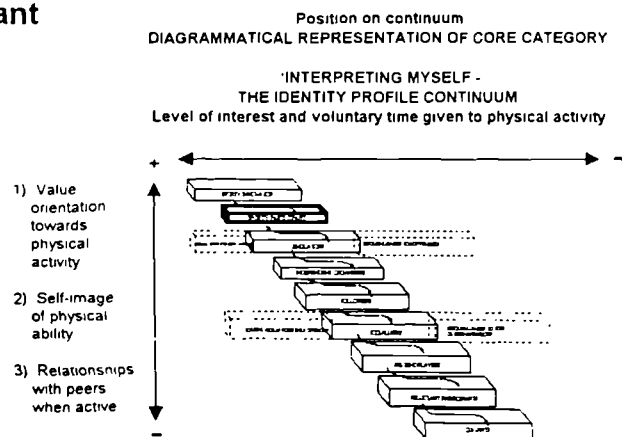
123

Richard and Sam and Amy 'cos they like to play netball, otherwise I just go and talk on the top terrace with some of my friends." (School C)

The learning of skills is seen an important to this group who enjoy the challenge of learning something from more experienced players of either sex.

Interviewer: "Should games lessons be mixed or separate for boys and girls?"

Holly:
(Sporty participant
aged 10)   "When they play together girls normally have different things to boys and boys to girls so they can learn from each other."   (School D)

This is reinforced by Charlotte's quote who also highlights other features of this category in that they tend to manage time to ensure opportunity for practising sports, understanding what they are good at and knowing which skills they need to develop.

Interviewer.   "How skilful are you Charlotte?"

Charlotte:
(Sporty participant
aged 11)   "Not as skilful as some people, but I'm good at netball and dance, those are my main sports and I've started playing football a lot. My mum's one of the netball coaches so I get a lot of practice at home; I play with my brother, and when I play football the older boys give me a lot of tactics and things like that."
(School C)

Sporty participants view achievements as important and enjoy sharing stories of their successes with others. The club environment is sometimes seen as more important than physical education and even representing school teams, particularly if the child has reached a good standard.

Interviewer:	"What do you think about PE in school?"
Sarah [1]. (Sporty participant aged 12)	"I like swimming, but not with the school, we always do breastroke."
Interviewer:	"Why don't you like this?"
Sarah [1]:	"We have to do whip kick and the other day the water was really freezing and I could have strained myself, we had to do breastroke for the first 10 minutes."
Interviewer:	"In primary school you said you liked playing netball" Could you get on the school team?"
Sarah [1]:	"Well they have teams for different years - I go to netball club on Thursday and Tuesday. I'm not on the team."
Interviewer:	"Why not?"
Sarah [1]:	"'Cos of all the swimming galas." (School E)

Sporty participants see fairness as a necessary feature of games, although they cite winning as more important than children from other identities, even innovators. They enjoy more formalised activities and will seek these out at playtimes. Whilst they mix well with children from most other identities, like the sporty innovator, they prefer not to engage their time with children below the category of pretend player and, after the age of nine they are less likely to mix with other categories than are innovators.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

Sporty participants form a large group of children, they have a strong desire to improve existing skills and show these off to others. They value rewards

and the importance of trying to work in a fair environment. They have a good knowledge of their strengths and weaknesses and make frequent comparisons of their ability with other children. Outside school and at playtime they may choose to allocate time to practising skills they realise they need to develop. In physical education lessons, their desire for praise and recognition of their skill leads to seeking approval from significant others and their physical education preferences are consequently the ones in which they can excel.

However, as club activities are sometimes viewed as more important than school they may be critical, especially as they get older, of the way in which lessons are organised and taught. For these children, an environment which provides them with a chance to demonstrate their skills to others and share their club experiences and knowledge might be conducive to promoting positive participation. In a similar way to innovators they often have a good health knowledge. (See Appendix F2 for an example of a typical drawing from this identity.) Playground provision would encourage opportunity for formalised activities with appropriate equipment and space.

Fig. 3.4.1   Friendship Patterns between Sporty Participant and Other Identities

Fig. 3.5

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

'INTERPRETING MYSELF- THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
EMULATOR

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY
'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Constantly aspiring to be seen as a sporty person

Choice of play influenced heavily by other children they see as sporty

Sub-category

INFORMAL GAMES TO COPY FRIENDS

Strongly influenced by older children

Winning seen as very important

IDENTITY

EMULATOR

Less tolerant of cross-sex play, especially if seen as threat to place in sporty person image hierarchy

Sound knowledge of local sports heroes

Sub-category

FORMAL SPORTS TO COPY HEROES

Adopts name of local or national star when playing sports

Limits voluntary participation to sports they view as important and fashionable

Emulators from each sub-category will exhibit at least 2 essential traits

127

4.4.3 Identity: Emulator

General Characteristics

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

There are two sub-categories within this identity: a) Types of children who view formal, national, and local sport and sport heroes as important and attempt to access formal sport settings to emulate heroes, b) types of children who emulate friends seen as sporty and attempt to access formal game situations to emulate these friends. Both sub-categories share the idea that winning is important and appear less tolerant of cross-sex play than the identities above them. This last point particularly applies to boys (who dominate this category), especially as they mature   In general terms emulators strive to be seen as sporty by others and especially by sporty participants and innovators by whom they are often led. They differ from *socialisers in that their image and how they are seen by others, appears to be more important than establishing or maintaining friendships with children from other identities.* Whilst there are subtle differences between the sub-categories they tend to merge with one another and all are applicable to the term emulator, for this reason the following discussion will consider emulators as a group rather than focusing on the sub-categories.
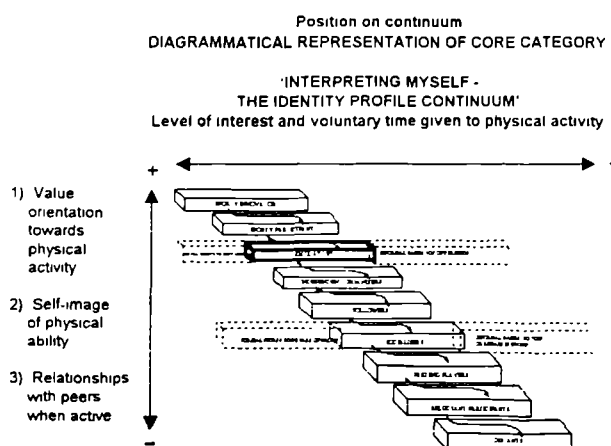
Essential and Secondary Traits

Participation in physical activities in the playground tends to evolve around both informal and formalised games with obvious structures and rules. They will often choose to play a game if an innovator or sporty participant chooses to play. For emulators these games will hopefully reflect wider trends (following popular sports such as football or cricket) or, internal school trends where certain games are found to have a limited lifespan, for example, Poggs

would be a popular activity for emulators so long as sporty children played and approved of the game, however, as innovators and sporty participants moved on, or the game was banned from playgrounds by teachers, emulators would move on to follow the new trend. The following excerpt involves Richard, an emulator and Chris, a sporty innovator. It provides an example of the enthusiasm for games and the deeper knowledge of rule structure which innovators have over emulators and the transient nature of some games and how trends can dominate playground culture.

Interviewer:	"What games do you know that you all play at playtimes?"
Richard (Emulator aged 11)	"Dodgeball, benchball which we play in PE, Tig and Red Devils and Bulldogs....."
Interviewer:	"Bulldogs and Red Devils..... what are they...?"
Richard:	(long thoughtful pause)
Chris: (Sporty innovator aged 11)	(interrupting) "Well in Bulldogs you have to run from one end of the playground to the other without being tigged, Red Devils is the same but near the steps, there's a pyramid of steps, you have to go from there to a fence at the other end near the stream. There are other games, just before we broke up in the summer, Poggs and marbles, everybody played them."
Interviewer:	"Poggs?"
Chris:	"Well, they're like pieces of card, you get pictures on them, you put your card down, then another person's card down, you get this plastic, you have to throw it down

	and hit the Poggs on the corner so they flip over, both Poggs go over and you get to keep the Poggs."
Sophie: (Socialiser aged 11)	"A lot of people liked Poggs and teachers kept taking them off them. It just died down 'till there were none left."
Chris:	(interrupting) "A window got smashed three times. People kept losing all the time and they ended up with these cats eyes and they're not very good."

<div align="right">(School A)</div>

Innovators, unlike emulators are often able to explain games in more detail and can often ascertain why certain games are popular. The emphasis for emulators is concentrated on following innovators and sporty participants. also conforming to trendy/fashionable activities. An example of this trait is evident in Julia's response.

Interviewer:	"Would you skip at playtime Julia?"
Julia: (Emulator, aged 10)	"No" (emphatically)
Interviewer:	"Why not?"
Julia:	"I'm not very fond of skipping" pause ....
Interviewer:	(prompting) "Why not?"
Julia:	""Well... I used to be (embarrassed laugh) but I've grown out of it now, I've just gone off it. It's a bit babyish. I like playing sports and stuff..." pause...
Interviewer:	"What sort of sports"

| Julia: | "I like being fit and stuff" |

| Interviewer: | "What do you mean by that?" |

| Julia: | "Umm... (pause)... I just like being a sporty person, I do sports.... I sometimes do sports courses and I've won two trophies for being sportsman of the year" |

(School A)

The traits of emulators and their interpretation of self appear more enduring than some other identities, although their innovator friends may be tolerant of cross-sex play, emulators appear to see this as less desirable and sometimes see it as a threat to maintaining the sporty image they try to create for themselves.

| Interviewer: | "What did you play this playtime?" |

| Daniel: (Emulator, aged 8) | "Football with Nik" |

| Interviewer: | "Did any girls play?" |

| Daniel: | (adopting disdained facial expression) "No" |

| Interviewer: | "If a girl wanted to play, would you let them?" |

| Daniel: | "I'd have to think about it" |

| Interviewer: | "What do you mean?" |

| Daniel: | "I don't know .... I wouldn't let them play if they were any good" (School B) |

Interviewed two years later, Daniel still exhibited similar characteristics and relationship to sporty innovator and sporty participant friends.

Interviewer:	"What did you do this playtime?"
Daniel: (Emulator, aged 10)	"Football, like Nik says, sometimes we play a catching game if we don't have a football".
Interviewer:	"What sort of catching game?"
Daniel:	"The same as Nik"
Interviewer:	"Do you every play other games"
Daniel:	"Sometimes I play football stickers"
Interviewer:	"Any other games"
Daniel:	"It depends on friends" (School B)

Emulators are strongly influenced by older children and may try to follow innovators as they seek out older, more skilled companions for the greater physical skill challenges involved in playing games at playtime. It they become ostracised through lack of skill level or if their friendship bonding is insufficient to allow them to play at this higher level they will resort to alternative fashionable groups, usually avoiding pretend players. This group become less involved in physical activity towards the end of junior school as skill becomes more clearly defined towards physical attributes.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

Winning appears relatively important for emulators who see physical education lessons as instrumental in providing a vehicle for gaining recognition and possible selection for school teams. Their physical education likes/choices appear related to games with a clear formal structure, working in teams where they might be grouped with sporty/skilled others. They appear to relate with less enthusiasm to dance and gymnastics. They have a sound knowledge of local and national heroes and may adopt a favourite name or wish to play in the same position as their hero, e.g. goalkeeper, centre forward, etc. After school and club sport is often seen as valuable, links with national or governing body initiatives would be likely to stimulate children in this group. Explaining the purpose, exposing them to heroes of gymnastics and dancers through projects might provide a stimulus for more engaging participation in these areas of physical education with which they tend to disassociate themselves.

In a similar way to innovators and sporty participants, in the playground emulators respond to an environment in which there is opportunity for formalised play in a designated area where year groups might focus their activities. Being high in the continuum they have a relatively positive attitude towards activity and should be encouraged to take part in a range of playground activities through carefully structuring the environment to ensure that there is a suitable range of equipment.

Fig. 3.5.1   Friendship Patterns between Emulator and Other Identities

| SPORTY INNOVATOR | SPORTY PARTICIPANT |

DISTANT

EMULATOR

INDEPENDENT ORGANISER

RELUCTANT PARTICIPANT

PRETEND PLAYER

SOCIALISER

FOLLOWER

KEY 1

⟶	leads	}
⟵	is lead	} Frequent Play
⟷	Equitable interaction	}
············	Occasional play	}
————	Little interaction	} Less Frequent Play
▶▶▶▶▶▶▶	Antagonistic towards	}

Fig. 3.6

'INTERPRETING MYSELF - THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
INDEPENDENT ORGANISER

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY

'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

Very good at managing free time

Desire to be viewed as sporty by other friends but don't consider self as such

Will play pretend up to 9 years then unwilling to play games perceived as not fashionable / inappropriate to age

Choice of play appears to be motivated by self rather than external factors

IDENTITY

INDEPENDENT ORGANISER

Access to a number of social groups in playground

Organised home life leaving blocks of free time

Has enduring friendships and can return to their groups despite fickle relationship with them

May reject participation if environment overcrowded

An independent organiser will exhibit 3 of the essential traits and two of the secondary traits

135

4.4.4 Identity: Independent Organiser

General Characteristics

This is a relatively sparsely populated identity, although easily distinguishable as existing apart from other identities adjacent to it in the continuum.

The word independent does not imply that this type of child is lacking in friends, indeed, this group appear very popular with other children. Their relationships appear enduring yet they can move between playground groups. Their choice of activity (or lack of activity) appears less influenced by external forces than other identity groups. However, there is a notable change (as with many features of children from all identities) at about the age of nine or ten when the importance of being seen to play gender and age appropriate activities becomes significant. These important points are discussed later on in the mediating categories.
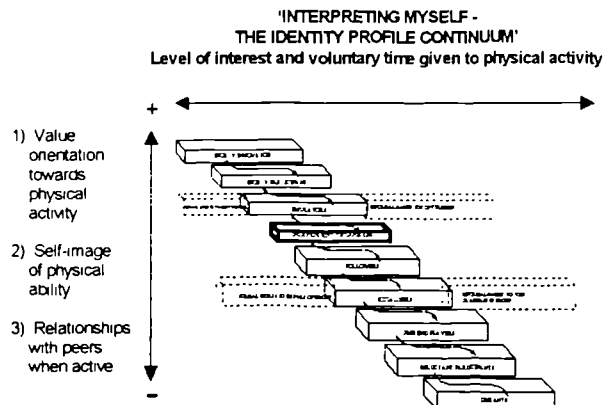
Essential and Secondary Traits

Children exhibiting sufficient essential traits to be placed in this category tend to have a very organised lifestyle outside of school, with parents structuring the time carefully. In 'free' time outside of school and away from parental commitments these individuals appear to be conscious of managing the available remaining time.

Robert (a very typical independent organiser) for example, has a very crowded timetable at weekends and for many evenings:

Robert:
(Independent organiser
aged 10)

"Friday I go to Sabbath dinner with friends. Saturday in the morning I see a private tutor. in the afternoon I have my friend round or watch an Alty (a local semi-professional football club) football match. I watch, dad reads a magazine. Sunday I go to Chedah, in the afternoon I play football for my team, we always lose, everyone's older than us. My dad takes me, sometimes mum, most of the time my mum and sisters go but they try to get out of it".

Evenings were busy for Robert, yet on a 'free', unstructured night he would :

"I walk home on my own now. When I'm home I have fruit then play football for half an hour. I hit it against a wall and practise shooting. Later I watch some telly , then entertain myself by playing lego or reading. After dinner I always do something in my room."

(School D)

Interestingly, there appears to be little carry over from activities prepared for these children in their time spent with parents or older siblings and activities they voluntarily choose to play in school. Although they seem to keep established friendships, they are inconsistent in their playtime activity choices and appear to be able to move from group to group being accepted in more or less all cases.

David, another very typical independent organiser, has a very structured homelife and is able, during interviews, to account precisely for his movements over recent as well as typical weekends. He is involved in squash clubs, football teams, swimming and cubs amongst other formalised activities organised by his parents. During playtimes he moves between groups but spends most time with his friend, Adrian. Although he enjoys sport and being active, he often chooses to "talk with other boys from his own class

and one boy from reception whilst sitting on the ground even though it's extremely cold" (directed observation of teacher during playtime).

As with identities in the continuum situated above them, independent organisers wish to be seen as 'sporty people' although they differ from emulators, sporty participants and innovators in that they do not see themselves as sporty and are not as pre-occupied with this image. This last point has less relevance as they reach the top of the junior school where they begin to reject unfashionable games and activities and appear to become more self-conscious.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

Independent organisers express a liking for most aspects of physical education; as they mature their choices become more defined towards activities they are good at. A common feature however. is a dislike for confined space, particularly in school halls where activities involve a lot of moving around and the chance of collision. Whilst they appear to like team games they are happiest when in small groups playing with friends. They relate equally well to personal challenges faced in gymnastics and athletics.

These children enjoy variety and appreciate a choice of formalised games, spontaneous play and quiet corners so that they can satisfy their need to choose between activities. Therefore, a playground environment offering a variety of activities and areas for being able to practise skills might shift the emphasis which thrives in most schools, that of the dominant football culture.

Fig. 3.6.1   Friendship Patterns between Independent Organiser and Other Identities

KEY 1

——————▶	leads	}
◀——————	is lead	} Frequent } Play
◀————————▶	Equitable interaction	} }
··············	Occasional play	}
————————	Little interaction	} Less } Frequent } Play
▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶	Antagonistic towards	}

Fig. 3.7

'INTERPRETING MYSELF - THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
FOLLOWER

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY
'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Time outside school heavily structured by parents

Type and level of play in school determined by friends

May show indifference to activity in school

Dislike of pretend games

IDENTITY

FOLLOWER

Inherits rationale for taking part in games from parents

Wish to be perceived as sporty from messages received from parents

Most activity outside school under direction of older siblings or parents

Followers will exhibit at least 3 of the essential traits and 2 of the secondary traits

140

4.4.5 Identity: Follower

General characteristics

As with independent organisers this is a relatively sparsely populated category although traits common to the identity are unique and easily distinguishable from other identities. Children within this identity share some characteristics with independent organisers. However, when compared with independent organisers, followers tend not to structure their available free time in the same way as independent organisers and have less enthusiasm for being active. When questioned about physical education they show some indifference, despite this they share with the identities immediately above them in the continuum, a desire to be seen as 'sporty'. This however, appears to derive more from messages received from parents about health rather than raising their personal profile or the way in which they are perceived by peers. They tend to have a dislike for pretend games and their activities in free time both in and out of the school environment are strongly influenced by others.
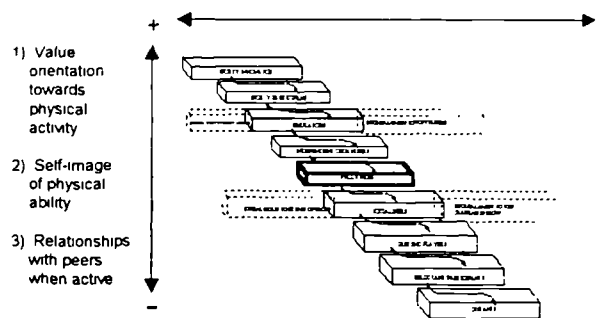
Essential and Secondary Traits

A common and essential trait amongst this group, which is equally populated by boys and girls, is that they tend to have a very structured life out of school. Parents and older siblings organise their time carefully and children within this identity, when asked about out-of-school activities tend to offer a precise account of their movements including references to times and days of week. As with independent organisers, there appears little carry over of activities they are involved in outside of school and what they choose to do at playtime. Adrian (aged 9) is a typical follower. He can account for all movements

141

despite the complex structure outside of school which includes: football coaching immediately after school, "swimming 5.30 - 6 .00 on Fridays, watching football and cricket on T.V. with older brother and dad, playing table tennis every Saturday, karate from 2.30 'till 3.30 on Saturdays, after this I'm allowed to play out for one hour, bed at 9.00pm; Sunday in the morning swim with dad, playing hide and seek with Owen (1 year older) and Stephen" (3 years older). They will often make some reference to the protective nature of their parents: "My mum won't let me use roller blades as I might go over on my ankle" (School D). They are less likely to organise and manage their free time than independent organisers and generally tend to choose less active pursuits when given the opportunity. In this way, whilst their parents might organise frequent activities for them, they appear lower in the continuum as their value orientation, internal motivation and interest toward activity is lower than those identities above them.

This group tend to have a small but enduring circle of friends and their activities in the school playground focus around copying the pursuits of their closest friends. Time available for voluntary play might be restricted however, as they often attend clubs, such as violin club or piano club (Adrian) as directed by their parents. They are however, less likely to play overtly pretend games, and may ostracise themselves temporarily from close friends when these activities are going on.

Interviewer:	"What do your friends spend most time doing at playtime?"
Sarah [2]: (Follower, aged 7)	"Carrie and Franki, they usually just play Chase and Tig. Katie Barnfield, Liam Gattoff, and Amy play these silly little games like Horses and Cowboys and Indians"

(School D)

Despite this, children in this group, who value their close friends will willingly play games commonly attributed to boys and/or girls and are very tolerant of

cross-sex play, the main incentive is 'doing what their friends do.' When questioned about why they choose or what they like about play activities, they often show an indifference to the activity itself and focus attention on describing what peers choose.

When asked to draw a healthy and unhealthy person there is a tendency with identities further down the continuum, to have a narrower perspective on health. Children may restrict pictorial representations to fewer concepts than innovators and sporty participants. (See Appendix F3)

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

As there are so few children within this identity, little data has been gathered on this particular issue. With the available information no salient features of real note have arisen. This issue could be given consideration in future interviews with these children.

Fig. 3.7.1   Friendship Patterns between Follower and Other Identities

Fig. 3.8

'INTERPRETING MYSELF - IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'

SOCIALISER

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY
'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Sub-category

Will play most games inherited or imported depending on group players and dominant sex

Primary objective for playing game is to maintain or establish friendships

INFORMAL GAMES TO JOIN IN OR REMAIN IN GROUP

Resort to pretend play if ostracised from formalised games

IDENTITY

SOCIALISER

Less tolerant of cross-sex play / may ridicule tomboys

Competition and winning not of real importance

Some concern with acquiring insights into what is valued by peers and demonstrating skill to be liked

Sub-category

FORMAL SPORTS TO BE PART OF GROUP

Limited knowledge of rules or purpose of game. Friendship and being part of group is more important

Socialisers from each sub-category will exhibit at least 2 essential traits
Children polarise towards one end of this chart as time progresses

144

4.4.6 Identity: Socialiser

General Characteristics

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

This is a relatively heavily populated identity made up of more or less equal numbers of girls and boys.

Its make up of essential and secondary traits is more prone to subtle changes over time than other identities. These changes appear to be more of a consequence of external influencing factors which are identified in the later discussion of mediating categories. As they mature through the junior years (seven to eleven years), children polarise towards playing either more formal games or less formal play activities, though their primary purpose for participating remains to maintain friendship groups. Also, more so than other identities, there is a predominant shift of girls toward the informal and less active sub-category end of the group and of boys towards the formal, more active end. Despite the somewhat fluid and time specific nature of this identity it is, nevertheless, clearly identifiable and applies to many children, both girls and boys.
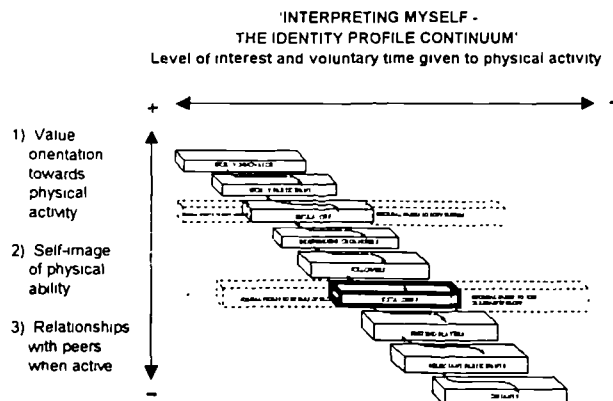
Essential and Secondary Traits

Younger children in this identity appear less accepting of cross-sex play. Whilst some still takes place it is short term and as the children mature it lessens. A short extract from an interview involving three socialisers at nine years of age, when, for most children attitudes towards cross-sex play start to change, indicates this attitude.

Ben: "I usually play Bulldogs with the others (boys) not with
(Socialiser, aged 9)
                        the girls"

145

Vicky: (Socialiser, aged 9)	"It's more of a boy's game, I used to play it 'cos my brother plays rugby so I might as well".
Rebecca [1]: (Socialiser, aged 9)	"I normally play on the school field in summer"
Interviewer:	"What? Football?"
Rebecca [1]:	"Only one girl" (Rebecca and Vicky together) "Catherine, she's like a Tomboy".
Interviewer:	"In what way?"
Rebecca [1]:	"She likes lots of boy's games"
Interviewer:	"If the boys play football, what do you do?"
Rebecca [1]:	"We just like, chase one another and do handstands or play ambulances and dead men, I learnt them from my friends"

(School C)

For these children, both boys and girls, the friendship group during playtime is very important and relationships are for the most part, enduring. Younger children in this group will play most games whether inherited from other contexts or people (such as having learnt the game at Cubs or Brownies), or whether the game is imported from another country. In this sense, socialisers differ from many of the categories above them in the continuum where choice is more selective and self-determined (especially those above emulators). There is little carry-over effect from games learnt outside school. Socialisers appear less concerned with the rules or structure of the game and more pre-occupied with how the game will help maintain friendships.

The author has distinguished between inherited game and imported games. In a number of the schools there was evidence of imported games, where children who had moved from other schools or countries introduced a new game form, Andrea from Canada introduced "Ice Cream", a chasing game. the socialisers playing this game were unsure about the exact rules or why, indeed, it was called such.

The play differences between the sexes becomes more manifest as they mature towards the top of the primary school, with the girl socialisers moving toward pretend player characteristics and boys becoming more involved in team games, though if they are ostracised they may regress to playing less formal chasing games or pretend games.

Their out of school activity choices too are very much determined by a desire to socialise with other children and they will often emphasise friendships in discussions relating to activity choices. Their position in the continuum reflects their limited interest and motivation for being voluntarily active.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

This group are concerned with pairings and teams in physical education lessons, more so than other identities, care could be taken therefore in selection of groups, especially as the children grow older. When questioned about physical education choices, socialisers like team games and become conscious of image when isolated in physical education lessons. Unlike many other identities however, they do not strive to attract the label of sporty person. Having left primary school, Sophie still exhibited many of the characteristic traits of a socialiser such as considering making friends as most important and rating this above competition and other features common to other groups.

When asked about school physical education she replied:

"I don't really like single sports but I like getting on the team....."

.....I'm not very good at netball, I think that's partly my height, but I enjoy playing team games... but (pause) I think they're difficult but good because you get to play with people you've not played with before, you get to mix with them (pause) I know more people now than I did when I started"

(Sophie, socialiser at school E, aged 12)

In the playground this group enjoy opportunities for both formalised and informal, spontaneous play. For this identity who tend to polarise early on into single-sex play activities, providers could promote the opportunities for cross-sex play through providing equipment and spaces which encourage games considered by children as gender neutral.

Fig. 3.8.1   Friendship Patterns between Socialiser and Other Identities

Fig. 3.9

'INTERPRETING MYSELF - THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM' PRETEND PLAYER

Position on continuum

DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY

'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

IDENTITY

PRETEND PLAYER

Creates complex rule structures for play ignoring conventions of more formal sports

Can play on own but prefers pretend games with close friends

Enjoys aspects of PE curriculum allowing for creativity

Playing of pretend games dominates through to end of primary school

Responds unenthusiastically to organised and structured formal sport

Absorbs self in activity with little/no concern for sporty image

Low level of perceived skill

Pretend players will exhibit at least two of the essential traits and at least two secondary traits

149

4.4.7 Identity: Pretend Player

General Characteristics:

Most children play pretend games during primary school and there is a notable deterioration in the amount of time spent pretend playing as they mature. Pretend players are those children who engage frequently in this type of activity and will choose this form of play in preference to more formalised and conventional games. This is a very large group, however, as with socialisers, this identity changes over time with a core of children, mostly girls, conforming to its essential and secondary traits right to the end of primary school. A shift by boys to adjacent identities higher up the continuum and girls to adjacent identities lower down the continuum follows. The label 'pretend player' was chosen as characters within this identity play games where they dramatise some existing phenomenon or create an imaginary story/game and act out its meaning. 'Pretend player' also refers to some of the play characteristics of this group where individuals or groups make an attempt to play a formal game but this often lacks the real rules associated with the game itself, only elements of the original game remain intact.

Essential and Secondary Traits

Many children of seven and eight years of age, both girls and boys frequently involve themselves during playtimes in pretend play. These groups are relatively enduring with little movement between pretend groups. Some of these groups are girls only and are typically 'Mummies and Daddies', 'Penfriends', some groups are boys only and their more active play is often orientated around themes relating to pretend fighting and war. Mixed sex
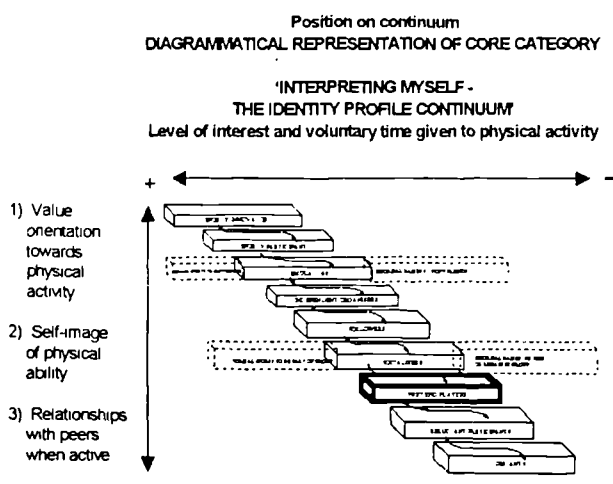
pretend play takes many forms and is often unique to one school. It may involve enacting out scenes from films, e.g. The Lion King, or pretending to be an animal, 'Doggies' or 'Horses'. The mixed groups endure until about nine or ten years of age where children cooperate and conform to the complex rules devised by the 'pretend leaders' (usually girls).

After this age, however, a core of pretend players remain but are predominantly single sex, any interaction between the sexes is usually disruptive. After nine years boys are reluctant to admit to pretend games.

Interviewer: "What do you play at playtime"

Robert: "Usually football.....when you're older people look at you
(Independent
organiser, aged 10)   when you start playing silly games".

Interviewer: "Such as?"

· · Robert: "Silly games like "Doggies" (looking at others and
                        laughing)

Rebecca [2]:   (interrupts) "You used to play last year"
(Socialiser, aged 10)

Robert: "Yes, last year but not this year.

Interviewer: "Who laughs at you?"

Robert: "Well, they don't laugh at you, but it's the infants that
                        play it, you just don't do it?"

                                                                (School D)

Information about pretend playing boys was gleaned by asking children the question:

"What do your friends in school spend most of their time doing?"

Robert revealed that:

"Chris plays a wild gorilla game a lot at playtime and annoys Holly and Gemma a lot. Hadi (a boy) does exactly what Chris does".

(Robert, Independent organiser at school D, aged 10)

After ten years of age, regular pretend players are mainly girls, although the focus of the play changes. Some animal impression pretend games remain although the majority of the girls become less active and games such as Blind Date where "some of the girls pretend to be boys" become more common. Sometimes this group will simulate a traditional game, although they simplify the rules and these games often break down or are distracted by other pretend players.

Interviewer:	"Do you ever play games where you're active at playtime?"
Sarah: [3] (Pretend player, aged 11)	"We play games sometimes.....pause. In the summer we play basketball and football.
Interviewer:	"At playtime?"
Sarah: [3]	"Yeah... and we play .... like throw the ball into a tree, like a goal thing. And sometimes in summer just a few of the girls just play football or catch by themselves 'cos the boys won't let us play with them"
Interviewer:	"Who plays?"

Sarah: [3]	"Just a few of us girls. It's just a quick game - it's nothing that they (looking towards the boys in the interview group) would do, it's like different".
Nicholas: (Sporty innovator aged 11)	(interrupting) "And you play rounders"
Sarah [3]	"Yeah, it just depends if somebody brings a bat"
Sarah [4] (Pretend player aged 11)	"Sometimes we play catch, we have dens, it's a bit different to their games (looking at boys). Sometimes we play Kiss, Cuddle and Catch, or sometimes we just play football like Sarah says. Normally most of the girls go up to the little end and we talk to reception and stuff"

(School B)

The last sentence typifies the trend for girls to shift towards becoming reluctant participants and being less active. Two years earlier, both girls reported and were observed being more active in pretend games and play. For boys the shift is usually up the continuum if they have sufficient skill levels and they adopt more traits associated with socialisers, joining the other boys in traditional team games such as football at playtimes. Some move towards reluctant participants with occasional contributions (usually disruptive) to pretend games with girls.

Towards the lower end of the continuum children may restrict definitions of healthy to fewer concepts than those higher such as sporty innovators and sporty participants. When asked to draw a healthy, unhealthy and a fit person this pretend player mentioned smoking in each case. (See Appendix F4.)

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

Pretend players, when asked, usually describe themselves as not skilful, they become more aware of this as they mature and their perception of physical education becomes less positive as they realise the importance of being skilled in some lessons. Younger pretend players appear to respond most positively to dance and opportunities for being creative and the challenge presented in creative dance for attempting to manage one's own body.

Interviewer:	"What do you think of PE lessons?"
Amy: (Pretend player aged 7)	"I liked it when we did robot movements last week and when we do dances and use the whole body a lot when they're hard".
Interviewer:	"Hard?"
Amy:	"Like you have to move your whole body, sometimes you get confused which parts you have to use".

(School D)

Negative comments from pretend players about physical education usually relate to not being able to perform well, particularly in games, mainly from girls as they get older. However, they are generally positive or indifferent about most physical education lessons.

Young pretend players are very mobile in the playground, although their dramatised forms of play are concentrated in secluded parts of the playground, away from the central areas usually dominated by older boys and sporty innovator girls playing football.

The decline in level of activity, especially amongst girls, seems related to lack of knowledge and subsequently interest in playground games, many of the

154

active games they used to play, such as Tig and when younger, Bulldogs with the boys, became unpopular because they are either considered inappropriate as they are considered suitable for younger children or something that only boys play. This group, as with most groups respond if there is equipment available for playing games, such as rounders or basketball/netball, which do not have an 'infant' stereotype. They respond particularly well to adventure type areas of playgrounds or parks where they can explore and be creative in their play activities.

Fig. 3.9.1   Friendship Patterns between Pretend Player and Other Identities
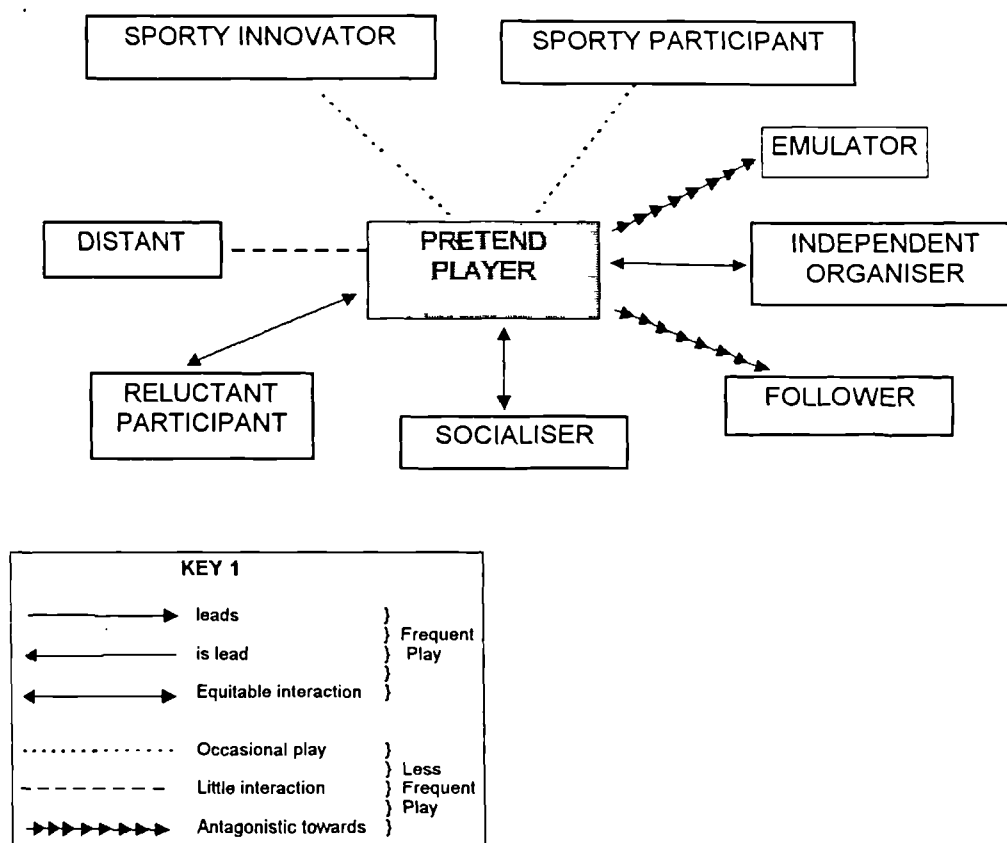
'INTERPRETING MYSELF - THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
RELUCTANT PARTICIPANT

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY

'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Usually sees self as not good at sport

Joins in pretend games if not too active

Finds discomfort in many games and PE

IDENTITY

RELUCTANT PARTICIPANT

Smaller friendship groups than other identities higher in continuum

Rarely chooses active games at play - mostly those with no equipment

Reluctant participants will exhibit at least two of the essential and one of the secondary traits

156

4.4.8 Identity: Reluctant Participant

General Characteristics

1) Value
orientation
towards
physical
activity

2) Self-image
of physical
ability

3) Relationships
with peers
when active

Few children fall into this category, especially younger ones, yet towards the age of eleven there appears a number of children, mainly girls, who demonstrate sufficient traits to qualify as reluctant participants. This group are generally inactive at playtimes, although they occasionally join in playground games, mainly those which do not involve equipment since they consider themselves unskilful. These games are mostly pretend games which they play to maintain or follow friends. They tend to have a small number of close friends who are either pretend players or other reluctant participants and have limited contact with other identities. Their involvement in active games is sometimes disruptive, e.g. stealing the ball from a football game. They often have a low regard of their sporting abilities and avoid or are antagonistic towards sporty innovators and sporty participants particularly in the latter years of junior school when identities are more distinguishable and less fluid.

Essential and Secondary Traits

This identity, although lying close to pretend players in terms of level of interest and time devoted towards physical activity represents a relatively large step in terms of how the child views their relationship with activity. For pretend players, although they tend to rate their skill level quite low, they are not pre-occupied with their inability to perform well at most forms of physical education or formalised playground games especially when younger. Reluctant participants, on the other hand, are less spontaneous about whether they are going to be active or not and will usually avoid most forms
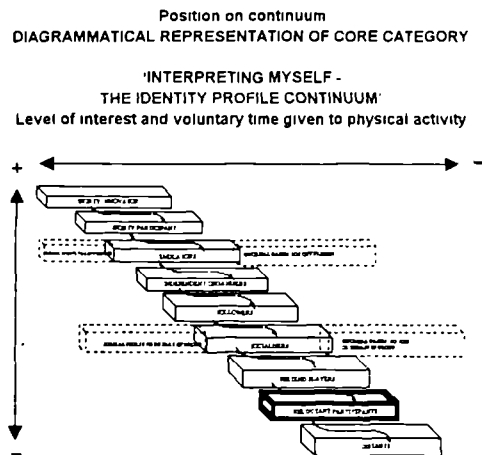
of physical play and even try to avoid playing games which involve equipment which may show their lack of physical skill. They may spend a lot of time talking at playtimes and watching others play. They tend to occupy peripheral positions in the playground rarely moving towards the centre which tends to be dominated by active pursuits.

Competition is viewed as unimportant by children within this identity and they disassociate themselves from playground games which involve competitive activity choosing either pretend games or games without obvious structure or objectives.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

Mostly, reluctant participants express a dislike for most aspects of physical education and physical activities organised for them by parents such as Brownies/Guides. There are usually, however, some aspects with which they relate, these are often the less competitive elements or where they are not directly compared with peers. When asked about physical education, Katie replied:

Katie [1]: (Reluctant participant aged 8)	"I don't like it when we do PE, but I liked it when we did the Labyrinth" (creative dance)
Interviewer:	"Why?"
Katie [1]:	"Because it was good fun"
Interviewer:	"What is it you don't like about PE?
Katie [1]:	"I don't like the moving around and stuff. But in the Labyrinth it was really exciting, the music and movements" (School D)

Reluctant participants often cite discomfort in various forms as a disincentive to positive engagement in physical education lessons and focus on feeling cold or not liking bodily contact. In games lessons involving balls they often give reasons for disliking the activity based around their inability to perform to an adequate level and of feeling left out. Focusing attention on their attributes in activities in which they excel and avoiding making direct comparisons with other children might encourage more positive participation. As they are often dominated by many others, providing appropriate opportunity for responsibility might be helpful in raising self-esteem.

Playgrounds for older children tend to be an environment in which formalised activities dominate and peripheral activities are seen as unimportant and unpopular. Access for less skilled individuals is often denied because of their lack of skill. Consequently their opportunities for being active at breaktimes decline. This phenomenon is exacerbated as children mature towards ten and eleven years when they begin to accept their personal identity, (see following mediating categories for a fuller explanation). Therefore, deliberate interventions which encourage different forms of active play which are not reliant on having the specific gross-motor skills related to formalised games associated with the dominant football culture of most playgrounds might encourage and facilitate positive and active breaktime experiences for the identities situated at this lower end of the continuum.

Fig. 3.10.1 Friendship Patterns between Reluctant Participant and Other Identities

KEY 1

leads	)	
is lead	) Frequent) Play	
Equitable interaction	)	
Occasional play	)	
Little interaction	) Less) Frequent	
Antagonistic towards	) Play	

Essential Traits

Secondary Traits

Position on continuum
DIAGRAMMATICAL REPRESENTATION OF CORE CATEGORY

'INTERPRETING MYSELF -
THE IDENTITY PROFILE CONTINUUM'
Level of interest and voluntary time given to physical activity

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Apathetic towards physical education

Uses avoidance strategies to distance self from physical activity

Becomes more manifest at Yr.6 (11 years)

IDENTITY

DISTANT

Few friends or enduring relationships

Unfamiliar with language and structures of most games

Plays with children younger than self

Distants will exhibit at least two essential and two secondary traits

161

4.4.9 Identity: Distant

General Characteristics

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

Very few children fall into this category. It is made up equally of boys and girls and, as with reluctant participants, is more manifest at the top end of the primary school where avoidance strategies such as having some responsibility at lunch and breaktime in order to be able to stay away from the playground become more complex and frequently utilised. This group distance themselves from activity wherever possible and consequently, tend to have a small circle of friends which is not as enduring as those of other identities above them in the continuum.

Essential and Secondary Characteristics

Distants employ a number of techniques in order to avoid having to take part in active playground games. In a similar way to reluctant participants their playground behaviour involves a lot of talking and observing others, they may move amongst younger groups of children although they will avoid joining in active games. In schools, which allow pupils inside during playtimes and lunchtimes distants will often take the opportunity to make sure they are absent from the playground.

Zaibuniza, interviewed over a period of two years always exhibited characteristics of a distant. Her home life is very structured and she has very little free time.

Zaibuniza:	"After school I read with Mrs Kitson. I go home and get
(Distant, aged 9)	ready. At 5.00pm I come here again and read Arabic 'till
	7.00pm. Then I read prayer and go to sleep."

(School B)

A subsequent interview two years later revealed the same commitment every evening, she helps her father at the market on Saturday and Sunday all day with one hour for play at dinner time.

| Interviewer: | "What do you do at play time?" |

| Zabuniza: | "I normally stay in and draw and play with my sister." |
| (Distant, aged 11) | |

| Interviewer: | "What games to you play if you go outside?" |

| Zaibuniza: | "Walk around, talking" |

(School B)

Some distants have a lot of free spare time out of school; a common theme however, is that they are apathetic towards physical activities and formal games, whilst they might take part in some moderately active form of play when they are young this soon declines and, out of choice they prefer to be inactive. In organising their free time they will usually choose inactive pursuits.

When asked about games and competition distants have little knowledge of rule structures and show little interest in competition, nor the challenges of testing their physical abilities either against other children or improving personal performance. Their friendship patterns are limited to one or two other children who are usually located close to them in the identity profile continuum and they sometimes relate to younger children or siblings if they are in the same school.

Implications for Physical Educators and Playground Provision

There were relatively few children involved in this case study who created this identity although it is very distinguishable and identifiable as existing apart from other identities, for this reason it was felt that this identity justified inclusion in the profile. The consequence of there being a limited amount of data is that this emerging category really needs further investigation before grounded interpretations can be made in relation to implications for physical educators and, possible playground interventions and provisions. However, a starting point for educators wishing to promote activity amongst this group could be consideration of the types of friendships that these children tend to have and the currency of status that determines children's levels of acceptance into existing cliques and cultures. Distants do appear, particularly in the lower end of the junior years to have potential for friendships which can facilitate their inclusion into some forms of games; it is, to a large extent, the dominant football culture and move towards single-sex play together with opportunities for taking on responsibilities which allow the children to remain in at breaktimes that inhibits their play activity at the ages of ten and eleven. This fact is important when considering the findings of this study described in detail in the following mediating category where children are found to move away from challenging their identity at seven and eight years to accepting the identity they are given and create for themselves, when they approach eleven years of age.

Fig. 3.11.1 Friendship Patterns between Distant and Other Identities

| SPORTY PARTICIPANT | SPORTY PARTICIPANT |

RELUCTANT PARTICIPANT

EMULATOR

DISTANT

INDEPENDENT ORGANISER

PRETEND PLAYER

SOCIALISER

FOLLOWER

KEY 1

——————▶	leads	}
		} Frequent
◀——————	is lead	} Play
		}
◀————▶	Equitable interaction	}
·············	Occasional play	}
		} Less
———————	Little interaction	} Frequent
		} Play
▶▶▶▶▶▶▶	Antagonistic towards	}
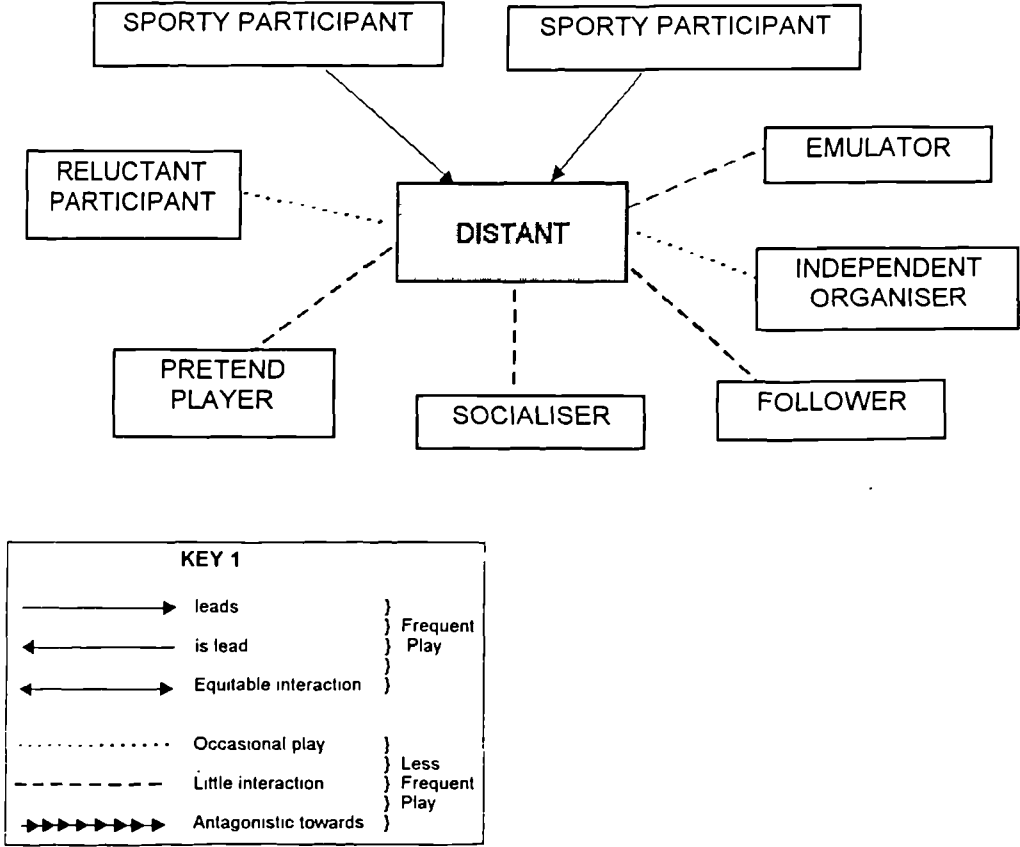
Figure 3.12   Summative Web of Relationships Existing between Identities from the Profile Continuum

+ ←

1) Value orientation towards physical activity

2) Self-image of physical ability

3) Relationships with peers when active

→ |

Follower

Pretend player

Emulator

Distant

Sporty innovator

KEY 1

leads

is lead

Equitable interaction

} } } Frequent Play

Occasional play

Little interaction

Antagonistic towards

} } } Less Frequent Play

Sporty participant

Independent organiser

Socialiser

Reluctant participant

166

4.5 Mediating Categories

The core category, 'Interpreting myself - the identity profile continuum' is a basic social process involving self-interpretation and identification whereby children judge their own persona, compare themselves with other children in their immediate and wider peer group and with images they receive from the media and significant others and, revise such personal assessments in different environments and contexts. In a similar way, the mediating categories are also basic social processes and reflect how self-interpretation and subsequent behaviour, (which can partly be understood by analysing a child's current situation within the continuum), might change across space and time. Such an interpretation contributes towards decisions children make regarding how they spend their free time, with whom they will interact in the playground and outside the school environment and, concepts such as how they value physical activity and health. Furthermore, the process of self-interpretation becomes more manifest as children mature and movement within the continuum is less noticeable. In this way, children simultaneously classify themselves in relation to notions of their self-perception, how they see themselves in relation to others and in the way that others perceive them.

The core category is affected strongly by other mediating categories and, as with the notion of merged identities, there is some merging between both core and mediating categories and between the mediating categories themselves, (as indicated in figure 3.1). The potential strength and relevance of each mediating category is therefore, to some extent, determined by situational factors and the child's place on the identity continuum. Each of the mediating categories will be discussed in turn, although choice of ordering does not reflect their importance of influence. Preceding each description is a diagram representing the structure of each mediating category. Represented as concentric circles, figures 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15 show how children pass through all of these processes. Movement towards the centre of the circle is processual rather than linear, the breaks in parts of each circle indicate how children can move back and forth between each of these phases, some

children moving towards the centre of each circle (which represents self-understanding) relatively rapidly, others revisiting phases several times. The data collected however, indicates that there is some relationship between chronological age and movement towards the centre of each circle, therefore, younger children in primary schools would be more involved in 're-assessing existing meanings' and older children of say ten and twelve years of age 'discovering who I want to be'. The relationships between mediating categories and between mediating and core categories become more specific as time progresses, the core aspects of each category becoming more relevant and influential as the child matures.

Table 3.1   The Mediating Categories and Their Four Sub-Categories

Mediating category	Sub-categories
1) 'Challenging, changing and accepting personal identities of self and others'	a) 'Reassessing existing meanings' b) 'Understanding what I can do' c) 'Doing it on my own' d) 'Discovering who I want to be'
2) 'Mediating the messages'	a) 'Being like other people' b) 'Temporal loyalties / temporal opportunities' c) 'Managing myself' d) 'Discovering who mattters'
3) 'Playing by the rules'	a) 'Conforming to what is expected' b) 'Supplying the goods' c) 'Being liked by others' d) 'Being part of the action'

Fig. 3.13 **Mediating Category: 'Challenging, Changing and Accepting Personal Identies of Self and Others'**

The process of self-interpretation is influenced by this mediating category. As children move towards the centre of the circle (such movement relates closely to chronological age) self-understanding is increased

169
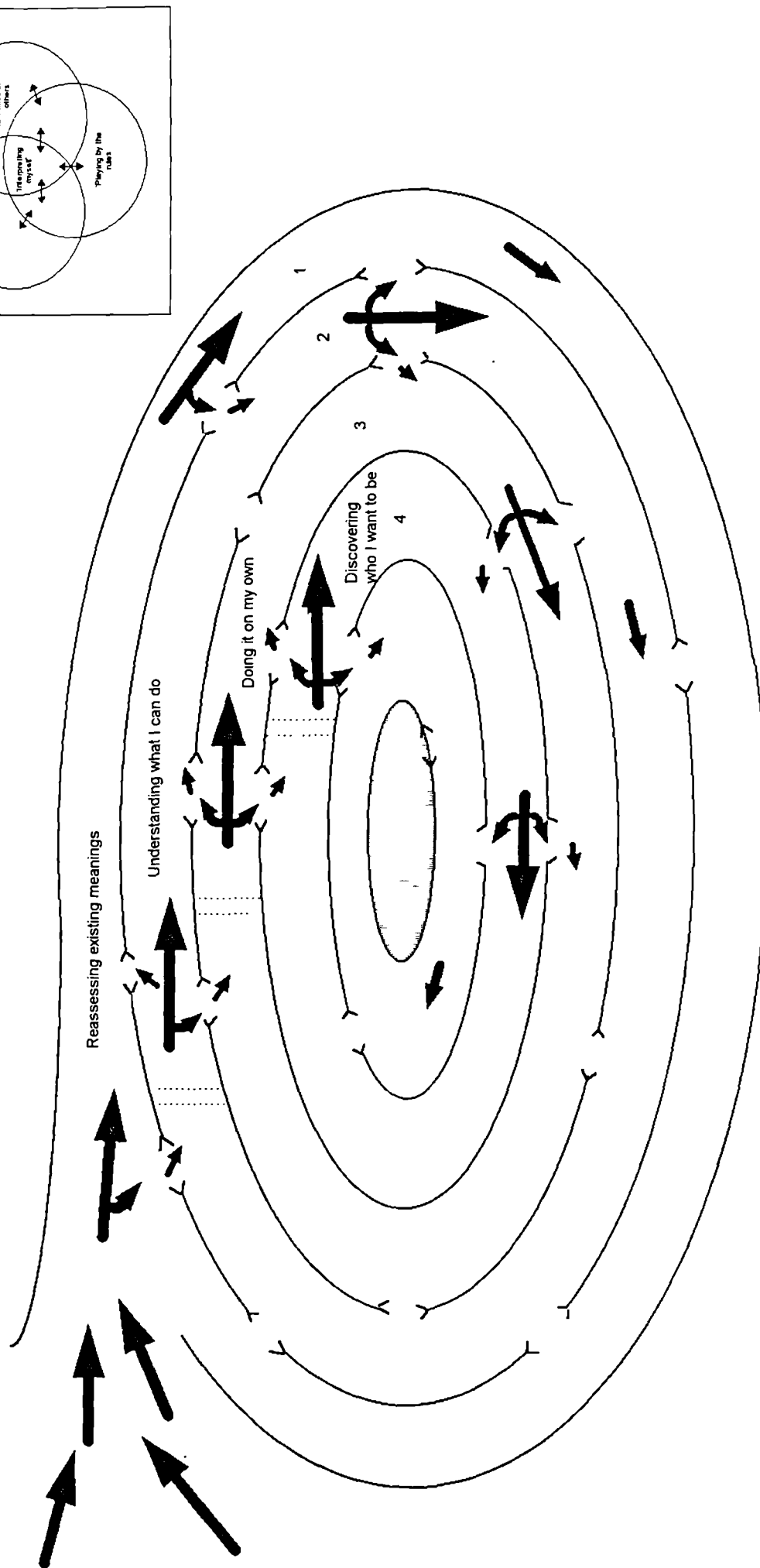
4.5.1 Mediating category: 'Challenging, Changing and Accepting Personal Identities of Self and Others'

In a similar way to the notion of merging identities within the core category, characteristic features of mediating categories are not mutually exclusive, nor are they linear. However, there appears to be some relationship between the age of the child and progression through various phases of each mediating category. For example, within this category 'Reassessing existing meanings' and, 'understanding what I can do' relate closely to children between seven and nine years of age. 'Doing it on my own' and, 'Discovering who I want to be' are *characteristically* appropriate to children from nine to eleven years of age. However, it must be stressed that issues such as gender, socio-economic class and position on the identity continuum also appear to influence the process. This trend has been highlighted to aid the reader in understanding the general nature of this complex process.

There has been previous reference to the fact that there appears to be some movement by children along the continuum of the core category. Such movement is, in part, as a result of this mediating category in which children redefine their personal identity and/or confirm their status within their existing identity. This process, as with the core category, appears to be contoured and shaped by both internal and external forces. Children simultaneously challenge, change and accept their existing identity to a greater or lesser extent at different points in time and in different contexts. This process is fluid and dependent on such factors as existing webs of interdependencies with significant others such as peers, parents and teachers, and recent historical and contemporary biographies.

'Reassessing existing meanings'

The incentive to play active games in free time is, to a large degree, the product of relationships with peers both in and out of school; more so for children below the sporty participant level of the continuum, and particularly so for socialisers and followers. Children at seven and eight years of age typically have fairly established friendship bondings with peers, although within the school environment, at this age, many children indicate that they tend to move amongst different groups of friends (see 'temporal loyalties and temporal opportunities' in the category of 'mediating the messages'). As the notion of existing relationships with peers seems to be an important factor in influencing children's decisions and attitudes towards activity it is arguably essential for researchers to understand the dynamics of these relationships which change noticeably through the junior years.

The importance of being physically skilful has some significance for children at this stage, (although it becomes more relevant later after nine years of age), and innovators and sporty participants, who tend to be competent at physical activities begin to challenge some of the existing meanings associated within peer groupings. At this age, however, other factors such as chronological age, have an influence on the child's place in the gang hierarchy. Similarly, messages about gender stereotypes are also evident in decisions made about appropriate activities. During an interview with two girls and two boys of seven and eight years of age, when asked about current close friends, three mentioned Alastair.

Interviewer: "Alastair is a very popular person isn't he?"

Amy: "Yes."
(Pretend player aged 7)

Interviewer: "Why is he so popular?"

171

Amy:	"He's got a gang."
Jack [1]. (Sporty participant aged 8)	"He's not anymore, I just like playing with him all the time. Sometimes girls can play as well."
Katie [1]: (Reluctant participant aged 8)	"Sometimes! (annoyed) That's only sometimes, isn't it? In tig, we're not allowed to play football, he says no . . but we just go in goal."
Interviewer:	"How old is Alastair?"
Group response:	"Eight."
Amy:	"He's nine in December, Boxing Day."
Interview:	"Why is it his gang?"
Katie [1]:	"It's not a gang anymore."
Interviewer:	"Why is he so popular and so many people play with him?"
Jack [1]:	"Alastair, Stephen and John were all in the nursery together and they all used to play together and Alastair was always the oldest one so he used to start bossing them around and then, when they got older they were just used to it and never · bothered about it, and he got used to doing that."
Amy:	"He used to boss them about."

(School D)

Whilst friendship groupings have a strong effect on activity choice, children at this stage seem to be less influenced by this factor than older children. They appear to be beginning a process of challenging some of their existing relationships; starting to appreciate their potential physical competencies. whilst at the same time interpreting and, for the most part, accepting messages about gender appropriate play.

Children at this time generally have positive attitudes towards physical education lessons (more so than older children at subsequent stages), and in discussions about such sessions are eager to relate to the challenge that different elements of the physical education curriculum can present. They enjoy learning how to cope with new challenges and exploring their movement potential both in teams and individually. The boundaries between compulsory and voluntary activities are not so much of a concern at this stage as they are later. The gratification factor of any physical activity is based around its potential for satisfying criteria such as the chance to explore one's own physical potential and for most children, to be active.

'Understanding what I can do'

This sub-category represents subtle developing changes in children's perceptions of their physical abilities to which they become more aware as they seek out further opportunities to test themselves against others. This is true of most identities but more so of pretend player and above. Whilst this sub-category is enduring it is most evident with children of eight to nine years of age. The importance of showing off skills to others becomes more relevant, also competing against a set time or standard. When asked, "What do your friends spend most of their time doing?", Adrian (Follower, aged 9) explained that:

"David likes roller skating, Stephen shows off on his blades, Peter mostly plays on his computer, he thinks he's a computer whizz. Owen likes football and Sean likes riding around on his bike, he

173

has a timer on it to show how fast he can go. We sometimes have races on it to see who's the fastest and furthest."

This extract is also characteristic of the move common amongst most children at this age towards single-sex play inside school, although cross-sex play remains more unscathed in their local home environment. Girls who choose to play frequently with boys are often ostracised by other girls and labelled 'tomboy'. The desire to achieve at traditionally male pursuits such as football can be strong enough for some girls to continue with this trend despite ridicule from other girls and males below the sporty participant identity. However, physical skills become a more valued currency later in the child's primary school career and definitions of skilful more specific, this is discussed in more detail within the following section, Mediating the Messages, sporty participant and innovator girls demand more respect and are able to move amongst different friendship groupings.

Perceptions of physical education begin to change slightly with those children who, whilst generally positive, strongly favour activities at which they know they are good. Children also become more aware of their limitations and 'discomfort' is a recurring concept identified as a disincentive to positive participation in both physical education and extra-curricular pursuits.

'Doing it on my own' and 'Discovering who I want to be'

These sub-categories merge strongly and, whilst there are definite differences, there is also considerable overlap, hence they will be discussed together.

Playground culture and activity choices within different schools is affected both directly and indirectly by such things as available space, equipment and personal characteristics of children within the school context. If, for example, the core innovators in a particular year group choose cricket or football, (or Tig or

Bulldog depending on age and equipment availability and school policy on being allowed balls) this will have a direct influence on many other children. 'Doing it on my own' was a label selected to describe a recurring feature of children's activity choices characteristic of individuals of nine years of age and over, where there is little or no carry over from outside clubs and interests, to play choices in free time at school. Activities tend to be seen as context specific, children learn games at Brownies and Cubs, or at Youth Clubs, yet rarely pursue these in their leisure time. Choice of activity becomes the product of the desire to maintain and establish friendships, especially for children in the middle of the profile continuum, and a quest to refine existing physical skills which are viewed as important. Friendship groupings are more firmly established, places in the subcultural hierarchy more fixed and, movement along the identity continuum less fluid. Play is less spontaneous for many groups especially those higher up the profile continuum with rule structures and conventions more rigidly enforced and complex. Groups become more selective with some children ostracised. Re-entry becomes more difficult and decisions are dominated by fewer characters. An extract of an interview with a Year 6 class highlights some of these points. Some of the group said they usually played football at lunch times.

Interviewer:	"Do the year 5 children ever join in your game?"
Nicholas: (Sporty innovator aged 11)	"Yeah, they used to play all the time but Philip said just one day none of you are playing so."
Interviewer:	"Is Philip in charge?"
Nicholas:	"Sort of."
Interviewer:	"Simon, what do you normally do at playtime?"
Simon: (Originally Socialiser at age 9, Reluctant participant at age 11)	"Football stickers."

Interviewer: "And at lunch time?"

Simon: "Watch football."

Interviewer: "Do you ever play?"

Simon: "Sometimes, but this lunch time they had already picked
                       teams."

                                                          (School B)

Activity choices then become more planned and less varied as children mature through to these sub-categories and begin to accept their identity. This pre-occupation with ability reflects in attitudes towards physical education. In general children from the upper section of the profile continuum have positive thoughts towards most physical education lessons, though they can be critical of the way some sessions are organised. Children lower down the continuum, even those who recognise themselves as being skilful at some aspects of physical activity, tend to express dislike for some of these lessons. Their increased self-consciousness reflects in their preference for team games where "if you're wrong, it's not just your fault, you don't always get the blame" (Rebecca[2], socialiser aged 10, School D). There is noticeably less tolerance between boys and girls for cross-sex participation in games traditionally viewed as male or female. Whilst innovator and sporty participant girls have access to valuable and positive participation in most of these activities, there frequently appears conflict if lessons have a bias towards netball or football. In a conversation about a physical education lesson involving girls and boys in football skills Robert thought "You should be playing football with other girls if you want to start, you should be playing football with people who have only just started as well." (Robert, independent organiser aged 10, School D). Activities viewed as more gender neutral such as athletics, swimming and, to some extent rounders, create less friction between groups of girls and boys though the way that most physical education activities are perceived by children at this stage is

through the common denominator of place on the profile continuum which has been accepted by most children having gone through the process of challenging and changing their identities. The increased awareness and understanding of their own abilities and limitations, together with the acceptance of an identity, strongly mediates their attitudes towards physical play choices and physical education.
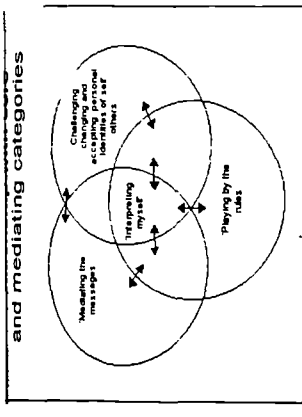
Fig. 3.14   Mediating Category: 'Mediating the Messages'
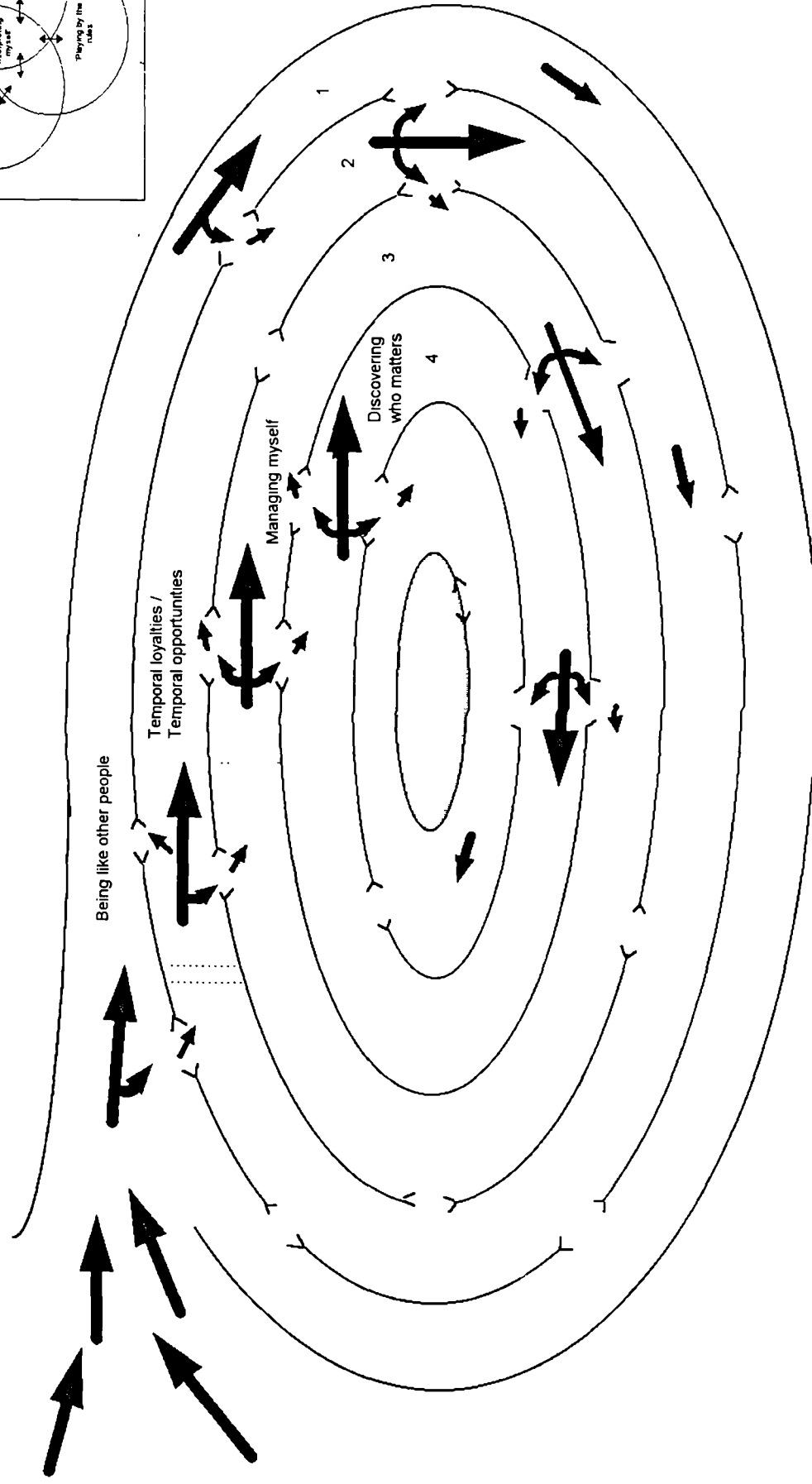
The process of self-interpretation is influenced by this mediating category. As children move towards the centre of the circle (such movement relates closely to chronological age) self-understanding is increased.

178

4.5.2 Mediating Category: 'Mediating the Messages'

This mediating category is also made up of four sub-categories which are not linear in nature but do appear to have some relationship with chronological age. 'Being like other people' and 'temporal loyalties and temporal opportunities', for example, are most applicable to children of seven to nine years of age and the sub-categories of 'managing myself' and 'discovering who matters' have more relevance to children from nine to eleven. As with other mediating categories, this has a direct impact on the core category (and is itself affected by the other mediating categories as indicated in Figure 3.1).

Children assimilate numerous messages relating to the value of health and appropriate types of physical activity through their school careers from a variety of sources. Peers, parents, teachers and other close significant others have varying degrees of impact on the child's personal identity. The research data indicated that the degree to which each of these groups impact on the child's perception of health, physical activity and physical education changes considerably between the ages of seven and twelve. Messages from parents and teachers dominate early on, later in the junior years, outside school, clubs, older children in the local neighbourhood and in particular, peers become more influential. Of course, how messages are interpreted and subsequently manifest themselves in behavioural outcomes is controlled by the filtering of such information and advice through the core category; ie. the place on the identity profile continuum at the time of receiving/interpreting such information.

'Being like other people' and 'Temporal loyalties and temporal opportunities'

These two sub-categories merge closely and are both relevant to lower junior children. They are, therefore, discussed together. Choices regarding participation in physical activity and forms of play within school of children at seven and eight years of age and are partly dependent on the core category and

the child's place on the continuum. However, as the children are more involved at this age in challenging and changing their personal identities, they appear to engage in processes of experimenting with different forms of play and operate within a framework of relative independence. Thus, their play choices are not dependent on doing as their friends do or, playing for instrumental reasons such as improving skill levels to be able to impress others. Such behaviour is characteristic of older children who have begun to accept their personal identities. Younger children typically have more than one friendship group and many move between these depending on games being played and the make up of the group, also cross-sex play is more apparent than later on. Children identify friends in school as often being both male and female and admit to moving between groups "to suit themselves". For example, Katie[1], when asked about friends in school replied: "I play with Alastair's gang sometimes, then I play with Jenny because she plays the Lion King." (Katie [1], reluctant participant, aged 8, School D.)

Similarly, Amy pointed out that,

> "I sometimes play with the boys, Tig, and I play with Jenny's group. I have two sets of friends so if I fall out with one I can go with the other."

> (Amy, pretend player, aged 8, School D.)

The label 'Being like other people' was chosen to describe this sub-category as the focus of children's comments is about the people who are important to them; those are parents, teachers and close friends. Their rationale for liking an activity is based around these important significant others, especially parents. There is however sometimes a dichotomy between what children say they like to do, which appears to be based around this desire to be like other people and what they actually choose to do. This concept is exemplified by Jack[2] (sporty participant, aged 8) who, when asked about clubs he goes to outside school replied:

"I like football . . . (pause) and I like rugby 'cos my dad always used to like it and he was on the school team and they barely ever lost. I go to hockey and badminton and swimming and ice skating.

Interviewer: "That's a lot, how do you fit them all in?"

Jack[2]: "I don't do all of them all the time. I go to football training at the moment and I might start rugby training."

Interviewer: "You might start?"

Jack[2]: "Well, mum knows someone at Sale, but I don't want to go there."

Interviewer: "Why not?"

Jack[2]: "I prefer just not to go . . . (pause) I know someone who goes to rugby and he's one of the lighter and smaller ones and he's always getting bashed around and hurt so I don't want to go."

(School D)

Choice of friends inside school is based more on personal qualities whereas physical skill becomes an important currency in the friendship hierarchy later in the primary school. Liking others and being like them is more important in determining friendships whereas later, being liked by others (see sub-category 'playing by the rules') becomes more important in defining peer groupings and subsequently activity choices. Both girls and boys, when asked about reasons for having the friends they do, emphasise positive personal qualities. When asked about role models Katie's first response was "Kate Partridge."

Interviewer: "Why?"

Katie[1]:   "She's so kind, she lets you do things and lets you play when you upset her and helps you when you're sad." (Katie[1] reluctant participant, aged 8)

(School D)

Children at this age have very broad definitions of skill and physical skill is rated less highly than it is by older children. Skilful for children at this age means anything ranging from being good at games to "being good at work and sensible and telling the truth and not telling lies", (Katie[2] pretend player aged 7, School D). In this way, children at this age who do not view themselves as physically skilful do not see this as an obstacle towards their participation in physical education lessons, being valued by peers or joining in playground games. This concept, however, does begin to emerge soon after this stage.

As children move through these stages, linked closely to 'understanding what I can do', they begin to challenge some of the existing meanings attributed to their current biographies. Physical skill becomes more valued, especially for its potential to develop self-image; children appear to assimilate messages from older children both in and outside school and for some, particularly those higher in the continuum, friendship groupings begin to be influenced by choices of activity. Some groups however, such as pretend players and socialisers are less affected by this concept.

Younger children are affected more by external factors than older children in the primary school. Play is more spontaneous and less planned, older juniors for example may resume a game of football started at lunch time during afternoon play with the same teams. Children from all identities are more likely to be influenced by current trends that they come into contact with outside school. For example, a group of pretend players could be found playing the Lion King when this film was popular. Children at this stage will improvise more readily than older primary school children and have some capacity to invent games, although this is rare. Length of time spent playing specific games or pretend games, however, is often transient and will change depending on the availability of

equipment and current friendship groupings which are still fluid when compared to their older peers. There are fewer obvious leaders in their social hierarchy compared with older junior groups and several individuals have the chance to initiate play choices. There is some carry over of activities they are introduced to outside school, in clubs such as Brownies and Cubs, although these rarely endure in school playgrounds. A number of out of school activities voluntarily pursued have enduring qualities, for example, cycling, unless they are forbidden by parents because of potential dangers.

'Managing myself'

Managing myself as a sub-category relates closely in nature and time of relevance to 'Doing it on my own'. The label has been chosen to describe the apparent emerging changes which appear to take place in how children view the meaning of messages they receive from significant others. Choices of activity in and out of school become more planned and, as stated earlier activities learnt in clubs outside school begin to have less impact on voluntary choices.

Children begin the process of managing themselves in that they make more objective judgements about what they enjoy and what is perceived as important. They appear particularly affected by older children both in and outside the school environment and, if attending a club, respond to messages received from club coaches and other children in the same environment. Media images too begin to have more impact and at this stage they start to mention sporting heroes in their discussions about the relevance of physical education lessons. Evaluation of physical education lessons for children higher up the profile continuum has some base in how lessons relate to the objectives of their clubs, which might emphasise the development of skill and attaining awards. The shift towards a more instrumental view of activity emerges for some identities after approximately nine years of age. When asked about clubs outside school Oliver (sporty participant, aged 10) talking about his swimming club said:

"I have just stopped going to swimming. I've got my gold so there's no point in going any more."

Physical skill becomes more important and children high in the continuum may spend free time practising skills, (this however usually applies to boys rather than girls). They often evaluate physical education lessons on their potential for allowing them to develop skills they perceive as valuable, for sporty participants, emulators, followers and independent organisers particularly, activities such as gymnastics begin to be seen as less valuable than games.

'Discovering who matters'

The notion of a social hierarchy is always in evidence when interviewing children between seven and twelve years of age. It is, however, more manifest as children progress towards the end of the primary school years. Pleasing parents remains important as they grow older. However, maintaining friendships amongst peers and being seen to like appropriate activities appears to become very important as children mature. Representing the school team accrues more status to individual children and becomes an important issue for many. When asked about games they like to play at playtime, Chris (sporty innovator, aged 11) replied:

"I like football 'cos, if I didn't play football I wouldn't really have any friends, just a few boys, say six or seven and then I like it 'cos it's fun. I play for the school team . . . there's Oakwood they beat us 6-2 in the first round, we then drew 3-3. We made a goal, then they did, then we scored. All the parents went 'Yes!' They were sitting on the floor, they all kept getting excited."

Physical education lessons receive more criticism than before in their potential for providing an opportunity to develop appropriate skills for children in the middle regions of the continuum. For children in the sporty innovator and sporty participant identities, these lessons need to be active and provide appropriate opportunity for showing their skill. For these children, however, their club and "doing it for the coach" often take precedence over the physical education lesson and are seen as more important.

The most commonly recurring factor in determining level of enjoyment in both playground games and physical education lessons appears to be physical skill level. Being skilful and being seen as skilful by those who matter, that is friends in school, becomes extremely important.

> "If I was skilful, which I'm not, I'd be happy, happier than I am now.
> I can't do anything." (Freya, pretend player aged 10, School D.)

In contrast with the very wide interpretation of skill characteristic of their younger colleagues, older children attach very specific meanings to the notion of skill, which is nearly always associated with physical attributes. When asked to give an example of skilful, Sarah[1] (sporty participant, aged 12) replied:

> "Karen . . because she's tall and good at netball. Lian is skilful
> because she can organise things in the game, she's got a loud
> voice and she can shout to everyone. She is good at organising
> things."
>
> (School E.)

The importance attached to skill level and being with the sporty crowd at playtimes affords status to both boys and girls. Those girls ridiculed earlier in the primary school for being tomboys often become the focus of admiration and envy of others who are ostracised from the core hierarchy subgroups within playground culture.

Fig. 3.15 Mediating Category: 'Playing by the Rules'
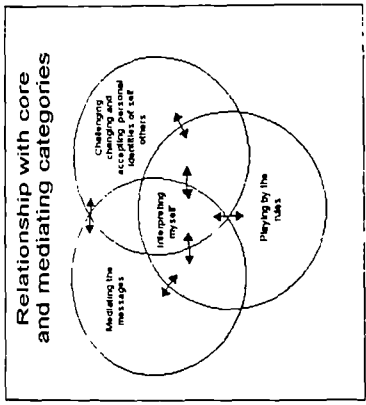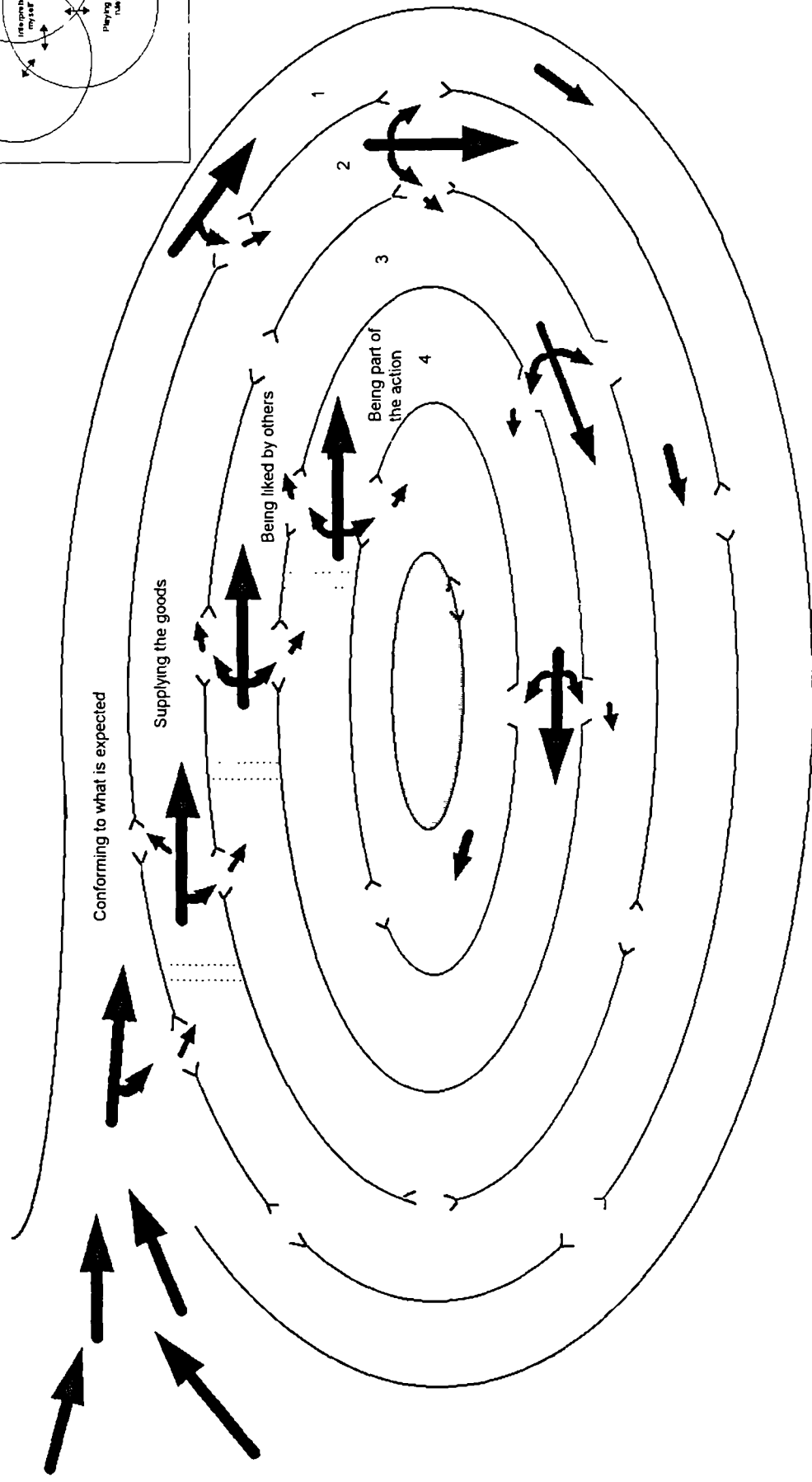
The process of self-interpretation is influenced by this mediating category. As children move towards the centre of the circle (such movement relates closely to chronological age) self-understanding is increased.

186

4.5.3 Mediating Category: 'Playing by the Rules'

Children's play and activity choices, together with attitudes towards health and physical education occur within the context of complex structures which are context specific and become less flexible as they mature through the junior school years. Conforming to and having an understanding of such complex rule structures is a necessary feature of being accepted by others, especially peers, and reflects a child's place in the social hierarchy and gives access to valued activities within playground culture.

In a similar way to the previous mediating categories, 'playing by the rules' contains four sub-categories and whilst 'being part of the action' is most applicable to children over nine years of age, the other sub-categories have more or less equal relevance to all children involved in the study, ie. seven to twelve years.

'Conforming to what is expected'

Interviews with children as young as seven reveal that the play culture is already bounded by conventions which are complex and prescribe acceptable codes of behaviour. Core areas of the playground are dominated by team games, usually football, played by older children, mainly boys, with a few sporty innovator and sporty participant girls and a few highly skilled younger boys whose entry provides them with enhanced peer status. In playgrounds, where space is limited, this can lead younger groups to resort to chasing games or active pretend games if they wish to be mobile. Using acceptable terminology to describe these games is important. Children using the term 'Tiggy on' to describe a chasing game are ridiculed by others later on if they do not change to using 'Tig' or 'Chase' when discussing this game. In a similar way, having knowledge of computer games and associated terminology can demand forms of respect from other children, although being a part of the physical action carries more status as they progress towards eleven years of age.

Although the differences between acceptable boys and girls games and having a knowledge of appropriate local sport heroes is not a preoccupation for children at seven, these soon emerge as important. A common feature of all children in the junior years however is conforming to the rules established by the majority in the context of the play environment. This becomes even more evident as children move towards years 5 and 6. When asked how the children organise football games at playtime, Nicholas (sporty innovator, aged 11) replied:

> "People come out at play (morning playtime) then dinner so we have to choose sides again. Sometimes it's not fair sides, so we have to pick again and then it's not fair, then we have to pick again."

Interviewer: "Why is it so important to have fair sides?"

Nicholas: "They'd all start moaning, they always do."

Interviewer: "Would the game stop?"

Nicholas: "No, it would just get dead rough."

(School B)

'Supplying the goods'

Having equipment available at playtime has a large impact on the nature of play during breaks in the primary school. In some of the schools used for the study, policies relating to children being allowed equipment at playtimes changed. Some schools would temporarily prohibit the use of balls during these times. This policy changes the structure of games and play activities within the playground; pretend games increase and redundant footballers merge with other groups into chasing games or Bulldog. In schools where children are expected to provide their own equipment, children supplying the goods are afforded

access to games regardless of skill level. In later years access to valued toys and equipment also offers improved status to individuals, and in some ways can compensate for deficiency in physical skill.

In one school, there was a noticeable increase in interest in sport amongst children interviewed and a change in types of activities pursued at playtimes. Subsequent investigations revealed that a change of headteacher had resulted in deliberate playground interventions encouraging use of a variety of equipment, as well as other initiatives such as visits from sport governing body representatives, links with local sports clubs and encouraging more active involvement of parents in playtime and extra-curricular provision. This, together with promotion of the use of a variety of equipment at playtimes resulted in a massive increase in interest and apparent activity amongst the children, with some of those interviewees noticeably moving up the profile continuum.

Outside the school environment equipment also plays a central role in children's decisions regarding their activity choices, access to having or being allowed to use roller blades for example can have a direct impact on with whom they play. Local parks are carefully selected and evaluated in terms of their provision of available equipment.

'Being liked by others' and 'Being part of the action'

These two sub-categories merge strongly and will be considered together. They relate to all children interviewed during the research. However, for younger children of seven to nine years they relate most closely to children in the middle regions of the continuum. For children above the age of nine the implications of these sub-categories become more manifest amongst most identities, excepting the extreme ends of the continuum i.e. innovators and distants.

Whilst being with friends and wanting to be liked by peers is an important factor in determining the choice of activity during leisure time for younger children,

there is more movement amongst groups of friends and relationships can be short-term. These children may consequently take part in a number of different forms of play activities during lunch and break times within school. Out of school friendships, however, are more enduring and the type of activity is often determined by the age of the children in their local area. Opportunity, therefore, plays a part in their engagements in physical activities outside the school environment.

For older children from about nine years, being liked by others and being part of the action is a major influencing factor in determining choice of activity. Joining in with important and influential others is a characteristic feature of some children's play choices. In a conversation about being skilful in physical education lessons, Robert (independent organiser aged 11) emphasised that:

> "In football, a lot of who likes you is based on football and that isn't very nice."

Interviewer: "Is it important to try to be good at things to be liked?"

Robert: "Well, it's not a very nice way to be liked, it's nice to have friends, but they're not being that nice. Before I played football I used to read a lot, now I play a lot."

(School D)

For some children successful acceptance into appropriate groups can mean regular participation in activities at playtimes. For those ostracised (even those who have an apparent desire to be active) such times can be spent moving amongst peripheral groups, or joining in pretend games, or with less active friends, or even games with younger children. Continued integration in dominant groups is dependent on being seen to like and take part in fashionable and 'trendy' activities, having a knowledge of and using appropriate terminology to describe games and local and national heroes. Being able to supply equipment can, for some children, provide a vehicle to gain access into these valued

groups who dominate the central and popular areas of the playground. This culture is not as powerful outside the school environment where children might have enduring friendships with children of different ages and, differences in levels of knowledge and access to valued goods is more accepted and tolerated.

4.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to highlight the emergent categories which were discovered from the narrative and observed data collected in this study. In order to remain faithful to grounded theory the chapter precedes the literature review which was delayed. Furthermore, there has been no attempt, as with conventional theses to intersperse and relate the findings of existing studies with those of the researcher. This is a feature of grounded theory studies which seek to discover new theories in relatively unexplored areas that serve to explain basic social processes. May (1986) recommends that the findings of a grounded theory study can be briefly compared with related literature and that if this is done it should form part of a final chapter. In this way, the concluding part of this thesis relates aspects of the analysis to related areas from empirical studies.

The sample chosen for the project is described, together with a brief explanation of the context in which interviews and observations were conducted.

There have been few studies which consider socio-cultural aspects of children's physical activity participation and even less research with primary-school-aged pupils and the influence of peers and parents on the culture of children's play and attitudes towards activity.

Glaser (1992) recommends that the researcher enters the project with an 'area' in mind rather than a specific problem. Following initial informal discussions with pupils and teachers several issues emerged as important which appeared to justify further investigation, including the influence of age and peer relations on attitudes towards physical education and physical activities both in and out of

school, apparent sex differences in attitudes towards the importance of physical activity and finally, a tendency for individuals to classify themselves as a type of person.

A cross-sectional sample of boys and girls aged seven and eight, and nine and ten were monitored for a period of four years. A core category and several mediating categories were identified through the process of data collection and analysis. The core category which accounted for most of the variation in patterns of behaviour was labelled 'Interpreting Myself - The identity profile continuum'. This conceptual term explains how children, based on messages they receive from significant others, comparisons they make with peers and the way they internalise and construct a definition of their own persona, decide on their play choices and settle on the way in which they view the world which further contours their subsequent interactions and determines their friendship choices. The profile continuum identifies the structured nature of these perceived identities which have a less constraining effect on younger children than on older boys and girls at age ten to twelve There is, therefore. some possible movement, both up and along the matrix, although it is found to be both time and context specific. Children may exhibit 'merged identities', Charmaz (1990), although they characteristically exhibit more essential traits apparent in one of the identifies.

Each identity is described in some detail with accompanying diagrams to show the essential and secondary traits common to each identity. Friendship relations among certain identities were evident and crystallised from discussions with children. These friendship patterns are detailed within the descriptors of each identity and a summative diagrammatical representation is offered to assist the reader to create a friendship relation profile of children within each identity.

Some children are found to possess high levels of intrinsic interest towards forms of physical activity, particularly those placed high up the continuum, such as sporty innovators and sporty participants, although there are discernible

differences between these identities in that innovators tend to be more dynamic, and willing to organise themselves and others than sporty participants.

Identities positioned towards the middle of the continuum such as emulators, independent organisers, followers and socialisers are less intrinsically motivated towards physical activity than innovators and sporty participants, although they might be relatively active. There are various factors which influence their decisions to be active or inactive. Emulators and socialisers for example are motivated primarily by the desire to either be like, or be liked by others, whilst independent organisers might seek out activities voluntarily to improve personal skills and be seen by others as sporty people. Followers have a relatively high level of intrinsic interest in activities compared to other identities but are less willing than adjacent identities to organise themselves.

Children lower down the continuum have less interest in physical activity and may have a lower perceived self-perception of their physical competence. Although young pretend players tend to absorb themselves into activities, they are generally less active than children at the top end of the continuum and, as they become older, children often leave this temporal identity to become socialisers (this shift is characterised mainly by boys) or reluctant participants (this shift is characterised mainly by girls) as images associated with most forms of pretend play are associated with younger children. Peer pressure forces children into other identities which are perceived as acceptable.

Reluctant participants and distants, whilst positioned adjacent to one another in the continuum and sharing a lack of interest in physical activities also have characteristics which distinguish the identities from each other. Distants will use strategies to avoid physical activity whilst reluctant participants have more friends and may disrupt the play activities of others. Also, this group can be involved in activity but are very selective about activities and show relative disinterest in most playground games and physical education.

The processual nature of the identity of a child is influenced by a number of mediating categories which have some relationship with chronological age. Each of the mediating categories interrelate with the core category and with each other. Whilst each mediating category is discussed in turn. there is no linear relationship with the core category (except that the sub-categories within each mediating category have some relationship with a child's age).

In order to simplify this process the following table provides a summative analysis of the main features associated with each mediating category.

Table 3.2   Tabular Analysis of the Main Features of the Mediating Categories

Mediating category	Sub-category	General features	Approximate age of child
Challenging, changing and accepting personal identities of self and others.	Reassessing existing meanings	Being skilful becomes important; competent players begin to challenge existing friendship patterns as they become more aware of physical self. Positive attitudes towards PE and activity.	7 - 8
	Understanding what I can do.	Seek out opportunities to test themselves against others and showing off. Begin to prefer activities they are good at.	8 - 9

194

Mediating category	Sub-category	General features	Approximate age of child
	Doing it on my own and discovering who I want to be.	Activities become more context specific, friendships become more important in influencing activity choices and places in the subcultural hierarchy more fixed. Play is less spontaneous and cliques more enduring and impenetrable. Thoughts towards PE and activity become more contoured in relation to place on the continuum as they begin to accept their identity.	9 +
Mediating the messages	'Being like other people' and 'temporal loyalties and temporal opportunities'	Experimentation with different forms of play operating within a framework of relative independence. May move between friendship groups dependent on activity being played. Children seek to be like others, especially parents, and friendships are based on attractive personal qualities. They have very broad definitions of skill. Some carry-over from outside school activities to voluntary and spontaneous play.	7 - 9

Mediating category	Sub-category	General features	Approximate age of child
	'Managing myself'	Choices of activity become more planned. Children become more affected by older children and respond to messages they receive from club coaches and older children. A more instrumental view of physical activity and PE emerges. Physical skill becomes important.	9 - 11
	'Discovering who matters'	Hierarchies become more manifest. Being seen to like appropriate activities, particularly by peers is important. PE lessons are criticised more. Perceived level of skill has an impact on perceived enjoyment, 'sporty' people accrue most status.	9 - 11
Playing by the rules	'Conforming to what is expected'	Playground culture determines access to play space. Using appropriate language and being involved in popular physical pursuits accrues status. Conforming to the rules of the playground becomes increasingly important.	7 - 12

Mediating category	Sub-category	General features	Approximate age of child
	'Supplying the goods'	Available equipment has a huge impact on play choices. In later years particularly, having access to valued equipment can enhance status and compensate for lack of skill.	7 - 12
	'Being liked by others' and 'Being part of the action'	Becomes more important as children grow older. Out of school friendships are more enduring and activity more determined by opportunity.	7 - 12
		Very important for older children to join in with appropriate age group and popular games to establish, but more often maintain status. This culture is much less important outside the school environment.	9 - 12

This chapter has presented an analysis of some of the complex factors mediating and contributing towards children's decisions and attitudes towards physical activities both in and outside school. Whilst the context of the school, local environment and family unit appear to impact on children's opportunities to be active, the core category and mediating categories emerged as most relevant to the sample chosen in this investigation.

CHAPTER 5

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

"Because lifestyle health behaviour is so deeply embedded in the socio-cultural fabric, epidemiologists and social scientists must turn to this complex set of relationships for an understanding of disease prevention and health promotion"

(Gottileb and Chen 1985, p.538)

5.1 Introduction

Unlike traditional verificational research, the nature of a grounded theory study determines that a review of related literature is carried out relatively late on in the research process. The structuring of this thesis reflects this idiosyncratic feature. Whilst there is no standard format for presenting written accounts of such studies, May (1986) recommends that the review is relatively short and highlights gaps in existing knowledge in order to provide a clear rationale for launching a grounded theory study. A lengthy uncritical review, suggests May, can reflect overdependence on existing knowledge. Importantly, unlike hypothetico-deductive research, there is no relating of data to existing conceptual frameworks as the purpose of grounded theory research is designed to generate theory, not test it.

The consequence of choosing a grounded theory methodology to investigate an area where there is a dearth of studies and related theories is that the subsequent literature review becomes challenging. At the beginning of this project researchers were highlighting the need for more studies into socio-cultural determinants influencing young children's activity patterns in the light

of growing evidence relating to apparent low levels of physical activity and links with coronary heart diseases risk factors (Cale and Almond 1992a, 1992b). For example, Sallis et al., (1992) emphasised,

> "social influences on physical activity are important to understand because they appear to be strong. Further investigation of the potential contribution of cultural determinants . . . is needed" (p.S250).

Weiss and Duncan (1992) point out that whilst some advances had been made in sports psychology in investigating the cognitive and affective benefits from children's sport participation (e.g. Horn, 1987; Scanlon and Simons, 1992; Weiss, 1987; Weiss and Bredemeier, 1990) "little research has been conducted on the important developmental topic of peer relations in the sport setting, the formation of friendships, peer acceptance, and social competence" (p.177). Most research at this time had been concerned with adolescent children or youth in formal sport settings; furthermore there had been few studies relating to this specific area of study within Britain (excepting Evans and Roberts, 1987). Coakley and White (1992) following a study with British adolescents emphasised:

> "The literature in the sociology of sport probably has enough studies reporting lists of sport participation patterns with accompanying lists of variables associated with those patterns for particular people at particular points in time. There seems to be a need for more accounts of ongoing, actual experiences and the decisions related to these experiences" (p,34).

Indeed, whilst there have been continuing studies into children's activity levels including some with younger children (Thirlaway and Benton 1993; Sleap and Warburton 1992) which continue to suggest girls are less active than boys, researchers acknowledge the continued need for greater insights into social, biological, psychological and developmental factors influencing children's physical activity behaviour (Brustad 1993). Shropshire and Carroll (1997) in a recent article emphasise that there is still a dearth of studies in this area, "clearly an identification of these factors is likely to lead to an

increase in the so far limited body of knowledge pertaining to possible influences of children's physical activity participation" (p. 95).

The grounded theory literature recommends that in the initial stages researchers go into the field with an 'area' of study in mind. In this case-study the focus was socio-cultural factors affecting children's participation in, and attitudes towards, physical activities. A further feature of the grounded theory approach is that investigators follow leads which are apparent in the data until a core category emerges which accounts for the patterns of behaviour which are most relevant and problematic for those involved. Most other categories and their properties should relate to it which makes the core category "subject to much qualification and modification because it is so dependent on what is going on in the actions" (Glaser, 1978, p.92). In this case the core category 'interpreting myself' is a basic social process, in other words, it refers to how children identify themselves over time, it is therefore context specific and has different meanings at different points during a child's developmental career within the junior school and early stages of the secondary school. It is also dependent on the three mediating categories identified in the previous chapter. The reason for emphasising this point is that the substantive theories generated in this case-study are potentially relevant to a great number of empirical studies and investigations from different theoretical disciplines. This is in part due to the open-ended approach to data gathering techniques inherent in grounded theory which tend to lead to, not only generating new explanations for certain phenomena and behaviour, but also to highlighting the interrelatedness of influencing variables. A further difficulty therefore, in presenting a review of related literature involves the disentangling of potential determinants from the available categories which have arguably limited relevance (Dishman and Sallis, 1994). The following examination of available data is therefore based on the researcher's interpretation of aspects of existing research which are most closely related to this study. It should be noted here, in relation to these last comments that labels used to describe categories within the study are constructs of the researcher and are not 'borrowed' from existing literature. In this way, they

have a particular connotation as do terms in common usage in say psychological literature such as internal focus of control. Thus, whilst the core category, 'interpreting myself' bears a resemblance with notions in psychology such as self-efficacy and self-image its processual nature and consequences means that it cuts across 'sociological' notions of peer culture and 'interdependencies'. It is recognised, of course, that each of these terms also have a specific meaning and relevance depending on the context of usage. This is a very important point which the author wishes to emphasise as the following review should not be seen as an attempt to squeeze the findings of this study into existing theoretical frameworks and explanations which have been conducted using different methodologies, with different cultures and different objectives. In view of the limited number of available related studies, reference will be made to research in Britain and other countries. The review will also include research from different settings (free-living and supervised) as these formed part of the research objectives.

5.2 Socialisation Studies

Sport socialisation studies typically consider how the social context influences an individual's involvement into, through and out of sport participation. Reviews of research on children's sport socialisation indicate that the process begins in early infancy and consciously encourages physical activity involvement for males. Also, through subtle discrimination in sex-typing, females may receive a lack of exposure to a variety of motor and physical activities which in turn may result in a self-selection away from 'inappropriate' and/or unfamiliar activities (Lewko and Greendorfer, 1978, 1982, and 1988). Through the process of socialisation it is argued that through social learning theory individuals acquire social-psychological skills based upon a network of culturally agreed upon ideological beliefs, attitudes, values, and cultural practices (Aberle, 1961; Clausen 1968; Goslin, 1969; Inkeles, 1968). Socialisation research has tended to concentrate on how significant others, in

particular parents, teachers, siblings and peers influence an individual's behaviour.

At this juncture it would seem appropriate to consider developments in socialisation research as they impact directly on the nature of this case-study. Greendorfer et al., (1996) argue that "no studies consider influences of significant other or socialisation practices from a cultural perspective" (p.92). This is reiterated by Hasbrook (1989) who emphasises that we have little understanding of how significant others became influential and that a consideration of social psychological constructs is necessary to understanding socialisation process. Kunesh, et al., (1992) highlight further potential limitations of existing socialisation research. First, they argue, investigators have only concentrated on factors related to formal sport involvement. Secondly, sport socialisation has traditionally been studied from a deterministic and unidirectional perspective in which individuals internalise messages from significant others. What many investigators fail to consider, argue Kunesh et al, "is the role the individual plays in interpreting and shaping the social contexts in which he/she is located" (p.386). The process, of socialisation as an interactive and bidirectional process is given theoretical support (Alenen, 1990; Bandura, 1969; Giddens, 1979; Goodman, 1985; Wentworth, 1980) and empirical support (Anderson, et al., 1986; Barkley and Cunningham, 1979; Bates, 1975). Work by the Opies (1959, 1969) suggests that there is a separate child culture which Aries (1962) argues changes over time. If this argument is accepted then the study of socialisation must become substantively the study of cultural assimilation, and theoretically the study of meaningful social action (Mackay, 1991).

Primary attention in the majority of studies on pre-adolescent children within the area of socialisation has focused on parental influences (for example, Brustad, 1993; Cashmore and Goodnow, 1986; Colley et al, 1992; Dempsey, et al., 1993; McCullagh et al., 1993) and gender differences (for example, Colley et al., 1992; Dubois, 1990; Eccles and Harold, 1991; Ignico, 1990) Peer interactions have, on the other hand received less

attention although researchers recognise it as an important variable. This interaction may produce cognitive and associated affective responses to physical activity. Each of these three categories were found to be of importance within the case study and will therefore be considered in turn.

5.3 Parental Influence

There have been many studies which consider the role of parents and family in socialisation of children's sport experiences. This section will focus predominantly on pre-adolescent children as this was the focus age group for the study. The role of parental influence on children's psychological development and attitudes towards activity will be considered later.

Parents have often been shown to have a strong influence on their children's activity (Sallis et al., 1992; Armstrong 1993; Brustad, et al., 1995). Positive associations have been reported between parental encouragement of activity and young children's immediate physical activity (Klesges et al., 1984; Klesges et al., 1986; McKenzie et al., 1991). More active parents have been shown to have more active pre-adolescents (Moore et al., 1991; Ross and Pate, 1987). Other studies show less of a direct impact.

Sallis et al., (1988) studying 206 families of fifth and sixth grade children from 12 different schools of a mixed ethnic background found physical activity habits are moderately aggregated within families. However, they point to the problem of isolating such variables when so many forces are acting concurrently. Colley et al., (1992) and Dempsey et al., (1993), studied children of nine years of age. Colley et al., found that parental participation accounted for a negligible amount of variance in reported sport participation of the child. Dempsey et al., (1993) found that parents' beliefs about their children's moderate to vigorous physical activity participation (MVPA) competence accounted for a small amount of variance (6%) in their children's MVPA. As with Sallis' findings however, the authors concluded that . . . "the

relationship between parent and child belief systems about MVPA is probably more complex than the unidirectional one presented in this study" (p.165). More recently Yang, et al., (1996), in a study of 1881 Finnish boys and girls aged 9-15 examined whether parental participation and socio-economic status were associated with children's initial involvement in sport and to their subsequent level of participation. The 12 year study indicated the father's physical activity had a relationship with children's physical activity and particularly sports participation. Children of active fathers were more likely to participate in sporting activities than children of passive fathers. This influence was found to continue over time as children got older. Mothers' activity appeared to influence the sports activities of girls. The authors concluded that, "The findings suggest that the influence of fathers appears to be a more important socialising agent than that of the mothers for children's sporting experiences "(p285). A possible explanation of the perceived relationship between parents' and children's activity is, according to Yang et al., Bandura's (1977) social learning theory which proposes that humans learn from observing and modelling the behaviour of significant others. They later make the observation that the process of sport socialisation appears to be a two-way process between children and parents. This observation reinforces Coakley's (1993) recommendations that future socialisation research should concentrate on interactive processes where the child is viewed as an active interpreter of messages received from significant others and initiates reciprocal socialisation processes which, in turn, affect parents. Indeed, studies indicate that children who become athletes and achieve success may change their parent's lifestyle (Hasbrook, 1986; Snyder and Purdy, 1982; Telema and Vanhakkala-Ruoho, 1981). Freedson and Evenson (1991) using Caltrac accelerometers with American children 5-9 years and their parents, found a similarity between activity category of both father and child (67% of all cases) and mother and child (73% of all cases). This study indicated that role modelling may be a more effective influence than parental support and encouragement. Sallis et al., (1992) believe that modelling is likely to have a strong influence on children's physical activities yet the phenomenon has not

been investigated fully. This claim is supported by Taylor et al., (1994) who state:

> "No literature specifically addresses modelling and physical activity. The potential for modelling effects within the family can be assessable by reviewing the literature on potential exercise patterns, parental exercise with children, and studied identifying modelling as a variable of interest. Such papers provide a conflicting pattern of results" (p 329).

There has been some research on modelling and play (for example, Freyburg, 1973; Singer, 1973b; Barnett and Chick, 1986) which indicates that the richness and frequency of play arises from a set of optimal conditions that include the behaviours of parents for identification and modelling. Much of this research, however, was conducted with pre-school children and followed a social learning theory model.

Research on parental influence on children's activity in Britain is relatively sparse. Mason (1995) in a study undertaken on behalf of the Office of Population, Consensus and Surveys (OPCS) for the Sports Council which involved a 'qualitative' study with in-depth interviewing of twenty physical education teachers and 40 children aged 6-15, concluded those children who had been encouraged to take part in sport from an early age seemed to enjoy sport in later years and were positive about continued participation. The research team acknowledge, however, in their recommendations for further research that this issue is researched in more detail as "some factors were covered only briefly; for example, only three questions related to the family's influence" (p.151). Hutson et al., (1995) in a study for the Sports Council for Wales together with the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at the University of Wales involving 43 in-depth interviews with children of eleven and thirteen found that there was more positive support for boys than girls for sport and leisure participation. Leisure patterns of younger girls appeared to be more home-centred and restricted than those of older girls.

Shropshire and Carroll (1997) in a study with 924 year 6 primary school children in the North West of England used classroom questionnaires to investigate how social factors associated with family life related to children's volitional participation in physical activity. In particular, the study set out to assess the potential relationship between parental participation in regular exercise, socio-economic status and children's physical activities. The results suggested that:

> "the father, as assessed by the child's perceptions of his exercise behaviour, may be a more important influence of children's participation in physical activity than the mother. The findings also suggest that no differences in these children's physical activity can be attributed to social economic status . . ." (p. 109)

Some reference has been made to gender socialisation influences in the above review. A number studies look specifically at the influence of parents and the socialisation of children into gender roles. Parents have been found to respond to males and females in sex stereotypic fashion in the area of play and games (Lamb, 1976; Lewko and Greendorfer, 1978). Lewko and Ewing (1980) in a study with 370 children of 9-11 years found fathers were influential in socialising boys into sport and that for girls to become active participants they would have to deviate from anticipated activity patterns expected by parents. Studies by Hoffman (1977) and Best (1983) investigated whether children were being raised in ways that differ significantly from past generations: both found that shifts in the traditional gender roles were slight, at best, with children displaying fairly conservative gender orientation.

Smith (1994) argues that children are often rewarded by parents for showing what is considered sex-appropriate behaviour; also, by the middle and junior school years they are quite aware of what is considered sex-appropriate. They have, argues Smith acquired a 'gender identity'. This results in what has been termed 'self-socialisation' by Maccoby and Jacklin (1987), who argue that children themselves are usually keen to be seen as typical 'boys'

or 'girls' and do not necessarily need much outward pressure to conform to expectations.

Brustad (1993) in a study with parents and their 10 year old children found parents differentiated between sons and daughters by providing sons with more encouragement to be physically active which impacted on the development of perceptions of competence for children.

Waring (1995) in a study with 27 children aged 10 to 14 using a grounded theory approach assessed the influence of significant others on a child's motivation towards physical education. Parents, peers and schools were found to act as 'gatekeepers' by being either 'guardians', 'facilitators' and/or 'enforcers', structuring the experiences for each child which ultimately influenced the way in which they valued involvement in physical activities. The strength of influence was found to vary in terms of social context and existing interdependencies between various 'gatekeepers'. The researcher also found reciprocal socialisation processes in operation between the various agents involved.

5.4 Differences in Activity Levels and Types of Participation of Boys and Girls

Studies relating to activity levels of children mostly indicate that girls are less active than boys, (for example, Gilliam et al., 1981; Sunnegardh et al., 1985; Fuchs et al., 1988; Ross and Pate, 1987; Sallis et al., 1992; Cale, 1993; Endicott. 1993; Thirlaway and Benton, 1993; McManus and Armstrong, 1995.) In order to understand differences in levels of participation researchers have increasingly turned to looking at the types of activities each sex choose and factors influencing these choices. This issue becomes most important as many studies indicate that females become less active as they move through the secondary school years, (Sallis et al., 1989; Verchurr and Kemper, et al., 1985; Armstrong et al., 1990; Aaron et al., 1993). The Youth

Service Study (DOE, 1995) found, in a study of 11-25 year olds that males were only slightly more likely than females to play sport in sport and leisure centres, but they were much more likely to play elsewhere (55% compared with 23%). Also, 31% of the males against just 13% of females had attended a spectator sports event. There are numerous studies and explanations relating to biological, developmental, socialisation, environmental and psychological influences as determinants of physical activity choices and play behaviours for boys and girls. This review concentrates only on those found to have particular relevance for this case-study.

Age changes in patterns of activity choices have been frequently documented. Although dated, an oft quoted study is that of Lever (1976, 1978) who, in research with ten and eleven year olds in the United States found that boys spent about 65% of their time in formal rule governed games, whereas girls spent only 37% of their time doing this. Boys played more team games, such as football involving direct competition. The girls' games were typically less competitive and did not usually involve teams, although girls did have a tendency towards measuring performance and comparing achievements. Lever generalised these findings to differences in friendship patterns; boys' friendship groupings being larger and more suitable for teams and with an instrumental attitude towards friendship such that friendship was based on behaviour and 'playing the game'. Girls' friendship groups were smaller and more intimate, and their attitude to friendship was more expressive, based on feelings and verbal behaviour. These findings were supported in a study by Borman and Kurdek (1987), who found that the complexity of children's games and activities increased over a one year period within a logitudinal study of six and ten year olds, especially for boys. For girls, game complexity was positively related to interpersonal understanding suggesting a link to an interpersonal relationship focus during playground activities. For boys, on the other-hand, game complexity was negativity related to interpersonal understanding and positively related to understanding rules, suggesting an instrumental importance of play activities for boys.

Little research has been conducted on the notion of pretend and fantasy play with junior school-aged children, most relates to early childhood and the value of this form of play for social development. The dearth of studies in this area would suggest the need for more research as different forms of 'pretend players' were evidenced in this case study right through the junior school years. Studies on the amount of time spent on fantasy play by pre-school girls and boys is contradictory (Smith and Connolly, 1980, Brindley et al., 1973). Fein (1981) indicates that such discrepancies might be due, in part, to lack of clarity in definitions of fantasy. Differences in themes adopted by girls and boys for fantasy play have been noted. Brooks-Gunn and Matthews (1979) found girls often adopt relational roles (such as parent-child, husband-wife) in domestic type episodes. Boys engage in a wider variety of episodes, preferring roles involving gross motor activity, such as monsters or spacemen. Smith (1986) suggests that children's pretend play seems to reflect their knowledge of adult roles in a stereotyped way; the female role is the domestic one with which they are familiar from the home, books and mass media, whilst the male role is relatively unknown from personal experience, and is derived largely from television and other sources. Humphreys and Smith (1987) reported observing less fantasy play and more rule games in eleven year olds than in seven year olds in a study with seven, nine and eleven year olds in a school in Northern England using observations to determine children's participation in 'rough and tumble' activities.

Piaget (1951) described typical play patterns of younger children. He thought that from three to six years, children's predominant play activity was 'symbolic'. This was the time for pretend games and sociodramatic play, in pairs or small groups. Leif and Brunelle (1976), however, argue that symbolic play is more important in the group games of middle childhood than Piaget's division into stages implies.

Roberts (1980) studying children from eight to thirteen suggests the changing relationship between the two sexes is seen best at the formative stage of role playing which is found in eight year olds but declines sharply by twelve. Boys

make-believe games were typically fighting games and often followed fantasy models. Girls were found to be more literal in their games where adult life was played out in a straightforward way. The importance of the need for more qualitative studies investigating such play activities becomes manifest in the context of increasing interest in images of masculinities and feminities and its effect on decisions about appropriate activity choices among primary-school-aged children (e.g. Renold 1997).

Evans (1989) in an Australian study with young children found more fantasy play in younger age groups which lessens with age. Evans makes the point, however, that most studies only look as far as the relationship between age and choice of activity and not which activities children do/do not share with mixed age school-mates.

Several studies indicate boys prefer vigorous activity play that incorporates gross body movements and competitive themes, whereas girls generally prefer more sedentary activities that involve turn-taking (Evans, 1989; Iso-Ahola, 1980).

More recently, Blatchford et al., (1990) in a project commissioned by the Institute of Educational Research found, on the basis of pupils' reports, clear sex differences in children's playground games. A total of 175 eleven year old children were interviewed in schools within the ILEA regarding their playground activities. Boys were more likely than girls to play football (84%), although 36% of girls said they played. Girls were more likely to play seeking games (27% v 8%), pretend games (9% v 2%) and skipping games (26% v 5%). Only girls said they played guessing games, daring games and ring games, rhymes and clapping games. Only boys mentioned toy fights. Boys were also most likely to play touch with a ball (11% v 1%). Nine percent (15) of the children did not go out to play. These were more likely to be girls than boys (12% v 3%). A potential strength of this type of study, i.e. one based on interviewing children about playground activities and culture is that, as Blatchford points out:

"they have a uniquely informed view of what goes on, and their 'evidence' is therefore crucial. Secondly, any improvements, to be effective, will have to take on board their views" (p 164).

An obvious limitation (and one faced in the writer's study) is that there can be discrepancies between what children say they do and what they actually do (Blatchford acknowledges this) and the amount of time spent involved in various activities is not recorded.

Boulton (1992) in a study with 86, eight and eleven year old middle-school pupils from two urban British schools used focal individual sampling procedures (Altmann 1974 - observational method). He discovered that boys spent more time alone, and played more football while girls spent more time socialising, skipping and playing rounders. A potential advantage of using observational methods is highlighted in this study, that of being able to assess time spent on activity and identifying those involved. Boulton also found that the proportion of time spent in these activities was not found to differ from the beginning to the end of playtime. Many activities were single-sex and/or single-age affairs, older boys were largely responsible for the lack of mixed age and mixed sex play on the playground. Football, particularly for the older boys, appeared to be taken so seriously that girls and younger children, with their perceived lack of skill, knowledge about rules and physical strength/size were often seen as a liability to winning the game. Girls and younger boys, however, appeared to be more receptive to playing in mixed sex and mixed age groups. For them, concluded Boulton, such interactions were seen as a source of fun and/or learning. Boys rarely joined in skipping activities or other games classed as girls' games. Despite the fact that some girls played football, it was found that they rarely initiated games. In a review of 16 studies that examined sex-segregation within the school environment among 3-11 year old children, Lockheed and Klein (1985) discovered that a preference for same-sex peers emerged during the third year (6 years of age although this was slightly earlier in girls than boys) and lasted till the end of the middle-school period. Scott (1984) documented a similar pattern of preference in children's play throughout the pre-school and elementary school years.

5.5 The Gendered Nature of Children's Physical Activities

There is a vast amount of literature relating to the issue of the gendered nature of sport and physical activity which has potential relevance for this study. Delimiting theoretical explanations and empirical investigations presents a difficult task and fails to reflect the reciprocal nature of the various biological, developmental, social and psychological structures which mediate children's attitudes towards physical activities.

There has been a marked shift in the focus of studies surrounding gendered socialisation practices and children's sport and physical activity experiences. Researchers recognise the need to understand how children interpret messages from significant others and the ways in which notions such as "hegemony, patriarchy and ideology could enrich our understanding of the complex dynamics encompassed in the process of socialisation" (Greendorfer et al., 1996 p.96). Playground culture and peer relations were found to be a very strong influencing factor within this grounded theory study, however, whilst some researchers have revealed inequalities surrounding the sporting practices of children, it is recognised that there is an urgent need for studies into peer group interactions and how they affect activity choices (Kunesh et al., 1992) and "the gendered nature of sport and sporting practices within the everyday playground experiences in the primary school that transcend more than a static representation of the traditional and sometimes dualistic notion of boys' (e.g. football) and girls' (e.g. netball) sports" (Renold 1997, p.5).

5.6 Sex Stereotyping of Activities

Gender role stereotyping affects children's activity preferences in numerous ways, one such way is through labelling physical activities as either male or female appropriate instead of neutral. Ignico (1989) developed the Physical Activity Stereotyping Index (PASI) to facilitate investigation of labelling by children, parents and educators. Using this model, Ignico and Mead (1990)

demonstrated that elementary school boys (grades 1-4) in the United States categorised physical activities according to gender more than elementary school girls at the same age. Ignico (1990) concluded that children who participate in gender-appropriate activities define gender roles more narrowly than those who participate in gender inappropriate activities and that differences in gender-role perceptions extend to actual activity selection. Boys were more biased in their perceptions and subsequent activity selections, being more affected by stereotyping than females. A similar study was conducted by Pellet and Harrison (1992) using the PASI Index with 357 pupils from Grades 2, 4 and 6 from two Utah Elementary Schools. They confirmed the previous findings of Ignico (1990) in that males scored higher on the PASI than females at all grade levels, males being more narrow in their gender role perceptions than females. Their findings, however, differed in that they found that females tended to stereotype traditional male appropriate activities (football, basketball and karate) proportionately more than they stereotyped female appropriate activities, suggesting females view male stereotyped activities as being appropriate for males and gender inappropriate for themselves. They acknowledge that differences in results are to a large part due to the fact that culture, tradition and beliefs which differ between geographical areas impact on children's perceptions of the appropriateness of different types of activity.

Colley et al., (1992) explored the impact of sex-typing of activities with a sample of nine year olds. Consistent with much research on gender differences in play patterns, they reported that boys appeared to be more rigidly sex-typed than girls. No boys played female sports whereas 20% of the females played male sports.

According to the 'gender-intensification hypothesis' (Hill and Lynch 1982) gender roles became more rigid with age, especially after menarche with girls losing interest in 'masculine' activities. An alternative view (Ullman 1976) follows from the Piagetian tradition. That is, as children get older they have a more mature conception of gender roles. An examination of these two

hypotheses was carried out by Archer and McDonald (1990) in a study of 43 girls aged 10-15 years from four different UK schools. They found that the gender intensification hypothesis was not supported, girls played a wide variety of sports and games, some typically masculine such as soccer and did not stop in early adolescence. Some girls explicitly adopted a flexible position on gender roles. Archer and McDonald interpreted the findings as supporting the cognitive-developmental hypothesis.

Carvalho et al., (1990) conducted a cross-cultural study into children's own perceptions of the gender appropriateness of five common playground activities in England and Italy with 5-10 year olds. The general trend was that in both countries gender stereotyping tended to lessen with age, this trend occurred earlier in English children for traditionally male activities and was more obvious in girls than boys. They suggested that there appeared to be a move for girls into areas traditionally associated with male prowess although there was non-acceptance by many of the boys. Other studies in England suggest there is some evidence for an increase in girls actual participation in football (Archer 1989), and some reported age increase in girls' participation in play-fighting (Smith et al., 1990). Other researchers have also suggested that girls became interested in bridging separate gender worlds earlier than do boys for both platonic and romantic relationships, but their attention is perceived by boys as sexually infused and, hence, threatening (Eisenhart and Holland, 1983; Goodwin, 1980a, 1980b; Thorne, 1986).

Boulton (1992) argues that few studies report evidence of mixed sex, play which, he suggests is a cause for concern. Evans (1989) believes that there is a need to study situations where girls and boys play together to determine the potential merits and identify what circumstances or attitudes will help facilitate this type of interaction. Recent writings emphasise the need to see cultural socialisation as more than just a matter of transmitting roles from adult to child (Fagot 1985). Adler et al., (1992) argue that children actively synthesise images from the larger culture and apply such images of masculinity and femininity to themselves and each other. Studies continue to

reveal inequalities surrounding the sporting worlds of children, in particular girls' exclusion from dominant playground activities such as football and rugby (Holly, 1985; Clarricoates, 1987; Williams, 1989; Head-Rapson and Williamson, 1993; and Thorne, 1993). However, Renold (1997) argues that such studies "do not go on to explore the relationship between dominant and marginalised masculinities, the consequences for girls who can access masculine subject positions, the consequences for pupils (girls and boys) who do not have legitimate access to the dominant games/sports and the power relations involved in subordinating femininities . . ." (p. 5). Renold, drew on data from a study in two socially contrasting primary schools across two age groups (year 2 and year 6) in a semi-rural town in the East of England using interviews and observations. She found that there was a hierarchy (particularly regarding the domination of space in the playground) which was highly gendered and to which access was restricted. Football dominated playground space as well as relations for both girls and boys at playtime. She found that hegemonic masculinity[1] appeared to be constructed through exclusion of female participation in the game both verbally in the playground and "never passing" to them if they did play in physical education sessions. Boys were found to internalise and subsequently naturalise the official view received from the media, particular teachers and dinner ladies of girls' exclusion from certain sports, particularly football. Following a post-structuralist enquiry which encourages researchers to deconstruct traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity to reveal the range and fluidity of masculinities and femininities, Renold argued that such playground practices (which subordinate, stigmatise and marginalise other masculinities and femininities) reinforce constraints on boys and girls experimenting with other ways of being male and female. Renold believes the playground to be a "highly visible arena where identities are formed and reformed, destroyed and contested" (1997 p.8).

---

[1] Renold uses Connell's (1990) definition of hegemonic masculinity. "to say that a particular form of masculinity is hegemonic means that it is culturally exalted and that its exaltation stabalises a structure of dominance oppression in the gender order as a whole" (Connell 1990 p 94).

5.7 Playground Culture and Peer Relations

Playgrounds are recognised as an important site for social learning. In them children discover ways in which hierarchies of prestige, status and authority operate and how to deal with differences in social class, gender, race, physical and intellectual abilities (Kelly 1994). This environment is also acknowledged as a place where children experience positive and negative aspects of human experience. Left to their own devices, children order their world into hierarchical patterns of domination, subordination and marginality. There have been numerous studies into negative aspects associated with playground culture, such as the nature of bullying, initiated partly by media influences (Besag, 1989; Boulton, 1992, Mooney et al., 1991; Roland and Munthe, 1989; Tattum and Lane, 1989; Whitney and Smith 1993). Other studies have explored further negative consequences of playground interactions such as racism (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; MacDonald et al., 1989) and sexism (Lees, 1986; Mahoney, 1985). Such negative consequences, however, are outweighed by benefits that may accrue from children's participation in activities that occur in a relatively lightly supervised area (Boulton 1992). Sluckin (1981) believes that negotiating life with peers on the playground can enhance social skills, such as role taking and knowing how far to go, that will be important in adult life. Furthermore, Smith and Boulton (1990) and Pellegrini (1987) suggest that in rough and tumble play, children learn turn taking skills which can lead to understanding the need to compromise with the needs of others.

Blatchford and Sharp (1994) argue that playtime has received very little attention "it could lay claim to being the forgotten part of the school day" (p.1), Tizzard et al., (1988) in a large scale longitudinal study with 300 primary school children in 33 Inner London found that 28% of the school day was spent in playtime and lunchtime, much of this spent on the playground. This was almost exactly the same amount of time as was spent in core aspects of the curriculum. The importance of the playground as a potential site for children to be physically active is of critical importance. Ways of encouraging

activity and devising appropriate play spaces for children have become an issue for some researchers (Sheat and Beer, 1994; Susa and Benedict, 1994; Evans 1990) The playground as an important opportunity for being physically active is even more crucial in light of the fact that children are likely to be escorted to school and spend less time playing outside away from home, (Policy Studies Institute 1991) together with findings which reflect the limited time spent in physical education lessons of primary school children (Almond et al., 1996). Furthermore, studies highlight apparent inequalities in extra-curricular physical education which favour males and pupils of higher ability (Penny and Harris 1997). (Whilst this study relates to secondary pupils, the authors argue the findings are applicable to primary school pupils).

The playground as a valuable resource for children to experience physical activity is, in itself, a topic for debate and research. In relation to this point, two main issues receive attention in the literature; the first is the concern that traditional games are dying out and the second, that the quality of play is poor and characterised by aggressive, low-level and desultory activity. In addressing the first issue Webb, (1984) makes the important point of the need to define 'traditional games'. He makes a useful distinction between games of movement without singing or dialogue (ball-games, chasing games, marbles and conkers), and those which involve less movement, singing and dialogue. Webb believes the first type of game, more associated with boys, has remained fairly steady over time, whereas the second type, more associated with girls, has declined. Blatchford et al., (1990) in their study with 11 year olds gave support to these suggestions, they found that the single most common game was football (played by 60% of the children), the second most common was chasing games (46%) and finally other ball games such as netball, basketball and cricket (32%). The research also found a second level of frequency comprising of three types of games: seeking games (17%), catching games, such as British Bulldog (16%) and racing games (12%). Pretending games, daring games, guessing games using playground markings, ring rhymes and clapping games were rarely mentioned. Blatchford, however, acknowledges the dangers associated with generalising

217

from these results. Firstly, there are likely to be fashions, regional and seasonal differences in children's play. Secondly, the data was collected in interviews with children, the limitations associated with this method are acknowledged by Blatchford.

Work by the Opies (1959 and 1969) had been influential in the area of research into children's game playing. Their work found traditional games to be thriving in schools they visited across England, Wales, Scotland and the Channel Islands. They made the point that:

> "the belief that traditional games are dying out is itself traditional: it was received opinion even when those who now regret the passing of the games were themselves vigorously playing then . . . as we have grown older our interests have changed . . . we no longer have eyes for the games, and not noticing them suppose them to have vanished" (1969 p.14)

Opie's (1993) case study with junior school children documented evidence of rhymes with contemporary themes and games such as marbles, skipping and chasing games. The dominant game being football. One limitation of the Opies' work, however, is highlighted by Roberts (1980) in that they do not concern themselves with how often the game is played.

Sutton Smith (1981) also found that competitive team games such as football tend to dominate in middle childhood and might be expected to peak at 11. Grugeon (1991) and Opie (1991) argue that some games tend to peak at an earlier age. Sutton Smith (1981) on the basis of research in New Zealand and the United States argues that games have changed a great deal and that there has been a sharp decline in traditional games such as singing games and games of skill involving materials. He believes that play has become progressively domesticated and mechanical and that childhood has suffered 'zooification' (it has become marginalised and under adults control). In contrast to the Opies, he feels:

"The older view that we need only leave children alone and their spontaneity will do the rest no longer holds. Children can be spontaneous, but only in the limited, traditional ways of the world which were already given" (1981 p. 289)

Hendricks (1993) also argues that children are no longer spontaneous and that there is a need for adults to pass on traditional games and activities to children as the opportunity to learn these from older children in their local neighbourhood has declined due to lack of freedom in childhood and overdependence on adults. Postman (1983) believes that the over-organisation by adults and prevailing presence of television has stolen the innocence of childhood from today's children who have become overly dependent on adults.

5.8 Gendered Peer Cultures, Identities and Hierarchies

Peer culture becomes a highly important factor in influencing children's attitudes and behaviour as they approach adolescence (Hughes 1991). It is argued that even from the age of five or six, children are becoming increasingly peer oriented and decreasingly family oriented (Hughes, et al., 1988; Minuchin, 1977; Williams and Stith, 1980). The composition of a childhood peer group is highly variable and can sometimes change on a week-to-week basis (Hartup, 1983). It is a close knit society with definite rules for membership. Children can be excluded because of such things as physical characteristics, personality traits, manner of dress, access to material possessions or socio-economic status (Dodge 1983).

Studies of children's gender roles have suggested that boys have traditionally displayed an active posture and girls a passive one (Coleman, 1961; Eder and Parker, 1987; Lever, 1976). The role of boys has encompassed rough play, the command of space, competition with peers, and a certain toughness designed to show independence and masculinity (Eder and Parker, 1987;

Lever, 1976). Girls' behaviour, on the other hand has typically been associated with relational and intimacy work, nurturance and emotional supportiveness and a concern for developing feminine allure (Eder and Parker, 1987; Eisenhart and Holland, 1983; Gilligan, 1982; Lever, 1976; Thorne, 1986; Valli, 1988). In a study by Adler et al., (1992) using participant observation over four years with elementary school children in the United States popularity factors found to influence social status amongst boys were 'athletic ability', 'toughness' and 'savoir-faire' (the authors use this label to describe children's sophistication in social and interpersonal skills). Cross gender relations declined in the early stages of elementary school but began to re-emerge at 10 and 11 years of age and cross-sex interactions were accepted in peer groups with more popular boys initiating cross gender relations. Boys skewed toward either end of the academic continuum suffered socially. Girls' popularity factors and place in the hierarchy were influenced by 'family background', many popular girls came from higher socio-economic group families and physical appearance (in particular clothing, hairstyles and attractiveness to boys) also 'precocity', (early attainment of adult social characteristics) and 'exclusivity' (the individual's desire and ability to form elite social groups). Girls who achieved well academically were not stigmatised.

Chase and Dummer (1992) in a study involving 478 children aged 8-11 in Michigan found, for boys, sports had become more important than academic achievement in determining popularity and for girls, appearance was the most important variable for establishing and maintaining popularity with others. The importance of these factors was found to increase with age in elementary schools. Studies with adolescent groups confirms that athletic ability is the most important criterion in determining social status among peers for boys (Goldberg and Chandler, 1989; Kane, 1988; Snyder and Mackillop, 1990). For adolescent girls, however, being a leader in activities was the most important criterion for determining female status although being a good athlete was not as important (Thirer and Wright, 1985; Williams and White, 1983).

220

Research consistently shows that playgrounds are heavily sex-segregated (Ross and Ryan, 1990; Thorne, 1993). Reference to single-sex and cross-sex forms of play have previously been discussed. In relation to gender identities and peer groups Thorne (1993), in research studies with young children found that children used particular games and activities as a way of constructing and negotiating their gender identities. What the research also discovered was that certain children resist such gendered boundaries, particularly in the younger years where such boundaries are more fluid. Certain practices were seen to have the effect of neutralising, crossing, or even challenging the significance of gender.

Renold (1997) in her study of year 2 and year 6 primary school children in Britain similarly found the playground to be a site of social learning where "games and activities are ritualised and play is often turned into display as pupils act out and perform for and amongst their peers" (p 8). She discovered that the hierarchy within the playground culture is predominantly gender based with boys using the 'football narrative' and the associated images of masculinity to dominate playground space and subjugate girls. Access to this football narrative was achieved by some girls who crossed the divide and were consequently able to resist and challenge some of the boys' invasion of the girls' games. Most of the girls who interacted with boys within their football games were positioned within the 'boyfriend/girlfriend' narrative (they had some sort of heterosexualised romantic status with one of the boys although this was often only ephemeral).

Brown (1995) argues that children's narrative play at 7 or 8 is frequently of a physically demanding nature and is a means whereby status can be gained or lost. Paley (1990) argues that leading others through a game can enhance the status of an individual which in turn enhances the individual's attractiveness as a play partner. Brown (1995) emphasises the dynamic composition of the peer group and how the make-up of certain groups can change over the period of a playtime. Certain children, however, he argues

repeatedly fail to gain acceptance into groups of players or those involved in social activity.

5.9 Peer Acceptance and Friendships

Boulton and Smith (1993) point out that during free play periods children do not select partners on a random basis but appear to actively seek out the company of peers or avoid them on the basis of certain characteristics. There are many studies which investigate peer relations and correlates of peer acceptance and friendship formation, (for example, Hartup, 1983; Ladd and Kochendefer, 1996). Research into this area has some relevance to the theme of this study. Also there is a vast amount of literature relating to peer relations of children and adolescents in developmental psychology (Asher and Coie, 1990; Belle, 1989; Berndt and Ladd, 1989; Newcomb and Bagwell, 1995). Little research has been conducted in the area of peer relations in the physical domain, and more specifically about the quality of friendships, peer acceptance and the development of social competence (Brustad 1996; Weiss and Duncan, 1992). The importance of developing understanding in this domain is stressed by Kunesh et al., (1992) who believe that "peer interaction in physical activity settings is important to children's physical activity socialisation experiences because such interaction produces positive or negative affective responses, which in turn predispose children to either seek or avoid future involvement" (p 393).

Research literature relating to 'peer acceptance' and 'friendship' tends to use these terms simultaneously, however, many have argued that the two are both conceptually and empirically distinct constructs based on social skills that are partly overlapping. Parker & Asher (1987) suggest that certain skills may facilitate the formation of close emotional ties to one or a few age-mates (i.e. having friends) despite the inability to get along well in a larger group of peers (i.e. peer acceptance). Furthermore, Furman and Robins (1985) believe that group acceptance and friendship do not appear to have the same function in

222

children's lives. Acceptance provides a sense of inclusion, whereas friendship serves to provide intimacy, affection, enhancement of worth, and reliable alliance. It should also be noted that researchers believe there is a distinction between adults' understanding of the meaning of friendship and that of a child. Beliefs about friendship from the perspective of adult culture, argues Davies (1982), are linked with notions of liking or love, affection and loyalty. Children on the other hand, whilst they do not negate liking as having some considerable importance, see proximity or being with someone, as the first basic element of friendships. Goodnow and Burns (1985) found that for children of all ages, playing together was an important consideration when deciding what makes a good friend. Davies (1982) argues a further contrasting feature distinguishing childhood friendships from typical adult friendships is that children appear to have a rather fickle attitude toward friendship "and engage in an unnecessary amount of fighting and bickering" (p 66). The Opies, too, found friendships chaotic and unpredictable in their 1959 observational study. Both Davies and the Opies make an interesting point however in that understanding the dynamics of children's friendships is extremely difficult from an adult perspective. Speier (1976) claims that adults have difficulty in seeing children's culture which exists in its own right.

The issue of friendships is a complex one. Hartup (1996) believes similar individuals cleave to one another more readily than dissimilar individuals because they are more likely to find common ground in activities and conversations, and that there is a strong mutual socialisation between individuals resulting in changes of behaviour. Developmental psychologists agree that there are sex differences in friendship patterns (Cairns and Cairns, 1994; Stevenson-Hinde and Hinde, 1986), as well as developmental trends, (Hartup 1993). The importance of understanding children's friendship patterns in relation to playground culture and developing attitudes towards activity and importantly, opportunity to be active, is highlighted by research findings (e.g. Berndt, 1989; Berndt and Perry, 1986; Furman and Bierman, 1983; Furman and Buhrmester, 1985; Parker and Asher, 1993), which indicate that there are several types of social support or qualitative aspects of

friendships. Whilst the names given to various friendship dimensions vary from study to study there is considerable similarity in the types of friendship support that exist in children's social networks. These include esteem enhancement, loyalty, companionship, help and guidance, absence of conflict, affection and similarity. Children who report a higher quality of friendship support on these dimensions score higher on peer acceptance, social satisfaction and general psychological well-being.

Few studies have investigated the nature of children's friendships in sport-related contexts. Zarbatany, et al., (1992) in a study with young adolescents found children's expectations of friends varied across activity contexts such as watching television, participation in sports, and engaging in academic activities. Friends were expected to engage in self-esteem reinforcement and character admiration in the sport context, whereas helping was the most important friendship expectation for academic activities.

Duncan (1993) in a large scale study with 12-14 year olds in physical education classes found those who reported greater levels of companionship and esteem support were more positive about their physical activity experiences, and expressed greater interest in activity participation outside the school setting. In a study examining friendships in the sport context, Bigelow et al., (1989) found that children agreed that playing on a team contributes to making and developing new friendships and nurturing specific friendship expectations such as intimacy, ego reinforcement, acceptance, loyalty, altruism and sense of humour. Newcomb and Bagwell (1995) argue that empirical studies of peer relations have tended to focus on positive aspects of friendships. However, empirical data derived from sport contexts (Evans and Roberts, 1987; Kunesh et al., 1992; Weiss, 1991) demonstrate that friendships can have their down side in the form of negative competition, verbal and physical aggression, disloyalty, and unfair play. In a study with 38 children aged between 8 and 16 involved in a university summer sports programme in the United States, Weiss et al., (1996) revealed the existence of 12 positive friendship dimensions together with four negative friendship

dimensions: conflict, unattractive personal qualities, betrayal and being inaccessible. The authors point out that whilst there are studies into negative friendship aspects these mostly relate to peers who are not best friends. They agree with Furman and Buhrmester (1985) that frequent conflicts among good friends would most likely result in termination of such a friendship. The effects of negative interactions among peers on psychosocial development should, argue Weiss et al., (1996), be the focus of future research. Understanding the dynamics and consequences of positive and negative aspects of childhood friendships is important in developing insights into how children structure their play and activity choices, both in and outside the school setting. Evans (1989) reinforces this point and stresses that,

> "gaining and keeping friends is critical to a child's participation in the social and sporting life of the playground. We need to learn much more about how children acquire and use friendships in this setting" (p.47).

Evans (1989) provides a review of studies which have looked at children who are rejected by others in the playground. He emphasises that most of what is known about these children has emerged from sociometric studies which tend to show that children who are actively disliked and have few friends are often excluded from playing with their age-peers and demonstrate more aggressive, aversive behaviour. They are also more likely to become involved in fights.

Evans (1989) reports that in his studies with young children at playtime in Australia various strategies were used by some groups to exclude certain individuals they disliked. 'Locking' the game was the most common method whereby children would be reluctant to stop a game as it would consume valuable playing time or upset the balance of the teams since maintaining 'fair' teams was considered critical to the way the game was played. Exceptions were made if latecomers were popular or if they were capable players. If denied admission to games some children were found to wander off in search of other opportunities, decide to play alone or just watch. Others challenged the rejection and used retaliation to disrupt the game in some way.

225

Sluckin (1981) observed children using bribes such as sweets or money to try to enter games by approaching the 'owner' of the game. Coie and Kupersmidt (1983) make an important distinction between rejected and neglected children. Unlike rejected children, those who are neglected seem to have few friends but are not disliked. They may be shy and withdrawn and tend not to seek company, attention or even inclusion in games. (French and Waas 1985).

Tamplin (1989) identified four groups of six year old children who differed in their degree of social participation. The groups were labelled 'interactive', 'social', 'self-contained' and 'uninvolved'. The self-contained group, for example, had few social contacts, but were involved in their activities whereas the uninvolved group were not involved with their own activities nor with other children. Tamplin found that these styles related to how children behaved towards peers and how peers related to them, also how they perceived themselves and their friendships.

Weiss and Duncan (1992) examined the relationship between physical competence and peer acceptance in a study with 8 to 13 year olds. They discovered that both actual physical ability and beliefs about one's own ability are strongly related to actual peer acceptance and with beliefs about being accepted by one's peer group for both boys and girls.

Thus far, the review of related literature has considered studies described in socialisation research, and a discussion of playground culture and children's peer relations. Socialisation has been defined as "the process whereby individuals learn skills, traits, values, attitudes, norms and knowledge associated with the performance of present or anticipated social roles" (McPherson and Brown 1988, p.267). This definition makes clear that the socialisation process does not pertain solely to the physical aspects of involvement in physical activity but extends to the social and psychological contexts as well. Brustad (1992) makes a convincing argument for the integration of socialisation studies with cognitive motivation theory. The de-

226

emphasising of psychological characteristics in socialisation research, argues Brustad, paints an incomplete picture in explaining participation behaviour. He continues by stating that ignoring the social context in which self perceptions and goal orientations are shaped and modified, sport psychology research also provides an incomplete picture. Brustad's call for joining together sport socialisation research with motivation research is consonant with Gill's (1992) comments regarding the importance of considering the social context in the study of gender and sport behaviour:

> "Our research and practice seems narrower and more oblivious to social context and process than ever before. Such isolation cannot advance our understanding of such an obviously social issue and process as gender" (p.155).

This position would appear to give credence to the value of using a grounded theory approach that allows the most pertinent theoretical explanations to emerge which account for observed behaviour, without following a prescribed framework for gathering and analysing data.

At this juncture, it is necessary to consider the potential relevance of existing literature in psychology within the context of the results obtained in this case study. Of course, concepts and constructs such as peer relations, status and friendships, often described and contained within psychological literature, have already been discussed. This fact reinforces a point made earlier by the writer relating to the difficulty and questionable suitability of attempting to delimit complex phenomena and place them into different subheadings or, order them into traditionally accepted classifications such as sociological, cultural, developmental and psychological explanations. This point is being made because the core category which emerged within this case study i.e. the way in which children interpret themselves and establish an identity, which in some ways serves to contour their activity choices, has obvious psychological connotations. However, the important aspect of this core category, as already stated is that it is a basic social process (BSP); consequently it is the way in which such an identity is constructed and influenced by significant others,

which is the essence of the substantive theory. Therefore, whilst there are a great deal of potentially relevant information and empirical studies within the psychological domain which seek to explain children's reasons for choosing to be active or inactive, in keeping with the recommended nature of a grounded theory literature review and, in order to present a succinct and critical account of relevant material, the following discussions will focus on a small selection of studies from this huge discipline which, in the opinion of the writer, appear most relevant to the core and mediating categories.

5.10 Psychological Factors

The importance of understanding psychological correlates affecting children's participation in physical activity and sport is recognised by researchers although this domain is still relatively unexplored (Sallis et al., 1992; Biddle and Armstrong, 1992). Most psychological research has been concerned with youths and adults in organised sport and exercise programmes. A great deal of the literature relating to relevant psychological factors comes under the heading of motivation. Weiner (1992) reports that psychologists studying motivation have moved from the traditional notions of drives and instincts towards trying to see humans as evaluating judges of their own behaviour through cognitive and emotional processes. Contemporary motivation theory, reports Biddle (1995), is based on perception and cognitive perspectives espoused in approaches such as attribution theory and achievement goal orientations. Presenting a synopsis of recent trends and findings in psychological research is not a straightforward task as firstly, there are both descriptive and theoretical approaches and, secondly, the diversity of theoretical approaches to exercise motivation makes them difficult to summarise (Biddle 1995). Also, research trends still tend to focus on children over the age of eleven. Weiss (1997) provides a useful review article of the current status of research which indicates the increased importance attached to the influence of self-perception and the relationship between this and motivation. There is also a growing recognition that future psychological

research needs to recognise socialisation processes; Weiss and Glenn (1992) emphasise that:

> "what has been notably missing in this psychological research is consideration of the social context in which self-perceptions and goal orientations are formulated. What is most surprising about this omission is that both theoretical perspectives share the common assumption that social and situational influences mediate the relationships among self-perceptions, goal orientations, and participation behaviour" (p 144).

Motivation research is classified in different ways depending on the author. Weiss (1993) for example, includes four areas: mastery of skills, perceptions of competence, supportive social influences and positive effect. This emphasises an acknowledgement by Weiss of the importance of social context and significant others in mediating children's motivational orientations towards sport and exercise. Other researchers include concepts such as attitude and enjoyment under this heading. Biddle (1995) orientates his discussion on theoretical approaches to motivation around the headings of competence perceptions, goal orientations and attributions, self confidence, decision-making theories, and enjoyment.

According to Weiss and Glenn (1992) two of the most productive theories of motivation in the sport domain include Harter's (1978, 1981) competence motivation theory and the achievement goal orientations advocated by Nicholls (1984, 1989); Dweck (1986); and Elliot and Dweck, (1988).

5.10.1 Competence Theory

Harter's (1978, 1981) theory suggests that individuals are motivated to be competent in their social environment and demonstrate this by engaging in mastery attempts. The theory also predicts that those high in perceived competence will be more likely to participate in physical activity. If successful

efforts are accompanied by positive reinforcement, the individual's perceptions of competence and internal locus of control are enhanced, resulting in positive affect and the maintenance of competence motivation. Weiss and Glenn (1992) report that "a considerable amount of research has substantiated the links in Harter's model between self-perceptions of competence and control, affect and motivation in sport (Weiss, 1987; Weiss and Chaumeton, 1992)" (p.143). Harter has identified a number of achievement domains: cognitive, physical and social. The 'Self-Perception Profile for Children' (Harter 1985) assesses the specific domains of scholastic competence, social acceptance, athletic competence, physical appearance and behavioural conduct. The model reflects that self-perception domains are likely to become more differentiated with age as Harter expands the profile to 12 domains for college students (Neemann and Harter, 1986). Roberts, et al., (1981) used Harter's perceived competence scale for children with a sample of fourth and fifth grade American students, the participants in organised youth sports had significantly higher perceived competence than the non-participants.

In testing Harter's theory Ommundsen and Vaglum (1991) in a study with 223 Norwegian boys in a soccer league in Oslo, found that levels of enjoyment were related to perceived levels of ability, perceived soccer-related self-esteem and perceived coach and parental behaviours. This confirms Brustad's (1992) view that socialisation factors are integral in mediating competence perceptions.

Biddle (1995) acknowledges the potential use of Harter's theory in developing insights into children's sport and exercise but makes the point that the complete model has not been tested, only parts of the model such as motivational orientation, or domain-specific perceptions of competence have been tested against behaviour and related variables; most work has been conducted on children and youth in North American volunteer settings; the focus of research has generally been on sport and, finally, the scale adopts a

comparative, or ego orientation, whereas there appears to be a need to include mastery, or self-related judgements of competence.

5.10.2 Achievement Goals

An alternative approach to Harter's theory is espoused by achievement goal theorists (Nicholls, 1984, 1989; Dweck, 1986; Elliott and Dweck, 1988; Duda, 1992, 1993; Ames, 1992; and Roberts, 1992). Such theorists emphasise motivation as a function of the type of goal adopted toward achievement and the way ability is construed as a result of this goal orientation. Nicholls established that two main goals for educational achievement could be identified: mastery or task goals, and ego goals. Those individuals who adopt the mastery or task perspective define success in terms of personal improvement whilst those who adopt the ego orientation define success as winning or demonstrating superior ability relative to others. Biddle (1995) reports that research has shown that these two goal orientations are largely uncorrelated, in this way, individuals could be high in both, low in both or high in one and low in the other.

5.10.3 Research into Perceived Competence and Children's Physical Activities

Whilst there has been an increase in psychological research investigating motivational aspects of sport involvement, most studies have concentrated on children above eleven years of age. As mentioned earlier, dimensions of perceived competence are thought to be developmentally specific (Harter 1985), and are likely to be affected by situational factors (Brustad 1992, 1993). Furthermore, much of the research has been conducted in the formal sport setting outside the school environment with able children already involved in organised sport. Fox (1988) points out that it is the children who perceive themselves as less competent, and who feel unable or have no

desire to improve their ability, who are most at risk of not becoming involved in exercise.

Acknowledging the lack of research into psychological correlates of behaviour patterns amongst children, Biddle and Armstrong (1992), in a study with 72 eleven and twelve year old British children set out to investigate the relationship between motivation, self-perceptions and the physical activity of children. Using heart rate monitors and two psychological inventories, Motivational Orientation in Sport Scale (MOSS, Weiss et al., 1985) and, the Physical Self Perception Profile (PSPP, Fox and Corbin; 1989) they found a significant and positive relationship for boys with intrinsic motivation for physical education and sports. This was mainly due, they argue, to the intrinsic mastery motivation variable. Active girls were characterised more by higher scores on perceptions of attractive body, as well as physical self-worth and global self-esteem. Boys were less dependent on the teacher, less interested in pleasing the teacher and obtaining good marks, but interested in a challenge for its own sake. However, an opposite trend was found in girls.

Duda, et al. (1992), using Duda's Task and Ego Orientation in Sport Questionnaire (TEOSQ, Duda et al., 1990) with 11-12 year old English children found that task orientation was associated with a focus on co-operation and the belief that success in sport results from effort. An ego orientation, on the other hand, was accompanied by an emphasis on work avoidance and the view that success in sport is related to ability. The task dimension was found to be quite strongly correlated with sport enjoyment, whereas the ego dimension was slightly related to sport boredom. Nevertheless, Fox et al., (1994) found that the children with the most positive motivational profile and greatest involvement in physical activity are those high in both task and ego orientation. Those with high task and low ego scores had the second most positive profile.

The complex and interweaving variables associated with motivational research are acknowledged by Biddle (1995) who believes the goals of task

and ego are likely to be too restrictive to explain achievement behaviours of sport and exercise participants. This is supported to an extent by Whitehead (1992) who, after research with children in England suggests that there are likely to be more than two achievement goal orientations. She grouped goals into three categories of personal progress (goals of breakthrough and mastery), beating others (victory, ability) and pleasing others (social approval, teamwork).

There have been a number of studies which consider the relationship between physical competence and motivation in physical education. Goudas and Biddle (1994) for example found that intrinsic motivation towards physical education was significantly enhanced by perceptions of the class's mastery climate beyond the motivation accounted for by perceived competence. Those pupils who perceived their class to be high in mastery and performance climate were found to be highest in levels of intrinsic motivation and perceived competence.

More recently Vlachopoulos and Biddle (1997), in a study with 1,070 British students aged 11-16 found that for those with low perceived ability, ego orientation was associated with personally uncontrollable attributions, but the opposite was true for those with high perceived ability. The authors concluded that enhancement of both task and perceived athletic competence is needed for adolescents to derive positive effective experiences from physical education. Treasure and Roberts (1995) provide a review article which analyses instructional practices and strategies aimed to improve the quality of school-aged children's motivation.

Goudas et al., (1994) examined the relationships between goal orientations, perceived autonomy and perceived competence to intrinsic interest in gymnastics, netball and football. They found that goal orientations and perceived self-determination were related and that both variables had direct effects on intrinsic interest in these physical education lessons.

5.10.4 Children's Self-Concept

Thus far, the term perceived self-competence, has been used within the context of motivation. The concept of self-competence is a complex one and it would seem appropriate at this stage to consider related terms and their significance as the core category in this study evolves around the term coined by the writer, 'interpreting myself - the identity profile continuum'. Harter's (1988) research suggests that self-competence is a dimension of self-concept which can be identified in children during the late to middle childhood years. Researchers argue that self-concept is multidimensional in nature (Fox and Corbin, 1989; Harter, 1988; Marsh and Peart, 1988; Weiss, 1987). In other words, self-concept is composed of a number of distinct domain specific self-perceptions that contribute to one's overall sense of self and are found to vary according to developmental status (Harter, 1988). Five specific dimensions are evident in middle to late childhood: self-evaluation, scholastic competence, athletic competence, peer acceptance, physical appearance and behavioural conduct. According to Harter these self-perceptions reflect children's impressions of their capacities in each of these areas, they are not necessarily related to any objective criteria of ability. A non-achievement dimension of self-concept also emerges at this time, that of self-esteem; this represents an individual's global feelings of worth as an individual and refers to one's evaluative and affective beliefs about one's value as a person.

Importantly, Harter's research (1985a, 1985b) found that children ascribe different levels of importance to various dimensions of self. Self-evaluations in those dimensions most highly valued by the child have greatest impact on the overall self-concept (Harter, 1985a). This point becomes important in considering how children assess the value of certain physical activities and sports, since athletic ability is typically the most highly prized attribute in males in late childhood, physical appearance the most important for girls (see earlier synopsis of review studies in the chapter).

Researchers in the field of social psychology are interested in how significant others shape an individual's self-concept. It has been said earlier that the peer group is seen to command great importance in influencing children's attitudes towards physical activity during the pre-adolescent period, whereas earlier in a child's developmental career parents have been shown to have more influence. It is logical to assume therefore that parental behaviour and feedback significantly impact children's self-concept development during their early years of sport participation (Scanlan 1996). Felson and Reed (1986) found a significant relationship between parental judgements of their children's physical abilities and their child's self-appraisals of ability. McCullagh et al., (1993) also found a strong relationship between parent and child appraisals of the child's physical competence. Research also indicates that children's perceptions of physical competence are significantly related to the amount of parental encouragement they receive to be physically active (Brustad 1993), and that parental perceptions of children's physical competence are related to actual levels of participation in physical activity by children (Dempsey et al., 1993).

The influence of parental support on children's self-esteem has not received much attention (Brustad, 1996). This is a worthy topic for inquiry according to Brustad as research indicates that coaches have a considerable effect on young athletes' self-perceptions and self-esteem characteristics (Black and Weiss, 1992; Horn, 1985; Smith, et al, 1979).

Brustad (1996) emphasises that peer influence is likely to have most effect on children's self-concept. Research in academic settings (Frieze and Bar-Tal, 1980; Stipek and MacIver, 1989; Horn and Hasbrook, 1986, 1987; Horn and Weiss, 1991) have found developmental patterns in children's preferences for evaluative feedback. The research suggests that at around 8 years of age children rely on adults for information relating to their physical competence. Between the ages of 10 and 14 however, children demonstrate increasing reliance on peers and make direct comparisons of their abilities against peers. Researchers however, according to Brustad (1996) have yet to

235

examine the influence of peer judgements on children's self-perceptions of ability. This lack of research, according to Brustad is attributable in large part to the relative difficulty of studying peer relations. He emphasises that naturalistic methods may be of particular benefit to understanding characteristics of peer influence.

Research into factors affecting children's attitudes towards and participation in physical activity and physical education have been reviewed. In the findings chapter of this thesis the writer makes some recommendations for playground provision. A review of some existing policies and initiatives into this area of concern is now offered.

5.11 Playtime in Playgrounds

It is becoming more accepted that a child's social and cognitive development can be significantly influenced by play activities (Hart and Sheehan, 1986) and that playground design can have an effect on the type of children's play choices (Susa and Benedict, 1994; Hayward et al., 1974). These factors, together with a recognition that the playground can act as a site which promotes negative consequences for children such as bullying, (Boulton and Underwood, 1992; Tattum, 1993; Tattum and Lane, 1989; Whitney and Smith, 1993), racism, (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992) sexism, (Mahoney, 1985; Lees, 1986) and the recognition that playgrounds are typically sex segregated sites in which gender identities are strengthened (Renold, 1997; Thorne, 1993), has led some researchers to investigate the impact of design changes and deliberate interventions in order to encourage a positive and active environment in which children can play safely.

Blatchford and Sharp (1994) explain that views regarding the culture of the school playground can be broadly divided into the 'problem view' which emphasises much of the desultory and aggressive behaviour evident in some playgrounds and calls for adult intervention and the 'romantic view' espoused

by the Opies (1959, 1969) and Sluckin (1981); this carries the assumption that adults have no role in playground culture:

> "In the present day we assume children have lost the ability to entertain themselves, we become concerned, are liable by our concern, to make what is not true a reality. In the long run, nothing extinguishes self-organised play more effectively than does activity to promote it" (Opie and Opie, 1969, p.16).

There is no doubt that the playground is a site in which children experience and learn about struggles for domination and control (Sutton-Smith and Kelly-Byrne, 1984) and that the culture of the playground exists in a different form to that of the wider world.

5.12 Playground Design

A commonly referred to investigation into the effect of playground design of children's activity choices was conducted by Hayward et al., (1974) who distinguished between three types of playground environment: traditional, contemporary and adventure. They found that children's choice of physical and other types of play activity were directly related to the available equipment and materials. The study involved persons from pre-school age to adults and used interviews, behaviour mapping and record setting. Children spent most time playing on the adventure playground, next on the contemporary playground and the shortest length of time on the traditional playground. (The traditional playground was characterised by swings, wading pool and beach areas; the contemporary by mounds, slides and multiple equipment, and the adventure featured a clubhouse, allowed for fantasy play or place of retreat, and freedom to nail, glue and build structures and also play with various structures built from discarded materials such as tyres.) The authors concluded however that the relationship was not simply due to environmental determinism, rather a combination of environmental features, social influences and the freedom to make use of available opportunities.

Bloch and Laursen (1996) in a study with children and adults also came to the conclusion that human activity is not solely determined by the environment, "The relationship between environment and activity is rather a complicated pattern involving many mutually influencing factors" (p 214).

Many studies in the area of playground design have concentrated on pre-school aged children to examine the impact of environment on types of play in particular, creative and pretend play (Hart and Sheehan 1986). Studies with older children are less common. Susa and Benedict (1994) in a study with 80 children aged 4-11 found pretend play was related to creativity and varied as a function of playground design, with more pretend play and creativity occurring on the contemporary playground than the traditional playground.

Strickland (1979) also compared the play behaviour of children on two types of playgrounds. He observed the cognitive and social play behaviours of third-grade children in the United States on a traditional and 'creative playground' (this is a term he uses as an alternative to the adventure playground described earlier in this chapter). Generally, the creative playground supported more complex social and cognitive behaviours and was selected more often than the traditional playground. Similar results were found by Campbell and Frost (1985) with second grade children. On the traditional playground 77.9% of the play was functional with only 2% classed as dramatic, while on the creative playground, 37% of the play was dramatic.

Most of the literature relating to possible interventions into breaktime for pupils centres around the issues of the relevance of adult intervention, altering the play environment to try and foster better quality play, involving the pupils in the decision making process relating to playground design and policy, and ways of changing the gendered ethos of playground activities.

Several authors believe that children's play at breaktime should be left mostly unstructured and the separate culture children develop whereby the learning of social roles and status are constructed and reconstructed be left alone.

Spontaneity in children's play, is for some most likely without adult intervention (Opie and Opie, 1959, 1969). Greer and Stewart (1989) argue that it is possible that the school itself is perceived by many children as a context in which social comparison is inevitable, and that classroom rivalry spills over into a concern for the status associated with physical prowess in the schoolyard. Furthermore, they argue, the presence of adults, even in a supervisory capacity may serve as a cue signalling the appropriateness of social comparison. Informal play settings, according to the authors, are more resistant to the professionalisation processes which children may assimilate in adult directed achievement settings.

Evans (1986) points out that games played by children during breaktimes are interactional experiences which potentially have different meanings for each participant. Each child brings to the game unique needs, attributes and expectations which have to be accommodated if the game is to succeed. In this way, argues Denzin (1977) the game context is unique as it allows players to construct their own social order, making such situations vital domains for socialisation experiences. Blatchford (1996) acknowledges that playground experiences are a main forum for peer interaction and the furtherance of a distinctive culture, therefore, any potential improvement schemes, he argues, must be based on an understanding of such a culture and take into account the views of children rather than imposing interventions which are based on adult perceptions of what is appropriate. Most authors agree however, that some form of intervention can have potential improvements to breaktime for pupils. The exact form and degree of intervention, however, is an issue of contention amongst researchers.

In their study on perceived physical competence and peer relations, Evans and Roberts (1987) found that children who were perceived as competent at playtime tended to be popular and had positive experiences whilst those deemed poor in motor co-ordination had minor roles in games, were usually last to be chosen in teams and had negative experiences which sometimes led to withdrawing from the games. In their recommendation they highlight

the importance of improving the physical skills of such pupils through physical education, yet recognise that this may not in itself improve peer relations. "There may be considerable advantage," they argue "in devising an intervention programme that seeks both to develop physical competency and to assist with the acquisition of social skills" (p.31). They also emphasise the need for future studies which investigate peer culture and interdependencies in order to fully understand the dynamics of relationships before intervention can be successful.

Evans (1990) following observations of playground behaviour in Australian schools believes there should be changes in the way in which playtime is organised. His 'alternative strategies' for improved playtime include: giving the children a greater say in devising the rules of the playground as children are more likely to respect and adhere to rules they set themselves; giving children more responsibility for playground behaviour, with older children acting as mediators; providing a range of play opportunities with plenty of appropriate equipment. These strategies, believes Evans, ensure children are more occupied in a meaningful way and reduce the likelihood of desultory behaviour. Impediments to such innovations are highlighted by Evans, these include, the prospect of litigation in areas not sufficiently supervised and the related area of adults' low regard for children's capacity to make valuable and responsible decisions. Finally, a point also emphasised by Blatchford and Sharp (1994) is the low priority given to breaktime which is perceived by many as merely a diversion or break from real work.

The topic of involving children in the designing of playgrounds and giving them an effective voice in playground policy decisions has received considerable attention in the literature. An oft quoted typology explaining potential levels of children's involvement is Arnstein's (1969) 'Ladder of Participation', which is designed as a guide for determining what should be regarded as an effective level of participation for children in the design process (see Appendix L). It is not until the sixth rung is reached (partnership) that, according to Arnstein, the participants obtain an effective

voice and real participation begins. In a review of 400 cases of child participation, Hart (1987) found that real involvement seldom rose above the 'placation' level. This was confirmed in a case study involving children from one primary and two secondary schools in Sheffield in 1989 by Sheat and Beer.

Barnett (1988) following a small-scale study in North East London using observations with children at playtimes argued that there is a strong case for extending anti-sexist and equal opportunity policies and practices to include the organisation (and re-organisation) of the school playground. Renold's (1997) study, which found the playground space dominated by football (and male) culture (a common finding of most studies (e.g. Boulton, 1992; Blatchford et al., 1990) expresses concern that recent governmental initiatives aimed at increasing competitive team games ('Raising the Game', DENH, 1995) exacerbate gender stereotypes and marginalise mixed sports.

Boulton (1992) found in his study with eight to eleven year old British children that the playground is a very sex-segregated site where boys dominate the playground space with football. He found the main barriers for girls and younger boys participation in this activity to lie with older boys. If there is a case to be made for encouraging mixed age and mixed sex play, points out Boulton, then it is the attitudes of the older boys that should be the focus of attention for intervention. Unfortunately, Boulton does not provide further information on how such interventions might develop. Blatchford et al., (1990), in their study also found boys' football dominating the playground culture but they also fail to provide a set of potential strategies for encouraging a more equitable scenario. They highlight the positive cathartic consequences for older boys being involved in this activity during playtimes.

Fostering cross-sex play in order to reduce gender-typed perceptions of certain playground activities has received little attention both theoretically and empirically. Ignico and Mead (1990) argue that parents and teachers must find ways to foster equal status cross-sex interaction and behaviour so both

sexes realise the benefits normally accruing only to the opposite sex. Lockheed and Klein (1985) however, warn that care needs to be taken in structuring mixed-sex groups so that boys and girls have equal status. Stereotypes may be confirmed, in large part by male dominance, and girls in particular will find mixed-sex groups increasingly aversive (Lockheed and Harris, 1984). Mead and Ignico (1992) recommend that changes need to occur at a societal level whereby agents and institutions embrace the notion of psychological androgeny and the development of cross-gender traits to provide psychological and behavioural flexibility. If this model were to prevail, argue Mead and Ignico, "we might then find children engaged in cross-sex physical activity where the positive attributes of the play of each sex become incorporated into the personalities and behaviours of both sexes, and negative characteristics are mitigated by the counterbalance" (p 1040). More concrete strategies are recommended by Kelly, (1994) such as encouraging "school staff to work in alliance with pupils to unlearn the prejudices and discriminations which legitimate victimisation" (p.73).

5.13 Summary

Researchers acknowledge the urgent need to investigate socio-cultural factors affecting children's participation in, and attitudes towards physical activity. There is a particular need for studies which consider the impact of peer relations on children's sport and physical activity, particularly with primary school aged pupils, as most research has been concerned with youths and adolescents. These points, together with the open-ended nature of the grounded theory approach to research which tends to generate theories that dissect traditional discipline boundaries, presents a challenge for the writer in providing a synopsis of related literature. In view of this, empirical studies from both Britain and other counties are reviewed, whilst is recognised that cultural influences are context specific.

242

Studies in the sport socialisation literature have been subject to shifts in emphasis following theoretical support that the socialisation process is interactional rather than uni-directional. Such studies traditionally examine how significant others influence and shape an individual's behaviour. Whilst researchers recognise peer interactions as an important variable, most studies with pre-adolescent children have focused on the influence of parents.

Parents have been shown to have a strong influence on children's physical activity; those who offer positive encouragement and who are themselves active are more likely to have active children. Studies in this area vary in their findings and researchers warn against the problem of trying to isolate such variables. Whilst the concept of modelling is thought to be important in determining behaviour little research has been carried out in this area. There is substantial research however that reveals parents impact on the gender socialisation of their children, with boys receiving more positive encouragement than girls.

Girls have been shown to be less active than boys, this difference in levels of participation becomes more manifest as they move through the secondary school years. There are a number of explanations and studies relating to activity choices and play behaviours from different academic disciplines. Age differences have been documented in the types of games played by boys and girls and reveal a number of findings such as girls play being less competitive and instrumental than boys' play. There have been few studies into the role of pretend play though existing evidence reflects differences between the sexes, boys opting for pretend games involving a wider range of episodes and gross motor movements. Studies in British playgrounds reflect clear differences in the type of play of girls and boys, a consensus finding is that football (mainly played by boys) dominates the playground space. The playground in primary schools has also been found to be a generally sex-segregated arena. Boys and girls are found to stereotype activities as gender appropriate or inappropriate, with boys being more biased and affected than girls by such stereotyping. The assumption by some researchers that such

stereotyping increases with age is not always supported by empirical studies, some of which suggest that girls are interested in bridging separate gender worlds. There has been a shift in the focus of studies towards examining the effects of hegemonic masculinity and the consequences for both sexes.

Playgrounds are recognised as sites where children learn both positive and negative consequences of human experience, however, whilst children spend relatively long periods of the day in this environment little is known about this specific culture where there is great potential for both boys and girls to engage in physical activity. The importance of this last point is made clear in studies which highlight the limited time available for physical education in primary schools and the inequality of extra-curricular provision.

The nature of children's play at playtime has received attention from several researchers, some believe traditional games are declining yet other researchers indicate that such games are still in evidence, but that their form has altered. A concern of some authors is that children no longer play spontaneously and that changing cultural messages inhibit children's natural play.

The peer group has been found to be highly stratified and gendered. Social status for boys is ground in athletic ability, whereas for girls, physical appearance is a valued currency. Peer acceptance and friendships have been a focus of study in developmental psychology although little research has been conducted into peer relations in the physical domain, and yet researchers believe that such relations and interactions have an impact on physical activity decisions. Research into children's friendships reveals that such relationships are complex, though it is believed that there are sex differences in assessing the criteria for friends and that there are relationships between friendship support and children's physical activities. Children with few friends are more likely to be excluded from playing with same-age peers.

Psychological research is recognised as having great potential for illuminating a deeper understanding of children's decisions and attitudes in the physical activity domain. Nevertheless, most research has been carried out with children over the age of eleven.

A particularly relevant aspect of psychological research is that of motivation, there does not, however, appear to be a consensus view on the elements which make up this complex phenomenon; this makes any review of related studies difficult.

Contemporary psychological literature in the field of motivation tends to be based around two complimentary theories firstly, Harter's competence theory and secondly, achievement goal theory. Harter suggests that individuals are motivated to be competent in their social environment and demonstrate this by engaging in mastery attempts. Those high in perceived competence are more likely to participate in physical activity. The model is recognised as having potential for developing insights into children's sport and exercise decisions but has not as yet been fully tested.

An alternative approach to Harter's theory is achievement goal theory espoused by Nicholls (1984, 1989), which sees motivation as a function of either mastery/task goals or ego goals. Fox, et al., (1994) have found that children high in both task and ego orientations have a more positive motivation profile towards physical activity participation. Researchers do however, recognise the difficulties in delimiting variables associated with motivation as it is understood that motivation is a complex process.

Self-concept is composed of a number of domain specific self-perceptions which influence the way in which children assess the value of physical activities. Parents have been found to have an influence on children's self-concept development and parental perceptions of children's physical competence has been found to relate to levels of participation in physical activity by children.

Playground design has been seen to influence children's play behaviour. Researchers have investigated how traditional, contemporary, and adventure environments affect the type of play in which children engage. Adventure and contemporary playgrounds have been found to be more popular and promote more creative forms of play. It is recognised however, that many mutually influencing factors are likely to affect play behaviour.

The role of adults as facilitators of children's play in breaktimes is a contentious one. Researchers agree that interventions have the potential to improve breaktime, Blatchford (1996) argues that any interactions should be based on an understanding of child culture rather than adult perspectives. Most recommended intervention strategies evolve around the notion of giving children more control in the decision-making processes associated with breaktime provision and organisation. A number of concerns over the gendered nature of the playground have been raised yet few strategies have been offered. Recommended interventions that do exist include, changing the attitudes of older boys who tend to dominate playtime, whereas others believe societal changes are necessary whereby agents and institutions embrace the notion of psychological androgeny and cross-gender traits.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The structuring of a grounded theory report differs in several ways from those based on traditional hypothetico-deductive research. A summary of the findings has already been discussed in an earlier chapter following a detailed analysis of the theoretical scheme which emerged from data collection and analysis. Throughout the whole research project the writer has attempted to follow the recommended procedures inherent in a grounded theory approach. Thus far, there has been an explication of this methodology plus an overview of some of the common criticisms associated with the approach, together with a critique of some existing published material claiming to adopt the grounded theory methodology. There has also been a section outlining the use of interviews and observational techniques employed in this study with specific reference to focus groups and non-participant observation with young children. Throughout the thesis the researcher has attempted to remain critical and reflexive in presenting a balanced account of this relatively unresearched area.

The main purpose of this study was to try to generate a theory accounting for children's behaviour patterns and attitudes towards physical activity and also to highlight a number of socio-cultural factors which serve to mediate these processes. The researcher also sought to evaluate the use of a grounded theory methodology incorporating focus group interviews and observations in the context of young children. In this case, the logical format for any final chapter should arguably be one which, firstly remains faithful to the methodological framework employed; May (1986) suggests that whilst there is not usually a separate discussion section within grounded theory, the final chapter should include a short section on how the theoretical scheme relates

to existing knowledge, together with the implications the theory may have for future inquiries. Secondly, there should be a consideration of the potential value of the grounded theory approach for illuminating important concepts associated with children's activity decisions and behaviour. In this way, this chapter has been structured around the sub-headings of reflections and observations in which the important findings of the study are considered and, some reference made to links with related research and, limitations which offers a critique of the methodologies employed within the project, and finally, recommendations for future research.

6.2 Reflections and Observations

Research with children under the age of eleven presents a challenging yet rewarding experience for the potential investigator. The challenges come primarily from the difficulties associated with collecting trustworthy data about complex phenomena from respondents who have less ability to communicate and verbalise their thoughts than older children or adults. A further difficulty which presents itself to the adult researcher is making sense of the intricacies, idiosyncrasies and meanings of the childhood culture, compounded by the barriers faced in trying to gain access to this separate social world by gaining the confidence and trust of its inhabitants. The culture of childhood, and in particular, the culture of peer relations was found to be a highly complex yet structured environment, characterised by interweaving relationships based around interdependencies between the child and significant others which are highly age, gender and context specific and relatively transient. Children were also found to construct a personal identity for themselves which is both a product of specific relationships with others and their personal profile, together with their psychological make up which mediates the way they interpret messages they receive. Generating a grounded theory as a way of making sense of such processes eschews conventional dichotomies presented by existing traditions in sociological thought at both empirical, theoretical and philosophical levels. The

consequence of this being that the resultant theoretical framework is distinct from existing explanations, therefore making comparison both difficult and, at least within the context of grounded theory analysis, irrelevant. However, a brief comparative analysis is recommended by some grounded theorists, (May, 1986; Glaser, 1978), and can serve as a basis for locating the study within the existing wider empirical scheme for the lay reader. Also, the following account provides an opportunity for the writer to elaborate on some issues only mentioned briefly earlier in the thesis.

Researchers investigating children's peer cultures have found evidence that by the time children reach primary school boys' and girls' distinct and autonomous peer cultures are clearly established (Best, 1983; Lever, 1976, 1978; Thorne and Luria, 1986; Whiting and Edwards, 1973). These cultures are characterised by varying levels of popularity in which, "Boys and girls arrange themselves into cliques and strata within cliques according to their perceptions of each other as relatively popular or unpopular" (Adler et al., 1992, p.170). The metaphor of a hierarchy was used in this case study although such an explanation was found to be too one-dimensional. The process whereby children classify and assess one another needs to be represented as at least a three dimensional phenomenon. Integral in such a stratification is the process of a continuum reflecting the potential lateral as well as longitudinal shifts children make in relation to the intrinsic value they place on physical activity, which has a symbiotic relationship with their status amongst peers. A third dimension is also apparent in the way in which individuals unconsciously assimilate and consciously manipulate their relative position based on situational and biographical dimensions of perceived realities.

Research by Adler et al., (1992) shares some similarities with findings in this study. The authors found in their studies, using observation of elementary school children in the United States, that children create their own norms and that it is within the peer culture that they do their identity work. They found, as did this research, that children actively synthesise messages from the

larger culture and apply these to themselves and to each other. The hierarchies they found were determined by a number of ascribed and achieved characteristics. A similar notion to the idea of sporty innovator was evident in that one of the main currencies of status amongst peers was based around role-taking and being able to initiate sequences of play. Renegotiating social definitions was a feature similar to the mediating category of 'challenging, changing and accepting personal identities of self and others', although the writer found this to vary across time. Adler et al., (1992) also found evidence of emulation of older children's behaviour, a trait characteristic of the 'emulator' identity.

In reviewing literature relating to children's play and peer relations there appears to be little mention of concepts which closely relate with the core category discovered in this study, certainly not at least, as a considered factor thought to be centrally determinant in children's behaviour and attitudes towards physical activity. Davies (1989) reports that researchers are beginning to understand, largely as a result of thinking that is being done within the post-structuralist paradigm, that "the individual is not so much the product of some process of social construction that results in some relatively fixed-end product but is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (p.229).

Although Davies' work is primarily concerned with the construction of gender identities within children, she makes a number of points which relate to some of the interpretations inherent in the core category. For example, Davies (1989) points out that production of our own sense of who we are, of our subjectivity involves a number of processes including, learning of the categories which include some people and exclude others eg., male/female, father/daughter; positioning self in terms of categories and story lines, "this involves imaginatively positioning oneself as if one belongs in one category and not in another" (p.230) and finally, "recognition of oneself as having the characteristics that locate one as x or not x ie., the development of 'personal identity' or a sense of oneself as belonging in the world in certain ways and

thus seeing the world from the perspective of one so positioned" (p.230). Davies' explanation recognises the complex and subjective dimensions surrounding the concept of self-identities, however, it only partly captures the notion that individuals internally negotiate multiple messages. Their subsequent actions, attitudes and behaviour are a result of the extent to which they challenge, change and/or accept their personal identity which is dependent on other interweaving variables such as context, existing relationships and age. The notion of merged identities found in this study also appears absent from Davies' work.

This study found that parental influence was strong in the early junior school years but that peers became more influential as children progressed towards the top end of primary school and moved into secondary school. This process has a direct effect in the positioning of the child within the identity profile continuum and has been described in the mediating categories which permeate the construction of the personal identity and have a chronological orientation. The changing shift in influence from parents to peers at this time is given substantial support in existing literature, for example, Fox and Biddle (1988), Buhrmester and Furman (1987), and Fine (1995), who describes the 'chumship' period in which peers are perceived as more important than parents between the ages of 9-12. Research by Horn and Hasbrook (1986,1987) and Horn and Weiss (1991) suggests that the sources of information children and adolescents use to estimate their physical competence varies developmentally. Younger children of 8 and 9 tend to rely, they argue, on parental feedback and evaluation as primary informational sources, whereas older children (ages 10 to 14) depend more heavily on social comparison to and evaluation by peers.

Opie and Opie (1959) found that children's friendship relations were chaotic and unpredictable; whilst Davies (1982) believes children have a fickle attitude toward friendship. These findings were not supported in this case study which discovered that whilst younger children (seven and eight year olds) and especially girls, might have more than one set of friends, for the

251

most part, relationships endured throughout the junior school. This idea is given support by Blatchford (1994) who also disagrees with the Opies' findings and argues that children's friendships are quite stable. Furthermore. in this study, particularly for girls, whilst proximity and being with someone was an important criterion in determining a friendship (as found by Davies, 1982) loyalty and liking desirable qualities in others (which Davies believes are more associated with adult friendships) were found to be frequently evident in friendship relations of the children interviewed, especially girls.

Both boys and girls were found to occupy various levels of the identity profile continuum. The levels of occupation at each identity have been discussed in the findings section. Both girls and boys were found in the top strata of the continuum, ie., sporty innovators and sporty participants. Nevertheless, in line with existing research few girls were found to cross gendered boundaries and join in the 'football narrative' which dominates playground culture (Renold, 1997). Researchers investigating the playground activities of children have found that some girls do enter this traditionally male dominated domain (Opie, 1993; Boulton, 1992; Renold, 1997). Such studies often identify this phenomenon then proceed with an analysis of how such girls are ostracised and labelled 'tomboy' by same age peers (Opie, 1993). Few studies however, appear to offer explanations for this deviation from the norm. Renold (1997) found evidence of one girl playing football regularly and described how this child wished to be perceived as a boy and even called herself Edward rather than Erica. Within this case study it was found that certain girls regularly played football and had a strong desire to be part of this culture however, in the early junior school years such children were found to be labelled tomboys by other girls yet towards the top end of the primary school when physical competence and 'being part of the action' (part of one of the mediating categories found in this study) became important, such individuals were found to receive respect from other girls and tolerated by most boys, even admired by sporty innovator and sporty participant boys. This idea is supported by Boulton (1992) who found footballing girls receive respect from contemporary peers. Boulton's other findings relating to older

boys not playing traditionally female activities such as skipping was given some support in this study although innovator boys and, to some extent sporty participant boys were found to be able to cross-sex play without ridicule.

Pretend players were found to be a large group in relation to other identities discovered throughout this study, this is particularly the case with younger children of seven and eight, although after this age there is a shift for many children towards adjacent identities. The reasons for this shift appeared to be associated with the stigma attached to certain forms of pretend playing which are characterised by peers as being inappropriate at certain ages and, a desire (especially for boys) to be 'part of the action' and seen to play fashionable games such as football. Findings relating to differences in types of pretend play between the sexes link closely with that in existing literature which suggests that girls tend to adopt relational roles, boys in a wider variety of episodes prefer gross motor activity and that pretend play decreases towards middle childhood (Humphreys and Smith, 1987). In a similar way to Brown (1995) this study found that pretend play at seven and eight is often based on television viewing. Paley (1990) discovered that being able to develop the story of the game and lead others through it enhances status and the individual's attractiveness as a play partner. This feature was given some support in this case study, however, as such forms of pretend play became unpopular and stigmatised 'pretend play leaders' would have to renegotiate their place in the status hierarchy within their newly chosen/ascribed identity in the profile continuum. A further feature which appears absent from the literature is the potential that many forms of pretend play have for fostering cross-sex play and establishing friendships, particularly in the lower junior school years. With older children too, other forms of fantasy play led to cross-sex interactions for many individuals, particularly boys not regularly involved in a successful way in the dominant football culture.

Identities situated at the lower end of the profile continuum appear in different guises within the existing literature although researchers tend to refer to rejected (Ladd, 1983) or neglected children (French and Waas, 1985). Coie and Kupersmidt (1983) differentiate between these two types of children, the neglected child is not necessarily disliked by peers but simply does not attract friendships. Rejected children on the other hand, are talkative and frequently interact and may be aggressive and disrupt the games of others (Asher, 1983). The rejected classification fits quite closely with the notion of a reluctant participant who tends to have an antagonistic relationship towards sporty innovators and sporty participants, although reluctant participants differ from the concept of the rejected child in that they may deliberately seek to avoid forms of physical activity and occupy peripheral positions in the playground. The identity of distant can be closely aligned to the neglected child, having few specific friends, not seeking company, attention or inclusion in games. A further similar finding in this case study, which correlates the distant with the neglected child identified in literature, is that they have little contact with other identities but are not antagonistic towards them, a finding confirmed by Coie and Kupersmidt (1983).

There are other connections that could be made between the findings of this case study and those contained within related literature, for example, features of the mediating categories such as 'playing by the rules', which have been discussed elsewhere. Evans (1989), for example, also found that children are preoccupied with fairness and concerned about selecting fair teams in preparing for playground games. The purpose of this brief analogue however, has been to highlight obvious links between existing research and the core category to further illuminate the peculiar nature of the profile continuum which in reality, whilst representing a transparent synthesis of some existing research evidence, consists of a conceptually unique phenomenon derived from children which strives to explain their physical activity culture.

6.3 Limitations of the Study

Blatchford (1994) highlights the difficulties associated with investigating children's culture which some argue, exists in its own right (Opie and Opie, 1959, 1969; Speier, 1976). Presenting an account which accurately describes children's individual and shared meanings in the context of physical activity culture, demands some understanding of the culture. This point is reinforced if one accepts the notion that different cultures use words, narratives and explanations according to the understandings shared by members of the culture (Steeves, 1992). The reinterpretation of narrative and observed data from one culture which has been subject to a form of reductionism and translated into text, and written in and designed for a different culture, is obviously open to criticism. Furthermore, the context of information exchange also conveys meaning, Barnes (1996) argues that actual word meanings account for only a small portion of emotional expression while the majority of a message is conveyed non-verbally. This observation becomes even more important in the domain of research into young children who are less eloquent than adults, yet are arguably more transparent in their communication of feelings through gestures. Thus, this thesis which attempts to provide a true representation of the reality of the phenomena under study is subject to the criticism of decontextualisation.

The potential advantages of using a grounded theory approach which encourages the interviewee to speak in their own voice and researchers generate theories which logically flow from such data have been documented in this thesis. It is generally recognised however that in order to effectively investigate and begin to understand a culture, the investigator needs to spend time in the field (Williams 1991 personal communication). Within the context of this study the researcher was presented with two obstacles to achieving this aim. Firstly, the writer is employed on a full-time basis as a university lecturer restricting potential time that could be spent with the sample under study. Secondly, the adult investigator faces obvious problems

in gaining access into childhood culture, certainly in trying not to alter the behaviour of individuals in their natural play environment whilst observing them at play and talking to them 'in the field'.

Grounded theory provides researchers with a unique methodological framework for analysis with its emphasis on inductive reasoning (despite their differences both Glaser, and Strauss and Corbin would agree that this is a prerequisite in the early stages of research at least). The researcher is expected to enter the area under study with no preconceptions, a priori theory or knowledge. This presented a problem for the researcher who has an interest in the area of children and their physical activity patterns. Furthermore, delaying the literature review, another idiosyncratic feature of the methodology was difficult as the researcher teaches a module entitled Children and Physical Activity. However, the approach does encourage researchers to bracket such personal influences and use theoretical sensitivity to try and minimise potential biases. Therefore, the researcher made a genuine effort to avoid, as far as possible, literature specifically related to the area under study which furthermore was found to change in focus as the project evolved around interests of the children. A further counter argument to this potential criticism is, of course, that there have been a dearth of studies in the area of socio-cultural factors affecting children's physical activity and therefore little available literature to influence or bias the researcher.

Grounded theory is complex and time consuming, the space devoted to this topic within this thesis in some ways reflects this point. The consequence of the need to be fully cognizant with such a framework and its various interpretations is that there is a reduced amount of potential time spent in actual data collection. This observation has less relevance with most other forms of critical qualitative research. The complexities of grounded theory are compounded by the lack of agreement amongst its originators and followers of its exact nature and objectives. On the surface, grounded theory represents a logical approach to collecting and simultaneously analysing

qualitative (and quantitative) data. Its obvious appeal is characterised by its underlying principle of treating data as data. Upon further reading however, the researcher realises the myriad of potential methodological difficulties in implementing the research which include progression through many difficult and challenging coding procedures (especially if one adopts the Strauss and Corbin 1990 model). Moreover, the uncertainty surrounding the methodology's ontological and epistemological roots can create doubt in the researcher's mind, even to the extent of understanding their assumed role in the research process.

Qualitative researchers agree that the difficult work comes once data has been collected and the researcher begins to analyse (May, 1995). Of course, within grounded theory, data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously, although the balance shifts more towards analysis as the study progresses and categories start to become saturated. Interviewing, reinterviewing and using triangulation to increase convergent validity are recommended as forms of data collection within grounded theory. This presents the researcher with a vast amount of material which has to be organised and coded. Computer analysis of such data is becoming popular amongst some social scientists as innovative software can reconcile qualitative and quantitative methods and "encourage a more flexible and pragmatic approach to developing and applying qualitative methods" (Dey, 1993, p.4). However, reports Dey, software developments have also provided concerns over the potentially damaging implications of new technological methods of analysis. Computer analysis can so lead to the glossing over of the processes of interpretation and creativity and compound the criticism levelled at much qualitative research, that there are few accounts from practitioners of the actual process of data analysis (Burgess, 1982). Dey (1993) points out that this criticism has been answered to an extent by a number of more structured approaches to qualitative data analysis such as that of Strauss and Corbin (1990). Becker (1993) warns against relying on computer programmes to identify core variables based on frequency alone rather than integrative power. Waring (1995) found in a study using

grounded theory to investigate the processes involved in older children's physical activity pattern that the NUDIST software package designed for analysis of qualitative data was "a notable disappointment . . ." (p.251) in the PhD study. The writer too has experimented with this package and found it to have limited potential for specific use with a grounded theory project. The coding procedures implicit within grounded theory form part of the methodology and in turn reflect its philosophical and paradigmatical underpinnings, therefore using a software package which incorporates the designer's coding procedures has arguably limited use. However, the point being made here is that within grounded theory, researchers typically generate great quantities of data which, it is recommended they themselves analyse and code. The demands placed on the researcher in trying to organise and make sense of such data, especially that collected from young children, can be seen as a limitation inherent in both grounded theory and this study.

The initial aim of this study was to uncover factors associated with socio-cultural factors affecting children's involvement in, and attitudes towards physical activity. The initial interest was fused by the growing numbers of studies reflecting low levels of activity in childhood population. The end result represents to some extent a shift in focus although this should not be viewed as a limitation of the research as the process of grounded theory highlights the need to enter the study with an area in mind and follow the leads present in the data. For this reason, there has not been an emphasis on attempting to correlate types of play and levels of activity or emphasise these studies in the literature review.

In completing the necessarily belated review of related literature it is evident that researchers are still concerned about the lack of available studies in the area of children, peer relations, activity decisions and gender identities which have formed an integral part of this study. For example, Weiss and Duncan (1992) state "Future research should attempt to assess the relative influence of adults and peers at different development stages, paying particular

attention to the development of positive self-perception of ability, coping with stress, and sustaining motivation to participate in physical activity" (p.187). Hartup (1996) also emphasises the need for more studies which investigate status, reputation, friendship patterns and relationships amongst children, particularly within institutions such as schools, to better understand children across time. More recently, Renold (1997) reports that there is still a lack of studies "investigating the gendered nature of sport and sporting practices within the everyday playground experiences in the primary school" (p.5).

The researcher acknowledges that the study has been small-scale and concentrated on children in the North and North West of England with its own cultural and historical idiosyncrasies. The findings represent a small but hopefully valuable contribution to a poorly understood and under researched area.

6.4   Recommendations for Future Research

This research has highlighted how different children interpret messages they receive from significant others such as teachers and parents in different ways, which is more complex than the commonly described effects of gender and age. Few researchers (excepting for example Mawer, 1996) emphasise how physical education might be differentiated beyond conventional notions of equity relating to gender and physical ability. Some tentative recommendations have been made in this study relating to accommodating each of the identities mentioned. Future research might investigate the ways in which different categories of children respond to such lessons which formed a relatively small part of this investigation.

This study has concentrated on children within the junior school environment. Researchers recognise that attitudes are formed in the early years, therefore, similar studies with younger children might experiment with alternative strategies for collecting data which illuminate the formative stages of

constructions of identities, gender stereotypes and hierarchies which have been found to influence activity decisions.

Grounded theory, whilst having its limitations, has potential for analysing and making sense of narrative data from children. However, the researcher is conscious that applying adult language and labels to childhood concepts has inherent weaknesses. In this way future researchers might investigate ways of empowering children to be active in data collection and analysis as well as considering alternative ways of presenting data other than conventional methods centring around textual description.

Finally, future researchers might consider the possible relationships between the identities generated from the data in this study which constitute the identity profile continuum and children's volitional time spent being active in a specific context.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Aamodt, A.M. (1989). Ethnography and epistemology. Generating nursing knowledge In J.M. Morse (Ed.), <u>Qualitative Nursing Research: A Contemporary Dialogue</u>. (pp.40-53). Rockville, MD, Aspen.

Aaron, D.J., Kriska, A.M., Dearwater, S.R., Anderson, R.L., Olsen,T.L., Cauley, J.A., & LaPorte, R.E. (1993). The epidemiology of leisure physical activity in an adolescent population. <u>Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise, 25</u> (7), 847-853.

Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. & Turner, B. (1986). <u>The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology</u>. Middlesex, Penguin.

Aberle, F.D. (1961). Culture and socialisation. In F.L.K. Hsu (Ed.), <u>Psychological Anthropology: Approaches to Culture and Personality</u>. (pp.381-397). Homewood, Illinois, The Dorsey Press.

Activity and Health Research, (1992). <u>Allied Dunbar National Fitness Survey</u>. London, Sports Council and Health Education Authority.

Adler, P. A . & Adler, P. (1994). Observational techniques. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), <u>Handbook of Qualitative Research</u>. (pp.377-392). London, Sage.

Adler, P.A., Kless, S.J., & Adler, P. (1992). Socialisation to gender roles: Popularity among elementary school boys and girls. <u>Sociology of Education 65</u>, 169-187.

Alenen, L. (1990). Rethinking socialisation, the family and children. In P.A. Adler and P. Adler (Eds.), <u>Sociological Studies of Child Development</u>. (pp.13-28). Greenwich, CT JAI Press.

Almond, L., Harrison, P. & Laws, C. (1996). Sport: Raising the game - A physical education perspective. <u>British Journal of Physical Education, 27</u>. (3), 6-11.

Altmann, J. (1974). Observational study of behaviour: sampling methods <u>Behaviour, 49</u>, 227-267.

Ames, C. (1992). Classrooms: Goals, structures and student motivation. <u>Journal of Educational Psychology, 84</u>, 261-271.

Anderson, K.E., Lytton, H. & Romney, D.M. (1986). Mothers' interactions with normal and conduct-disordered boys: who affects whom? <u>Developmental Psychology, 22</u>, 604-609.

Annells, M. (1996). Grounded theory method: Philosophical perspectives, paradigm of inquiry and postmodernism. Qualitative Health Research, 6 (3), 379-393.

Archer, J. (1989). Childhood Gender Roles: Structure and development. The Psychologist, 9, 367-370.

Archer, J. & McDonald, M. (1990). Gender roles and sports in adolescent girls. Leisure Studies, 9, 225-240.

Aries, P. (1962). Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life. New York, Knopf.

Armstrong, N. (1993). . Independent mobility and children's physical development. In M. Hillman (Eds.), Children, Transport and the Quality of Life. (pp.35-43). London, Policy Studies Institute.

Armstrong, N. & McManus, A. (1994). Children's fitness and physical activity: A challenge for physical education. British Journal of Physical Education, 25 (1), 20-26.

Armstrong, N., Balding, J., Gentle, P. & Kirby, B. (1990). Patterns of physical activity among 11 to 16 year old British children. British Medical Journal, 301, 203-205.

Armstrong, N., Balding, J., Gentle, P., Williams, J. & Kirby, B. (1990). Peak oxygen uptake and habitual physical activity in 11 to 16 year olds. Pediatric Exercise Science, 2, 349-358.

Arnstein, S.R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. AIP Journal, July, 216-224.

Asher, S. (1983). Social competence and peer status: recent advances and further directions. Child Development, 54, 1427-1434.

Asher, S.R. & Coie, J.D. (Eds.), (1990). Peer Rejection in Childhood. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Atkinson, P. (1992). Understanding Ethnographic Texts. London, Sage.

Atkinson, P. (1997). Anselm Strauss: An appreciation. Sociology of Health and Illness, 19 (3) 367-372.

Baker, C., Wuest, J. & Stern, P. (1992). Method Slurring: The phenomenology / grounded theory example. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 17, 1355-1360.

Bandura, A. (1969). Social learning theory of identificatory processes. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.), Handbook of Socialisation Theory and Research. (pp.213-262). Chicago, Rand McNally.

Bandura, A. (1977). Social Learning Theory. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall.

Barkley, R.A. & Cunningham, C.C. (1979). The parent-child interactions of hyperactive children and their modification by stimulant drugs. In R. Knights & D. Bakker (Eds.), Rehabilitation, Treatment and Management of Learning Disabilities. (pp.201-208). Baltimore. University Park Press.

Barnes, D. (1996). An analysis of the grounded theory method and the concept of culture. Qualitative Health Research. 6 (3), 429-441.

Barnes, D. & Todd, F. (1977). Communication And Learning In Small Groups London, Routledge.

Barnett, L. A. & Chick G. E. (1986). Chips Off the Ol' block: Parents leisure and their children's play. Journal of Leisure Research, 18 (4), 266-283.

Barnett, Y. (1988). Miss, girls don't like playing big games, they only like playing little games'. Gender differences in the use of playground space. Primary Teaching Studies, 4 (1), 42-52.

Bates, J.E. (1975). Effects of a child's imitation versus non-imitation on adults' verbal and non verbal positivity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, (31), 840-851.

Battersby, D. (1979). A grounded theory approach to educational research. Rescent, 3 (2), 57-61.

Battersby, D. (1981). The use of ethnography and grounded theory in education research. McGill Journal of Education, 16 (1), 91-98.

Battersby, D. (1982). Some methodological problems in using the grounded theory approach in educational research. Forum of Education, 41 (2), pp.1-4.

Battersby, D. (1984a). The first year of teaching: A grounded theory study - Part 1. The Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 9 (1), 11-29.

Battersby, D. (1984b). The first year of teaching: A grounded study Part II. The Australian Journal of Teacher Education, 9 (2), 76-90.

Bazerman, C. (1988). Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of the Experimental Article in Science. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Becker, H.S. (1981). Exploring Society Photographically. Evanston, Illinois. Northwestern University, Mary and Leigh Block Gallery.

Becker, P. (1993).Common pitfalls of published grounded theory research. Qualitative Health Research, 3 (2), 254-260.

Belle, D. (1989). Children's Social Networks and Social Supports. New York, Wiley.

Benoliel, J.Q. (1996). Grounded theory and nursing knowledge. Qualitative Health Research 6 (3), 406-428.

Berndt, T.J. (1989). Obtaining support from friends during childhood and adolescence. In D. Belle (Ed.), Children's Social Networks and Support Settings. (pp.308-331). New York, Wiley.

Berndt, T.J. & Ladd, G.W. (Eds.), (1989). Peer Relationships in Child Development, New York, Wiley.

Berndt, T.J. & Perry, B. (1986). Children's perceptions of friendships as supportive relationships. Developmental Psychology, 5 640-648.

Besag, V. (1992). 'We don't have bullies here'. Resource materials for INSET and further developments - for primary and secondary schools, and colleges. London, Calouste Gulbenian Foundation.

Besag, V. (1989). Bullies and Victims In Schools: A Guide To Understanding and Management. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Best, R. (1983). We All Have Scars. Bloomington, Indiana, University Press.

Biddle, S.J.H. (Ed.), (1995). European Perspectives on Exercise and Sport Psychology. Leeds, Human Kinetics.

Biddle, S.J.H. & Armstrong, N. (1992). Children's physical activity: An exploratory study of psychological correlates. Social Science and Medicine 34 (3), 325-331.

Biddle, S.J., Page, A., Ashford, B., Jennings, D., Brooke, R. & Fox, K. (1993). Assessment of children's physical self-perceptions. International Journal of Adolescence and Youth. 4, 93-109.

Bigelow, B.J., Lewko, J.H. & Salhani, L. (1989). Sport-involved children's friendship expectations. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 11 152-160.

Black, S.J. & Weiss, M.R. (1992). The relationship among perceived coaching behaviours, perceptions of ability, and motivation in competitive age-group swimmers. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 14, 309-325.

Blatchford, P. (1994). UK research on children's school behaviour. In P. Blatchford & S. Sharp (Eds.), Breaktime and the School, Understanding and Changing Playground Behaviour. (pp.16-35). London, Routledge.

Blatchford, P. (1996). Taking pupils seriously. Recent research and initiatives on breaktime in school Education 3-13, 60-65.

Blatchford, P. & Sharp, S; (1994). Why understand and why change school breaktime behaviour? In P. Blatchford & S. Sharp (Eds.), Breaktime and the School, Understanding and Changing Playground Behaviour. (pp.1-9). London, Routledge.

Blatchford, P. Creeser, R. & Mooney, A. (1990). Playground games and playtime: The children's view. Educational Research, 32 (3), 163-174.

Bloch, C. & Laursen, P.F. (1996). Play, sports and environment. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 31 (2), 205-215.

Blumer, H. (1969). Symbolic Interationism. Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall.

Borman, K.M. & Kurdek, L.A. (1987). Grade and gender difference in and the stability of correlates of the structural complexity of children's games. International Journal of Behavioural Development, 10 (2), 241-251.

Bouchard, C. & Deprés, J.P. (1995). Physical activity and health: Arteriosclerotic, metabolic and hypertensive diseases. In Physical Activity, Health and Well-Being: An International Scientific Consensus Conference Quebec City, Mars/ World Forum.

Boulton, M.J. (1992). Participation in playground activities at middle-school. Educational Research, 34 (3), 167-182.

Boulton, M.J. & Smith, P K. (1993). Ethnic, gender partner, and activity preferences in mixed-race schools in the U.K: Playground observations. In C. H. Hart (Ed.), Children on Playgrounds. Research Perspectives and Applications . (pp. 210-237). Albany, State University Press.

Boulton, M. J. & Underwood, K. (1992). Bully / victim problems among middle school children. British Journal of Educational Psychology 62, 73-87.

Bozett, F. (1980). Practical suggestions for the use of the audio cassette tape recorder in nursing research. Western Journal of Nursing Research, 2, 602-605.

Breakwell, G. (1990). Interviewing. London, Routledge.

Brindley, C., Clarke, P., Hutt, C., Robinson, I. & Wethli, E. (1973). Sex differences in the activities of social interactions of nursery school children. In R. P. Michael & J. H. Crook (Eds.), Comparative Ecology and Behaviour of Primates. (pp.45-71). London, Academic Press.

Bringmann, M. W., Tyler, K. E., McAhren, P. E. & Bringmann, W.G. (1989). A successful and unsuccessful replication of William Stern's eyewitness research. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 69, 619-625.

Brooks-Gunn, J. & Mathews, W.S. (1979). He and She: How Children Develop Their Sex Role Identity. Englewod Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

Brown, D. (1995). Play, the playground and the culture of childhood. In J.R. Moyles (Ed.), The Excellence of Play. (pp.49-64). Buckingham, Open University Press.

Brown, G.W. (1973). Some thoughts on grounded theory. Sociology, 7, 1-16.

Brustad, R.J. (1992). Integrating socialisation influences into the study of children's motivation in sport. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 14, 59-77.

Brustad, R.J. (1993). Who will go out to play? Parental and psychological influences on children's attraction to physical activity. Pediatric Exercise Science, 5, 210-223.

Brustad, R.J. (1996). Parental and peer influence on children's psychological development through sport. In F. L. Smoll & R. E. Smith (Eds.), Children and Youth in Sport: A Biopsychosocial Perspective. (pp.112-124). Madison WI, Brown and Benchmark.

Brustad, R.J., Wiggins, M.S. & Wyatt, F. (1995). Attraction to physical activity in urban children: Parental socialisation influences. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, Supplement, 66 (1), A-73.

Bryman, A. (1988). Quality and Quantity in Social Research. London, Unwin Hyman.

Bryman, A. & Burgess, R. G. (1994). Analysing Qualitative Data. London, Routledge.

Buchanan, B.G., Barstow, D., Bechtel, R., Bennett, J., Clancey, W., Kulikowski, C., Mitchell, T., & Waterman, D.A .(1983). Constructing an expert system. In F. Hayes-Roth, D.A. Waterman & D.B. Lenat (Eds.), Building Expert Systems. (pp.129-168). Don Mills, ON Addison-Wesley.

Buckley, C.A. & Almond, L. (1993). Analysis of primary school curriculum projects. Bulletin of Physical Education, 29 (2) 43-51.

Buhrmester, D. & Furman, N. (1987). The development of companionship and intimacy. Child Development, 58, 1101-1113.

Bulmer M. (1979). Concepts in the analysis of qualitative data. Sociological Review, 27, 651-67 7.

Burgess, R. G. (Ed.), (1982). Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual, London, George Allen & Unwin.

Cairns, R.B. & Cairns, B.D. (1994). Lifelines and Risks. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Cale, L. (1993). Monitoring physical activity in children. Unpublished PhD, Loughborough University.

Cale, L. & Almond, L. (1992a). Physical activity levels of young children: A review of the evidence. Health Education Journal, 51 (2), 94-99.

Cale, L. & Almond, L. (1992b). Children's activity levels: A review of studies conducted on British children. Physical Education Review, 15 (2), 111-118.

Campbell, D.T. & Stanley, J.C. (1966). Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. Chicago, Rand McNally.

Campbell, S.D. & Frost, J.L. (1985). The effects of playground type on the cognitive and social play behaviours of grade two children. In J.L. Frost & Sunderlin (Eds.), When Children Play. (pp.81-89) Wheaton, MD Association for Childhood Education International.

Caplow, T. (1984). Rule enforcement without visible means: Christmas gift giving in Middletown. American Journal of Sociology, 89 (6), 1306-1323.

Carvalho A. M. A.. Smith, P. K., Hunter, T. & Costabile, A. (1990). Playground activities for boys and girls: Developmental and cultural friends in children's perceptions of gender differences. Play and Culture, 3, 343-377.

Cashmore, J.A. & Goodnow, J.J. (1986). Parent-child agreement on attributional benefits. International Journal of Behavioural Development, 9 191-204.

Ceci, S. (1991). The suggestibility of the child witness. Paper presented to the British Psychological Society Conference, Bournemouth.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In R. M. Emerson (Ed.), Contemporary Field Research. (pp.81-102). Boston, Little Brown.

Charmaz, K. (1990). 'Discovering' Chronic illness: Using grounded theory. Social Science and Medicine, 30 (11), 1161-1172.

Chase, M.A .& Dummer, G.M. (1992). The role of sports as a social status determinant for children. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 63 (4), 418-424.

Chenitz, W.C. (1986). The informal Interview. In W.C. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (Eds.) From Practice to Grounded Theory: Qualitative Research In Nursing. (pp.79-90). California, Addison Wesley.

Chenitz, W.C. & Swanson J.M. (1986). From Practice to Grounded Theory: Qualitative Research in Nursing. California, Addison Wesley.

Clarricoates, K. (1987). Child culture at school: a clash between gendered worlds. In A. Pollard (Ed.), Children and Their Primary Schools. (pp.31-44). London, Falmer Press.

Clausen, J.A. (Ed.), (1968). Socialisation and Society. Boston, Little Brown.

Clough, P.T. (1992). The End(s) of Ethnography: From Realism to Social Criticism. Newbury Park, CA Sage.

Coakley, J.J. (1993). Sport and socialisation. Exercise and Sports Science Reviews, 21, 169-20.

Coakley, J.J. & White, A. (1992). Making decisions: gender and sport participation among British adolescents. Sociology of Sport Journal, 9, 20-35.

Cohen, L. & Manion, L. (1989). Research Methods In Education. (3rd Edition), London, Routledge.

Coie, J. & Kupersmidt, J. 1983). A behavioural analysis of emerging social status in boys' groups. Child Development, 54, 1400-1416.

Coleman, J. (1961). The Adolescent Society. Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press.

Colley, A., Eglington, E. & Elliott, E. (1992). Sport participation in middle childhood: Association with styles of play and parental participation. International Journal of Sport Psychology, 23,193-206.

Conan-Doyle, A. (1992). The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London, Wordsworth Classics.

Connell, R.W. (1990). An iron man: the body and some contradictions of hegemonic masculinity. In M. A. Messner & D. F. Sabo (Eds.), Sport, Men and The Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives. (pp.83-95). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Cook, T.D. & Campbell., D.T. (1979). Quasi - Experimentation: Design and Analysis Issues For Field Settings. Boston, Hoffman Mifflin Co.

Corbin, J. (1986). Coding, writing memos, and diagramming. In C.W. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (Eds.), From Practice To Grounded Theory: Qualitative Research In Nursing. (pp.102-120). California, Addison Wesley.

Côte, J. Salmela, J.H. & Russell, S. (1995b). The knowledge of high-performance gymnastic coaches: competition and training considerations. Journal of Sport Psychology, 16, 12-18.

Côte, J. Salmela, J.H. Trudel, P. Baria, A. & Russell, S. (1995a). The coaching model: A grounded assessment of expert gymnastic coaches' knowledge. Journal of Sport Exercise Psychology, 17 , 1-17.

Crossett, T. (1995). Toward an understanding of on-site fun-athlete relations: a case study of the LPGA. Sport Marketing Quarterly, 4 (2), 31-38.

Davies, B. (1982). Life In The Classroom and Playground: The Accounts of Primary School Children. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Davies, B. (1989). The discursive production of the male / female dualism in school settings. Oxford Review of Education, 15 (3), 229-241.

Dempsey, J.M., Kimiecik, J.C., & Horn, T.S. (1993). Parental influence on children's moderate to vigorous physical activity participation. An expectancy-value approach. Pediatric Exercise Science, 5, 151-167.

Denzin, N.K. (1977). Childhood Socialisation: Studies in the Development of Language, Social Behaviour and Identity. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

Denzin, N. (1988). Act, language, and self in symbolic interactionist thought. Studies in Symbolic Interactionism, 9, 51 - 80.

Denzin, N.K. (1989). The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods. Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Entering the field of qualitative research in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. (pp.1-17). London, Sage.

Department Of Education. (1995). Young People's Participation in the Youth Service. Statistical Bulletin. 1/95 London, DfE.

Department Of National Heritage. (1995). Sport: Raising The Game London, Department of National Heritage.

Dey, I. (1993). Qualitative Data Analysis. A User-Friendly Guide For Social Scientists. London, Routledge.

Dishman, R.K. & Sallis, J.F. (1994). Determinants and interventions for physical activity and exercise. In C. Bouchard, R.J. Shepherd & T. Stephens (Eds.), Physical Activity, Fitness and Health. (pp.214-238.) International proceedings and consensus statement. Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Dodge, K.A. (1983). Behavioural antecedents of peer social status. Child Development. 54, 1386-1399.

Donaldson, M. (1987). Children's Minds. London, Fontana.

Dubois, P. (1990). Gender differences in value orientation towards sports: A longitudinal analysis. Journal of Sport Behaviour, 13 (1), 3-14.

Duda, J.L. (1992). Motivation in sport settings: A goal perspective approach. In G. C. Roberts (Ed.), Motivation in Sport and Exercise (pp.57-91). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Duda, J.L. (1993). Goals: A social-cognitive approach to the study of achievement motivation in sport. In R. N. Singer, M. Murphey & L. K. Tennant (Eds.), Handbook of Research On Sport Psychology. (pp.421-436). New York, Macmillan.

Duda, J.L., Chi, L. & Newton, M. (1990). Psychometric characteristics of the TEOSQ. Paper presented at the annual meeting of North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity. University of Houston.

Duda, J.L. Chi, L., Newton, M.L., Walling, M.D. & Cateley, D. (1995). Task and ego orientation and intrinsic motivation in sport. International Journal of Sport Psychology, 26, 40-63.

Duda, J.L., Fox, K.R., Biddle, S.J.H. & Armstrong, N. (1992). Children's achievement goals and beliefs about success in sport. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 62, 313-323.

Duncan, S.C. (1993). The role of cognitive appraisal and friendship provisions in adolescents' affect and motivation toward activity in physical education. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport. 64, 314-323.

Dweck, C.S. (1986). Motivational processes affecting learning. American Psychologist. 41, 1040-1048.

Eccles, J.S. & Harold, R.D. (1991). Gender differences in sport involvement: applying the Eccles Expectancy-Value Model. Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 3 7-35.

Eder, D. & Parker, S. (1987). The central production and reproduction of gender: The effect of extracurricular activities on peer group culture Sociology of Education, 60, 200-213.

Eifermann, R. (1971). Social play in childhood. In R. Herron & B. Sutton-Smith (Eds.), Child's Play. (pp.128-142). New York, Wiley,

Eisenhart, M.A. & Holland, D.C. (1983). Learning gender from peers: The role of peer groups in the cultural transmission of gender. Human Organization, 42, 321-332.

Elliott, E .S. & Dweck, C. S. (1988). Goals,: An approach to motivation and achievement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 54, 5-12.

Emerson, R.M. (Ed.), (1983). Theory and evidence in field research. In Contemporary Field Research. (pp.93-108). Little Brown, Moston.

Endicott, C. (1993). Study shows Canadian girls are much less active than boys. CAHPER Journal, 59, (1), 35-37.

Evans, J. (1985). The process of team selection in children's self-directed and adult-directed games. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Illinois, University of Illinois.

Evans, J. (1986). In search of the meaning of play. New Zealand Journal of Health and Physical Education 19 (2), 16-19.

Evans, J. (1989). Children at Play: Life in the School Playground. Geelong, Victoria, Australia, Deakin University Press.

Evans, J. (1990). Teacher-child interaction during yeard duty: The Australian Experience. Education 3-13 18, 48-54.

Evans, J.R. & Roberts, G.C. (1987). Physical competence and the development of peer relations. Quest 39, 23-35.

Fagerhaugh, S.Y. (1986). Analysing data for basic social processes. In W.C. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (Eds.), From Practice To Grounded Theory: Qualitative Research In Nursing. (pp.133-145). California, Addison Wesley

Fagot, B.I. (1985). Beyond the reinforcement principle: Another step toward understanding sex role development. Developmental Psychology, 21, 1097-1104.

Fein, G.G. (1981). Pretend play in childhood: an integrative review. Child Development, 52, 1095-1118.

Felson, R. B. & Reed, M. (1986). The effect of parents on the self-appraisals of children. Social Psychology Quarterly. 49, 302-308.

Feltz, D.L. & Petlichkoff, L. (1983). Perceived competence among interscholastic sport participants and dropouts. Canadian Journal of Applied Sport Sciences, 8 (4), 231-235.

Filstead, W.J. (1970). Qualitative Methodology, Firsthand Involvement With The Social World. Chicago, Markham.

Fine, G. (1987). With The Boys: Little League Baseball and Preadolescent Culture. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Fine, G.A. (1995). The natural history of preadolescent male friendship groups. In H.C. Foot, A.J. Chapman & J.R. Smith (Eds.), Friendship and Social Relations in Children. London, Transaction.

Fontana, A. & Frey, J.H. (1994). Interviewing: The art of science. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. (pp.361-376). London, Sage.

Fox, K. (1988). The child's perspective in PE part 1: The psychological dimensions in PE. British Journal of Physical Education, 19 (1), 34-38.

Fox, K. (1996). Physical activity promotion and the active school. In N. Armstrong (Ed.), New Directions in Physical Education: Change and Innovation. (pp.94-109). London, Cassell.

Fox, K. & Biddle, S. (1988). The child's perspective in physical education. Part 3: A question of attitudes. British Journal of Physical Education, 19 107-111.

Fox, K.R. & Corbin, C.B. (1989). The physical self-perception profile: Development and preliminary validation. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 11, 408-430.

Fox, K.R. Goudas, M. Biddle, S.J.H. Duda, J.L. & Armstrong, N. (1994). Children's task and ego goal profiles in sport. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 64, 253-261.

Freedson, P. & Evenson, S. (1991). Familial aggregation in physical activity. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport. 62, 384-389.

Freedson, R.S. & Rowland, T.W. (1992). Youth activity versus youth fitness: Let's redirect our efforts. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 63, 133-136.

French, D. & Waas, G. (1985). Behaviour problems of peer-neglected and peer-rejected elementary age children: Parent and teacher perspectives. Child Development, 56, 246-252.

Freyburg, J. (1973). Increasing the imaginative play of urban disadvantaged children through systematic training. In J. Singer (Ed.), The Child's World of Make Believe. New York, Academic Press.

Frieze, I. & Bar-Tal. (1980). Development trends in cue utilization for attributional judgements. Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 1, 84-94.

Fuchs, R., Powell, K.E., Semmer, N.K. Dwyer, J.H. Lippert, P. & Hoffmeister, H. (1988). Patterns of physical activity among German adolescents: The Berlin-Bremen Study. Preventive Medicine, 17, 746-763.

Furman, W. & Bierman, K.L. (1983). Developmental changes in young children's conceptions of friendship. Child Development, 54 549-556.

Furman, W. & Buhrmester, D. (1985). Children's perceptions of the personal relationships in their social networks. Developmental Psychology, 21, 1016-1024.

Furman, W. & Robins, P. (1985). What's the point? Issues in the selection of treatment objectives. In B. H. Schneider, K. H. Rubin & J. E. Ledingham (Eds.), Children's Peer Relations: Issues in Assessment and Intervention. (pp.41-54). New York, Springer-Verlag.

Gee, S.B. (1994). The whole truth: Helping the child witness to give full accounts and accurate answers. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Otago.

Giddens, A. (1979). Central Problems In Social Theory. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Gill, D.L. (1992). Gender and sport behaviour In T.S. Horn (Ed.), Advances in Sport Psychology. Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Gilliam, T.B., Freedson, P.S., Greenen, D.L. & Shahrany, B. (1981). Physical activity patterns determined by heart rate monitoring in 6-7 year old children. Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise, 13 (1), 65-67.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In A Different Voice. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press.

Giorgi, A. (1970). Psychology As A Human Science: A Phenomenologically Based Approach. New York, Harper and Row.

Glaser, B.G. (1978). Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances In The Methodology Of Grounded Theory. Mill Valley, CA, Sociology Press.

Glaser, B.G. (1992). Emergence v Forcing Basics Of Grounded Theory Analysis. Mill Valley, CA, Sociology Press.

Glaser, B.G. (1993). Examples Of Grounded Theory: A Reader. Mill Valley, CA, Sociology Press.

Glaser, B.G. (Ed.), (1994). More Grounded Theory Methodology: A Reader. Mill Valley, California, Sociology Press.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1964). The social loss of dying patients American Journal of Nursing, 64, 119-122.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A L (1965a). Awareness Of Dying. Chicago, Aldine.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1965b). Temporal aspects of dying as a non-scheduled status passage. American Journal of Sociology, 71, 48-59

Glaser, B.G. Strauss, A.L. (1967). The Discovery Of Grounded Theory. London Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1978). Grounded theory. In N.K. Denzin (Ed.), Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook. (pp 53-57). London, McGraw Hill

Goldberg, A.D. & Chandler, T.J.L. (1989). The role of athletics: The social world of high school adolescents. Youth and Society, 21, 238-250.

Goodman, N. (1985). Socialisation 1: A sociological overview. In H.A. Farberman & R.S. Perinbanayagam (Eds.), Foundations Of Interpretive Sociology: Original Essays In Symbolic Interaction. Greenwich, CT, JAI Press.

Goodnow, J. & Burns, A. (1985). Home And School: A Child's-Eye View. Sydney, Allen and Unwin.

Goodwin, M.H. (1980a). He said - she said: Formal cultural procedures for the construction of a gossip dispute activity. American Ethnologist, 7, 674-695.

Goodwin, M.H. (1980b). Directive/response speech sequences in girls' and boys' task activities. In S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, & N. Furman (Eds.), Women And Language In Literature And Society. (pp.157-173). New York, Praeger.

Goslin, D.A. (Ed.), (1969). Handbook Of Socialisation Theory And Research. Chicago, Rand McNally & Co.

Gottlieb, N.H. & Chen, M.S. (1985). Socio-cultural correlates of childhood sporting activities: their implications for heart health. Social Science And Medicine, 21, (5), 533-539.

Goudas, M. & Biddle, S.J.H. (1994). Perceived motivational climate and intrinsic motivation in school physical education classes. European Journal of Psychology of Education, 9, 241-250.

Goudas, M., Biddle, S.J.H. & Fox, K.R. (1994). Achievement goal orientations and intrinsic motivation in physical fitness testing with children. Pediatric Exercise Science, 6, 159-167.

Greendorfer, S.L., Lewko, J.H. & Rosengren, K.S. (1996). Family and gender-based influences in sport socialisation of children and adolescents. In F.L. Smoll & R.E. Smith (Eds.), Children And Youth In Sport: A Biopsychosocial Perspective. Madison, Brown and Benchmark.

Greer, D.L. & Stewart, M.J. (1989). Children's attitudes towards play: An investigation of their context specificity and relationship to organised sport experiences. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 11 336-342.

Grugeon, E. (1991). 'Girls Play'. Language and Learning, 5, 13-15.

Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook Of Qualitative Research. (pp 105 - 117). London, Sage.

Hammersley, M. (1988). The Dilemma Of Qualitative Method - Herbert Blumer And The Chicago Tradition, London, Routledge.

Harding, S. (1987). Feminism And Methodology. Indianapolis, Indiana, University Press.

Harper, D. (1982). Good Company. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Hart, C. (1987). Children's participation in planning and design. In C.S. Weinstein & T.G. David (Eds.), Spaces For Children. The Built Environment And Child Development. New York, Plenum Press.

Hart, C.H. & Sheehan, R. (1986). Pre-schoolers' play behaviour in indoor environments: Effects of traditional and contemporary playgrounds. American Educational Research Journal, 23, 668-678.

Harter, S. (1978). Effectance motivation reconsidered. Human Development 21, 34-64.

Harter, S. (1981). A model of intrinsic mastery motivation in children: Individual differences and developmental change. In W.A. Collins (Ed.), Minnesota Symposium On Child Psychology. 14, (pp 251-255.) Hillsdale, NJ, Erlbaum.

Harter, S. (1985). Manual For The Self-Perception Profile Of Children. Denver, University of Denver.

Harter, S. (1985a). Competence as a dimension of self-evaluation: Toward a comprehensive model of self-worth. In R. Leahy (Ed.), The Development Of The Self, (pp.55-122). New York, Academic Press.

Harter, S. (1985b). Processes underlying the construction, maintenance, and enhancement of the self-concept of children. In J. Suls & A. Greenwald (Eds.), Psychological Perspectives on The Self Vol.3, (pp.132-182), Hillsdale, N J, Erlbaum.

Harter, S. (1988). Causes, correlates, and the functional role of global self-worth: A life-span perspective. In J. Kolligan & R. Sternberg (Eds.), Perceptions of competence and incompetence across the life-span. (pp.67-98). New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.

Hartup, W.W. (1978). Children and their friends. In M. McGurk (Ed.), Issues Of Childhood Social Development. London, Methuen.

Hartup, W.W. (1983). Peer relations. In P.H. Mussen (Ed.), Handbook Of Child Psychology, 4th Edition, Vol.4, (pp.103-106). New York, Wiley

Hartup, W.W. (1993). Adolescents and their friends. In B. Laursen (Ed.), Close Friendships During Adolescence: New Directions for Child Development. (pp.3-22). San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

Hartup, W.W. (1996). The company they keep: Friendships and their developmental significance. Child Development, 67, 1-13.

Hasbrook, C.A. (1986). Reciprocity and childhood socialisation into sport. In J. Haumphrey & L. Vandervelden (Eds.), Current Selected Research In The Psychology And Sociology of Sport, 135-147. New York, AMS.

Hasbrook, C.A. (1989). Reconceptualising socialisation. Paper presented at annual meetings of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Washington DC.

Hayward, D.E., Rothenberg, M. & Beasley, R.R. (1974). Children's play and urban playground environments: A comparison of traditional, contemporary, and adventure playground types. Environment And Behaviour, 6, 131-169.

Head-Rapson, B. & Williamson, D. (1993). Girls participation in primary school soccer. The British Journal of Physical Education, 24, 25-26.

Hedges, A. (1985). Group interviewing. In R. Walker (Ed.), Applied Qualitative Research. (pp.71-91). Vermont, Gower.

Hendricks, B. (1993). No room for children - the changing dimensions of provision for children's play in urban areas. Paper presented at Leisure Studies Association Conference, Loughborough University, July 1993.

Henwood, K.L. & Pidgeon, N.F. (1993). Qualitative research and psychological theorising. In M. Hammersley (Ed.), Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice. (pp 14-32). London, Sage.

Henwood, K. L & Pidgeon, N. F. (1995). Grounded theory and psychological research. The Psychologist, March, 115-118.

Hill, J.P. & Lynch, M.E. (1982). The intensification of gender-related role expectations during early adolescence. In J. Brooks-Gunn & A.C. Petersen (Eds.), Girls At Puberty: Biological And Psychological Perspectives. (pp.201-229). London, Plenum Press.

Hitchcock, G. & Hughes, D. (1989). Research And The Teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School-Based Research. London, Routledge.

Hitchcock, J. & Wilson, H.S. (1992). Personal risking: Lesbian self-disclosure to health professionals. Nursing Research, 41, 178-183.

Hoffman, L.W. (1977). Changes in family roles, socialisation, and sex differences. American Psychologist, 42, 644-657.

Holly, L. (1985). Mary, Jane and Virginia Woolf: Ten-year-old girls talking. In G. Weiner (Ed.), Just A Bunch Of Girls: Feminist Approaches To Schooling, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Horn, T.S. (1985). Coaches' feedback and changes in children's perceptions of their physical competence. Journal of Educational Psychology, 77, 174-186

Horn, T.S. (1987). The influence of teacher-coach behaviour on the psychological development of children. In D. Gould & M.R. Weiss (Eds.), Advances in Pediatric Sport Sciences Vol.2: Behavioural Issues (pp.121-142). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Horn, T.S. & Hasbrook, C.A. (1986). Information components influencing children's perceptions of their physical competence. In M.R. Veiss & D. Gould (Eds.), Sport for Children and Youths. (pp.81-88). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Horn, T.S. & Hasbrook, C.A. (1987). Psychological characteristics and the criteria children use for self-evaluation. Journal of Sport Psychology, 9, 208-221.

Horn, T.S. & Weiss, M.R. (1991). A developmental analysis of children's self-ability judgements in the physical domain. Pediatric Exercise Science, 3, 310-326.

Howell, S.L. (1994). Natural/alternative health care practices used by women with chronic pain: Findings from a grounded theory research study. Nurse Practitioner Forum, 5, (2), 98-105.

Huberman, M.A. & Miles, M.B. (1994). Data management and analysis methods. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook Of Qualitative Research. (pp.428-444). London, Sage.

Hubermester, D. & Furman, W. (1987). The development of companionship and intimacy. Child Development, 58, 1101-1113.

Hughes, F.P. (1991). Children, Play And Development. London, Allyn and Bacon.

Hughes, F.P., Noppe, L.D. & Noppe, I.C. (1988). Child Development. St Paul MN, West.

Hughes, M. & Grieve, P. (1980). On asking children bizarre questions. First Language, 1, 149-160

Humphreys, A. & Smith, P.K. (1987). Rough and tumble, friendship and dominance in school children: evidence for continuity and change with age. Child Development, 58, 201-212.

Hurst, V. (1995). Observing play in early childhood. In J.R Moyles (Ed.), The Excellence Of Play. (pp.173-188). Buckingham, Open University Press.

Hutchinson, S.A. (1988). Education and grounded theory. In R.R. Sherman & R.B. Webb (Eds.), Qualitative Research in Education: Focus and Methods. (pp.123-140). London, Falmer Press.

Hutson, S., Thomas, J. & Sutton, M. (1995). Why Boys And Girls Come Out To Play: Sport and school age children at the transition from primary to secondary education. Cardiff, Sports Council for Wales.

Hycner, R.H. (1985). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. Human Studies, 8, 279-303.

Hyde, L. (1983). The Gift: Imagination And The Erotic Life of Property. New York, Random House.

Ignico, A. A. (1989). Development and verification of gender role stereotyping index for physical activities. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 68, 1067-1075.

Ignico, A.A. (1990). The influence of gender-role perception on activity preferences of children. Play and Culture, 3, 302-310.

Ignico, A.A. & Mead, B.J. (1990). Children's perceptions of the gender appropriateness of physical activities. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 71, 1275-1281.

Inkeles, A. (1968). Society, social structure and child socialisation. In J.A. Clausen (Ed.), Socialisation and Society. (pp73-130). Boston, Little Brown.

Iso-Ahola, S.E. (1980). The Social Psychology Of Leisure And Recreation. Dubuque, Ia, W.C. Brown.

Kane, M.J. (1988). The female athletic role as a status determinant within the social systems of high school adolescents. Adolescence, 23, 253-264.

Katz, J. (1983). A theory of qualitative methodology. In R.M. Emerson Contemporary Field Research. (pp.127-148). Little Brown Moston.

Kearney, M., Murphy, S., Rosenbaum, M. (1994). Mothering on crack cocaine: A grounded theory analysis. Social Science in Medicine, 38, (2) 351-361.

Keddy, B., Sims, S.L. & Stern, P.N. (1996). Grounded theory as feminist research methodology. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 23, 448-453.

Kelly, E. (1994). Racism and sexism in the playground. In P. Blatchford & S. Sharp (Eds.), Breaktime And The School: Understanding And Changing Playground Behaviour, (pp.63-74). London, Routledge.

Kerlinger, F.N. (1973). Foundations Of Behavioural Research. New York, Holt, Reinhart & Winston.

Kerlinger, F.N. (1979). Behavioural Research: A Conceptual Approach. New York, Holt Reinhart & Winston.

Kerlinger, F.N. (1993). Foundations Of Behavioural Research. New York, Rinehart and Winston Inc.

King, M. & Yuille, J. (1987). Suggestibility and the child witness. In S.J. Ceci; M. Toglia & D. Ross (Eds.), Children's Eyewitness Memory. (pp.24-35). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Klesges, R.C., Coates, T.J., Moldenhauer-Klesges, L.M., Holzer, B., Gustavson, J. & Barnes, J. (1984). The FATSIAN observational system for assessing physical activity in children and associated parent behaviour Behavioural Assessment, 6, 333-345.

Klesges, R.C., Malott J.M., Boschee, P.F. & Weber, J.M. (1986). The effects of parental influences on children's food intake, physical activity, and relative weight. International Journal for Eating Disorders, 5, 335-346.

Kools, S., McCarthy, M., Durham, R., Robrecht, L. (1996). Dimensional analysis: Broadening the conception of grounded theory. Qualitative Health Research, 6 (3), 312-330.

Krieger, S. (1983). The Mirror Dance: Identity in a Women's Community Philadelphia, Temple University Press.

Kuh, D.J.L. & Cooper, C. (1992). Physical activity at 36 years: patterns and childhood predictors in a longitudinal study. Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 46, 114-119.

Kuhn, T. (1970). The Structure Of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Kunesh, M.A., Hasbrook, C.A.. & Lewthwaite, R. (1992). Physical activity socialisation: Peer interactions and affective responses among a sample of sixth grade girls. Sociology of Sport Journal, 9, 385-396.

Kvale, S. (1996). Interviews: An Introduction To Qualitative Research Interviewing. London, Sage.

Ladd, G.W. (1983). Social networks of popular, average, and rejected children in school settings. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 29, (3) 283-307.

Ladd, G.W. & Kochenderfer, B.J. (1996). Linkages between friendship and adjustment during early school transitions. In W.M. Bukowski, A.F. Newcomb & W.W. Hartup (Eds.), The Company They Keep: Friendship in Childhood and Adolescence. (pp.322-345). Melbourne, Australia, Cambridge University Press.

Lamb, M.E. (1976). The Role Of The Father In Child Development. New York, Wiley.

Lees, S. (1986). Losing Out: Sexuality And Adolescent Girls. London, Hutchinson Education.

Leif, J. & Brunelle, L. (1976). Le jeu pour le jeu. Paris: Armand Colin.

Lever, J. (1976). Sex differences in the games children play. Social Problems, 23, 478-487.

Lever, J. (1978). Sex differences in the complexity of children's play and games. American Sociological Review, 43, 471-483.

Lewis, A. (1993). Group child interviews as a research tool. British Educational Research Journal, 18, (4) 413-421.

Lewis, C. (1992). Making Sense of Common Sense. A framework for tracking heger.iony. Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 9, 277-292.

Lewko, J.H. & Ewing, M.E. (1980). Sex differences and parental influence in sport involvement of children. Journal of Sport Psychology, 2, 62-68.

Lewko, J.H. & Greendorfer, S.L. (1978). Family influence and sex differences in children's socialisation into sport: A review. In D.M. Landers & R.W. Christina (Eds.), Psychology of Motor Behaviour and Sport. (pp.434-447). Champaing, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Lewko, J.H. & Greendorfer, S.L. (1982). Family influence and sex differences in children's socialisation into sport: A review. In R.A. Magill, M.J. Ash & F.L. Smoll (Eds.), Children in Sport, 2nd Edition (pp.279-300). Champaign Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Lewko, J.H. & Greendorfer, S.L. (1988). Family influence in sport socialisation of children and adolescents. In F.L. Smoll, R.A. Magill & M.J. Ash (Eds, Children in Sport, 3rd Edition. (pp.288-300). Champaign Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). Naturalistic Inquiry. London, Sage.

Lipson, J.G. (1991). The use of self in ethnographic research . In J.M. Morse (Ed.) Qualitative Nursing Research: A Contemporary Dialogue. (pp.72-89). Newbury Park, C.A. Sage.

Locke, K. (1996). Rewriting the discovery of grounded theory after 25 years? Journal of Management Inquiry, 5, (3), 239-245.

Lockheed, M. & Klein, S. (1985). Sex equality in classroom organisation and climate. In S. Klein (Ed.), Handbook For Achieving Sex Equality Through Education. (pp.263-284). Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.

Lockheed, M.E. & Harris, A.M. (1984). Cross-sex collaborative learning in elementary schools. American Educational Research Journal, 21, 275-294.

Maccoby, E. & Jacklin, C. (1987). Gender segregation in Childhood. In H. Reese (Ed.), Advances In Child Development and Behaviour. (pp.239-287) New York, Academic Press.

MacDonald, I., Bhavnani, R., Khan, L. & John, G. (1989). Murder in the playground: Report of the Macdonald Enquiry into Racism and Racial Violence in Manchester Schools, London, Longsight Press.

Mackay, R.W. (1991). Conceptions of children and models of socialisation. In F.C. Waksler (Ed.), Studying The Social Worlds of Children. (pp.23-37). London, Falmer Press.

Mahoney, P (1985). Schools For The boys? Coeducation Reassessed. London, Hutchinson Education.

Marcus, G.E. & Fischer, M. (1986). Anthropology As Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment In The Human Sciences. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Margolis, D. (1989). Considering women's experience. A reformulation of power theory. Theory and Society, 18, 387-416.

Marsh, H.N. & Peart, N.D. (1988). Competitive and co-operative physical fitness training programmes for girls: Effects on physical fitness and multidimensional self-concepts. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 10, 390-407.

Martinek, T. (1996). Personal communication.

Mason, V. (1995). Young People and Sport in England: 1994 London, Sports Council.

Mauss, M. (1954). The Gift: Forms And Functions Of Exchange In Archaic Societies. Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press.

Mawer, M. (1996). The Effective Teaching Of Physical Education. Harlow, Longmanns.

May, K.A. (1986). Writing and evaluating the grounded theory research report. In W.C. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (Eds.), From Practice to Grounded Theory. (pp.146-154). California: Addison Wesley.

May, K.A. (1991). Interviewing techniques in qualitative research: concerns and challenges. In J.M. Morse (Ed.), Qualitative Nursing Research: A Contemporary Dialogue. (pp.171-182). Newbury Park, California, Sage.

May K.A. (1994). Abstract knowing: the case for magic in method. In J.M. Morse (Ed.), Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods. (pp.10-21). Newbury Park, California, Sage.

May, T. (1995). Social Research: Issues, Methods And Process. Buckingham, Open University Press.

McCullagh, P., Matzkanin, K., Shaw, S. & Maldonado, M. (1993). Motivation for participation in physical activity: A comparision of parent-children perceived competencies and participation motives. Pediatric Exercise Science, 5, 224-233.

McKenzie, T.L., Sallis, J.F. & Nader, P.R. (1991). BEACHES: an observational system for assessing children's eating and physical activity and associated events. Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis, 24, 141-151.

McManus, A. & Armstrong, N. (1995). Patterns of physical activity among primary school children. In F.J. Ring Children in Sport. (pp.17-23). University of Bath, Bath.

McPherson, B.D. & Brown, B.A. (1988). The structure, processes and consequences of sport for children. In F.L. Smoll, R.A. Magill & M.J. Ash (Eds.), Children In Sport (3rd Edition). (pp.265-286). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics

Mead, B. & Ignico, A. (1992). Children's gender typed perceptions of physical activity: consequences and implications. Perceptual Motor Skills, 75, 1035-1042.

Mead, G.H. (1964). George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology (revised), (original work published 1934). Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Measor, L.(1985). Interviewing: a strategy in qualitative research. In R.G. Burgess (Ed.), Strategies of Educational Research. (pp.55-77). London, Falmer Press.

Melia K, M. (1996), Rediscovering Glaser, Qualitative Health Research, 6, (3), 368-378.

Merton, R.K., Fiske, M. & Kendall, P.L. (1956). The Focused Interview Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1994). Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook, London,Sage.

Mill, J.S. (1973). A system of logic; ratiocinative and inductive; being a connected view of the principles of evidence and methods of scientific investigation. In J.M. ROBSON (Ed.), The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill (Vols. 7-8). Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Miller, A. (1995). Building grounded theory within educational psychology practice. Educational and Child Psychology. 12 (2). 5-14

Miller, N.L. & Crabtree, B.F. (1994). Clinical research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. (pp.340-352). London: Sage.

Minnis, J.R. (1985). Ethnography, case study, grounded theory, and distance education research. Distance Education, 6, (2), 189-198.

Minuchin, P.P. (1977). The Middle Years Of Childhood. Monterey, CA, Brooks/Cale.

Mishler, E.G. (1986). Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative. London, Harvard University Press.

Mishler, E.G. (1991). Representing discourse: The rhetoric of transcription. Journal of Narrative and Life History, 1, 255-280.

Mooney, A., Creeser, R. & Blatchford, P. (1991). Children's views on teasing and fighting in junior schools. Educational Research, 33, (2) 103-112.

Moore, L.L., Lombardi., D.A., White, M.J., Campbell, J.L., Ollveria, A. & Ellson, C.R. (1991). Influence of parents' physical activity levels on activity levels of young children. Journal of Pediatrics, 118, (2), 215-219.

Morgan, D.L. (1988). Focus Groups As Qualitative Research. Newbury Park, CA, Sage.

Moser, C. & Kalton, G. (1983). Survey Methods In Social Investigation, London, Heinemann.

Moston, S. (1992). Social support and children's eyewitness testimony. In H. Dent & R. Flin (Eds.), Children As Witnesses. (pp.33-46). Chichester, John Wiley & Sons.

Neemann, J. & Harter, S. (1986). Manual for the Self-Perception Profile For College Students. Denver: University of Denver.

Newcomb, A.F. & Bagwell, C.L. (1995). Children's friendship relations: A meta-analytic review. Psychological Bulletin, 117, 306-347.

Nicholls, J.G. (1984). Achievement motivation: conceptions of ability, subjective experience, task choice, and performance. Psychological Review 91 328-346.

Nicholls, J.G. (1989). The Competitive Ethos and Democratic Education Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), Doing Feminist Research. (pp.30-61). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ommundsen, Y. & Vaglum, P. (1991). Soccer competition anxiety and enjoyment in young boy players: The influence of perceived competence and significant others' emotional involvement. International Journal of Sport Psychology, 22, 35-49.

Opie, I. (1991). Let's play skipping the generation game. Guardian, 1st January.

Opie, I. (1993). The People in the Playground Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1959). The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren. Oxford, The Clarendon Press.

Opie, I. & Opie, P. (1969). Children's Games In Street And Playground. Oxford, The Clarendon Press.

Paffenbarger, R.S., Hyde, R.T., Wing, A.L., Lee, I.M. & Kampert, J.B. (1994). Some interrelationships of physical activity, physiological fitness, health and longevity. In B. Couchard, R.J. Shephard, T. Stephens (Eds.), Physical Activity, Fitness and Health: International Proceedings and Consensus Statement. (pp.119-133). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Paley, V.G. (1990). The Boy Who Would Be Helicopter. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Parker, J.G. & Asher, S.R. (1987). Peer relations and later personal adjustment: Are low-accepted children at risk? Psychological Bulletin, 102, 357-389.

Parker, J.G. & Asher, S.R. (1993). Friendship and friendship quality in middle childhood: Links with peer groups acceptance and feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction. Developmental Psychology, 29, 611-621.

Patai, D. (1988). Constructing a self: a Brazilian life story. Feminist Studies, 14, (1), 155-177.

Pate, P.R., Pratt, M., Blair, S.N., Haskell, W.L., Macera, C.A., Bouchard, C., Buchner, D., Ettinger, W., Heath, G.W., King, A.C., Kriska, A., Leon, A.S., Marcus, B.H., Morris, J., Paffenbarger, RA., Patrick, K., Pollock, M.L., Rippe, J.M., Sallis, J.K. & Wilmore, J.H. (1995). Physical activity and public health: A recommendation from the centres for Disease Control and Prevention and The American College of Sports Medicine. Journal of American Medical Association, 273, 402-407.

Pellegrini, A.D. (1987). Rough and tumble play: developmental and educational significance. Educational Psychologist, 22, 23-43.

Pellett, T.L. & Harrision, J.M. (1992). Children's perceptions of the gender appropriateness of physical activities: a further analysis. Play and Culture, 5, 305-313.

Penney, D. & Harris, J. (1997). Extra-curricular physical education: more of the same for the more able. Sport, Education and Society, 2, (1), 41-54.

Phillips E.M. & Pugh D.S. (1989). How To Get A PhD. Milton Keynes. Open University Press.

Piaget, J. (1951). Play, Dreams And Imitation In Childhood. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Pidgeon, N.F., Turner, B.A. & Blockley, D.I. (1991). The use of grounded theory for conceptual analysis in knowledge elicitation. International Journal of Man-Machine Studies, 35, 151-173.

Policy Studies Institute (1991). Daily Telegraph Report. 9th February.

Postman, N. (1983). The Disappearance Of Childhood. New York, Comet.

Reinharz, S. (1992). Feminist Methods In Social Research. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rennie, D.L., Phillips, J.R. & Quartaro, G.K. (1988). Grounded theory: A promising approach to conceptualisation in psychology? Canadian Psychology, 29, (2), 139-50.

Renold, E. (1997). All they've got on their brains is football. Sport, masculinity and the gendered practices of playground relations. Sport, Education and Society, 2 (1), 5-23.

Richards, T., Richards, L.., McGilliard, J., & Sharrock, B. (1992) NUDIST 2.3 Reference Manual Eltham, Victoria, Replee Proprietary Limited and La Trobe University.

Roberts, A. (1980). Out To Play: The Middle Years of Childhood. Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press.

Roberts, G.C. (1992). Motivation in sport and exercise: conceptual constraints and convergence. In G.C. Roberts (Ed.), Motivation in Sport and Exercise. (pp.3-29). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Roberts, G.C., Kleiber, D. & Duda, J. (1981). An analysis of motivation in children's sport: The role of perceived competence in participation. Journal of Sport Psychology, 3, 206-216.

Robrecht, L.C. (1995). Grounded theory: evolving methods. Qualitative Health Research, 5, (2), 169-177.

Roland, E. & Munthe, E. (1989). Bullying: An international perspective. London, David Fulton Publishers.

Ross, C. & Ryan, A. (1990). Can I stay in today miss?: Improving the school playground: Ideas and issues developed with work with Islington schools. Stoke on Trent, Trentham.

Ross, J.G. & Pate, R.R. (1987). The National Youth Fitness Study II: A summary of findings. J.O.P.E.R.D. 58, (9), 51-56.

Sallis, J.F. & Hovell, M.F. (1990). Determinants of exercise behaviour. Exercise and Sports Science Reviews, 18. 213-219.

Sallis, J.F. Hovell, M., Hofstetter, C., Faucher, P., Elder, J., Blanchford, J., Casperson, C., Powell, J. & Christenson, G., (1989). A multivariate study of determinants of vigorous exercise in a community sample. Preventive Medicine, 18, 20-34.

Sallis, J.F., Patterson, T.L., Buono, M.J., Atkins, C.T. & Nader, P.R. (1988). Aggregation of physical activity habits of Mexican-American and Anglo families. Journal of Behavioural Medicine, 11, 31-41.

Sallis, J.F., Simons-Morton, B.G., Stone, E.J., Corbin, C.B., Epstein, L.H., Faucette, N., Iannotti, R.J., Killen, J.D., Klesges, R.C., Petray, C.K., Rowland, T.W. & Taylor, W.C. (1992). Determinants of physical activity and interventions in youth. Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise, 24, (6), S247-S248.

Sandelowski, M. (1994). Channel of desire: Fetal ultrasonography in two use-contexts. Qualitative Health Research, 4, (3), 262-280.

Sarantakos, S. (1993) Social Research, Victoria, Australia, Macmillan .

Scanlan, T.K. (1996). Social evaluation and the competition process: A developmental perspective. In S.L. Smoll & R.C. Smith (Eds.), Children and Youth In Sport: A Biopsychosocial Perspective. (pp.298-308). Madison, Brown and Benchmark.

Scanlan, T.K. & Simons, J.P. (1992). The construct of sport enjoyment. In G.C. Roberts (Ed.), Motivation in Sport and Exercise. (pp.199-215). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Schatzman, L. (1991). Dimensional analysis: Notes on an alternative approach to the grounding of theory in qualitative research. In D.R. Maines (Ed.), Social Organisation and Social Processes. (pp 303-314). New York, Aldine De Gruyter.

Schatzman, L. & Strauss, A.L. (1973). <u>Field Research: Strategies For A Natural Sociology</u>. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.

Scheurich, J.J. (1995). A postmodern critique of research interviewing <u>Qualitative Studies In Education</u>, <u>8</u>, (3), 239-252.

Schatzman, L. & Strauss, A.L. (1973). <u>Field Research: Strategies For A Natural Sociology</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N J, Prentice Hall.

Schwandt, T. (1994). Constructivisit, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), <u>Handbook of Qualitative Research</u>. (pp.118-137). London, Sage.

Scott, K.P. (1984). <u>Teaching Social Interaction Skills: Perspectives on Cross-sex Communication</u>. ERIC Document No.AN ED 252445.

Sheat, L.G. & Beer, A.R. (1994). Giving pupils an effective voice in the design and use of their school grounds. In P. Blatchford & S. Sharp (Eds.), <u>Breaktime and the School: Understanding and Changing Playground Behaviour. (pp. 90-106). London, Routledge.</u>

Sheat, L.G. & Beer, A.R. (1989). User participation - a design methodology for school grounds design and environmental learning. <u>Children's Environments Quarterly, 6, (2/3), 15-30.</u>

Shephard, R.J. (1995). Physical activity, health and well being at different life stages. In <u>Physical Activity, Health and Well-Being: An International Scientific Consensus Conference</u>. Quebec City, Canada, Mars/World Forum.

Shropshire, J. & Carroll, B. (1997). Family variables and children's physical activity: Influence of parental exercise and socio-economic status. <u>Sport, Education and Society, 2</u>, (1), 95-116.

Silverman, D. (1985). <u>Qualitative Methodology and Sociology</u>. Aldershot, Gower.

Silverman, D. (1993). <u>Interpreting Qualitative Data.</u> Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Simons, H. (1981). Conversation piece: the practice of interviewing in case-study research. In C. Adelman (Ed.), <u>Uttering, Muttering: Collecting, Using and Reporting Talk For Social and Educational Research</u>. London, Grant McIntrye.

Singer, J.L. (1973b). <u>The Child's World Of Make-Believe</u>. New York, Academic Press.

Singer, R.N. (1973a). Methodological controls for social psychological problems in experimentation. <u>Quest</u>.

Sleap, M. & Warburton, P. (1992). Physical activity levels of 5-11 year old children as determined by continuous observation. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 63, (3), 238-245.

Sluckin, A. (1981). Growing Up In The Playground: The Social Development Of Children. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Smith, D.E. (1987). The Everyday World As Problematic: A Feminist Sociology. Boston, Northeastern University Press.

Smith, P.K. (1986). Exploration, play and social development in boys and girls. In D. Hargreaves & A. Colley (Eds.), The Psychology of Sex Roles (pp.118-141). London, Harper & Row.

Smith, P.K. (1994). What children learn from playtime, and what adults can learn from it. In P. Blatchford & S. Sharp (Eds.), Breaktime and the School: Understanding and Changing Playground Behaviour. (pp.36-48). London, Routledge.

Smith, P.K. & Boulton, M.J. (1990). Rough and tumble play, aggression and dominance: perception and behaviour in children's encounters. Human Development, 33, 271-282.

Smith, P.K. & Connolly, K.J. (1980). The Ecology of Pre-School Behaviour. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Smith, P.K., Carvalho, A.M.A., Hunter, T. & Costabile, A. (1990). Children's perceptions of play fighting, play chasing and real fighting: A cross-cultural interview study Play and Culture, 4, 121-126.

Smith, R.C., Smoll, F.L. & Curtis, B. (1979). Coach effectiveness training: A cognitive behavioural approach to enhancing relationship skills in youth sport coaches. Journal of Sport Psychology, 1, 59-75.

Snyder, E.E. & MacKillop (1990). An analysis of jocks and other subgroups within the high school status structure. In L. Vander Velden & J.H. Humphrey (Eds.), Psychology and Sociology of Sport. (pp.193-201). New York, AMS Press.

Snyder, E.E. & Purdy, D.A. (1982). Socialisation into sport: Parent and child reverse and reciprocal effect. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 53, (3), 263-266.

Sohier, R. (1993). Filial reconstruction: A theory on development through adversity. Qualitative Health Research, 13, (4), 465-492.

Sparkes, A. (Ed.), (1992). Research in Physical Education And Sport: Exploring Alternative Visions. London, Falmer Press.

Speier, M. (1976). The child as conversationalist. In M. Hammersley & P. Woods (Eds.), The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Spencer, J.R. & Flin, R. (1990). The Evidence Of Children: The Law And Psychology. London, Blackstone.

Spiegelberg, H. (1972). Phenomenology In Psychology And Psychiatry. Evanston, University of Chicago Press.

Stebbins, R.A. (1992). Costs and rewards in barbershop singing. Leisure Studies, 11, 123-133.

Steeves, R.H. (1992). A typology of data collected in naturalistic interviews. Western Journal of Nursing Research, 14, (4), 532-536.

Stern, P.N. (1980). Grounded theory methodology: Its uses and processes. Image, 12, 20-33.

Stern, P.N. (1985). Using grounded theory in nursing research. In M. Leininger (Ed.), Qualitative Research Methods in Nursing. (pp.149-160). New York, Grune and Stratton.

Stern, P.N. (1991). Are counting and coding a cappella appropriate in qualitative research? In J. Morse (Ed.), Qualitative Nursing Research: A Contemporary Dialogue. (pp.135-148). Newbury Park, CA, Sage.

Stern, P.N. (1994a). The grounded theory method: its uses and processes. In B. Glaser (Ed.), More Grounded Theory Methodology. A Reader, Mill Valley, CA, Sociology Press.

Stern, P.N. (1994b). Eroding grounded theory. In J. Morse (Ed.), Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods. (pp.212-223). Newbury Park, California, Sage.

Stern, P.N. & Pyles, S. (1986). Using grounded theory methodology to study women's culturally based decisions about health. In P.N. Stern (Ed.), Women, Health and Culture. (pp.1-24). Washington, DC, Hemisphere.

Stern, P., Allen, L. & Moxley, P. (1982). The nurse as grounded theorist: History, process and uses. The Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science, 7, (2), 200-215.

Stevenson-Hinde, J. & Hinde, R.A. (1986). Changes in association between characteristics and interaction. In R. Plomin & J. Dunn (Eds.), The Study of Temperament: Changes, Continuities and Challenges. (pp.115-129). Hillsdale, NJ, Erlbaum.

Stipek, D. & MacIver, D. (1989). Developmental change in children's assessment of intellectual competence. Child Development, 60, 521-538.

Strauss, A.L. (1987). Qualitative Analysis For Social Scientists. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A.L. & Corbin J. (1990). Basics Of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures And Techniques. London, Sage.

Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. (pp.273-285). London, Sage.

Strauss, A. L. & Corbin, J. (Eds.), (1997) Grounded Theory In Practice. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Strickland, E. (1979). Free play behaviours and equipment choices of third grade children in contrasting play environments. Unpublished PhD. University of Texas.

Sunnegardh, J. & Bratteby, L.E. (1987). Maximal oxygen uptake, anthropometry and physical activity in a randomly selected sample of 8 and 13 year old children in Sweden. European Journal of Applied Physiology, 56, 266-272.

Sunnegardh, J. & Bratteby, L.E. and, Sjölin, S (1985) Physical activity and sport involvement in 8 and 13 year old children in Sweden Acta Paediatrica Scandanavia, 74, 904-912.

Susa, A.M. & Benedict, J.O. (1994). The effects of playground design on present play and divergent thinking. Environment and Behaviour, 26, (4), 560-579.

Sutton-Smith, B. (1981). A History Of Children's Play: New Zealand, 1840-1950), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sutton-Smith, B. & Kelly-Byrne, D. (1984). The idealisation of play. In P.K. Smith (Ed.), Play in Animals and Humans, Oxford, Blackwell.

Swanson, J.M. (1986). Analysing data for categories and description. In W.C. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (Eds.), From Practice to Grounded Theory. (pp.121-132). California: Addison Wesley.

Swanson, J.M. (1986). The formal qualitative interview for grounded theory. In W.C. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (Eds.), From Practice To Grounded Theory: Qualitative Nursing Research. (pp.66-78). California, Addison-Wesley.

Tamplin, A.M. (1989). Six-year-olds in the school playground. Unpublished PhD thesis. Cambridge University.

Tattum, D. (Ed.), (1993). Understanding and Managing Bullying, Oxford, Heinemann.

Tattum, D. & Lane, O.A. (1989). Bullying In Schools. Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham.

Taylor, W.C., Baranowski, T., & Sallis, J.F. (1994). Family determinants of childhood physical activity: A social-cognitive model. In R.K. Dishman (Ed.), Advances in Exercise Adherence. (pp.319-342). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Telema, R. & Vanhakkala-Ruoho (1981). Children's participation in competitive sports and the family. In L. Bollaert & P. DeKnop (Eds.), Family Sport and Leisure. (pp.103-119). ICSPE.

Tesch, R. (1990). Qualitative Research: Analysis Types And Software Tools. London, Falmer.

Thirer, J. & Wright, S.D. (1985). Sport and social status for adolescent males and females. Sociology of Sport Journal, 2, 164-171.

Thirlaway, K. & Benton, D. (1993). Physical activity in primary and secondary school children in West Glamorgan. Health Education Journal, 52, (1), 37-41.

Thompson, J. (1990). Hermeneutic Inquiry. In E. Moody (Ed.), Advancing Nursing Science Through Research. (pp 223 - 280). London, Sage.

Thorne, B. (1986). Boys and girls together, but mostly apart: Gender arrangements in elementary schools. In W. Hartup & Z. Rubin (Eds.), Relationships and Development. (pp.167-184). NJ, Lawrence. Erlbaum.

Thorne, B. (1993). Gender Play: Boys And Girls In School. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Thorne, B. & Edwards, C.P. (1973). Sexuality and gender in children's daily worlds. Social Problems, 33, 176-190.

Thorne, B. & Luria, Z. (1986). Sexuality and gender in children's daily worlds Social Problems, 33, 176-190.

Tizzard, B., Blatchford, P., Burke, J., Farquhar, C. & Plewis, I. (1988). Young Children at School in the Inner City. Hove, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Tomlinson, P. (1989). Having it both ways: Hierarchical focusing as research interview method British Educational Research Journal, 15, (2), 155-176.

Treasure, D.C. & Roberts, G.C. (1995). Applications of achievement goal theory to physical education: Implications for enhancing motivation. Quest 47, 475-489.

Troyna, B. & Hatcher, R. (1992). Racism in Children's Lives. London, Routledge.

Troyna, B. & Hatcher, R. (1992). Racism In Children's Lives: A Study of Mainly White Primary Schools, London, Routledge.

Turner, B.A. (1981). Some practical aspects of qualitative data analysis: one way of organising the cognitive processes associated with the generation of grounded theory. Quality and Quantity, 15, 225-247.

Turner, B.A. (1983). The use of grounded theory for the qualitative analysis of organisational behaviour. Journal of Management Studies, 20, (3), 333-348.

Ullian, D.Z. (1976). The development of conceptions of masculinity and femininity. In B.B. Lloyd & J. Archer (Eds.), Exploring Sex Differences. (pp.25-47). London, Academic Press.

Ulmer, G. (1989). Teletheory: Gramatology In An Age of Video, New York, Routledge.

Valli, L. (1988). Gender inequality and the technology of office education. In L. Weis (Ed.), Class, Race and Gender in American Education. (pp.87-105). Albany State, University of New York Press.

Verchurr, R. & Kemper, H.C.G. (1985). Habitual physical activity in Dutch teenagers measured by heart rate. In R.A. Binkhorst, H.C.G. Kemper & W.H.M. Saris (Eds.), Children and Exercise XI. (pp.194-202). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Vlachopoulos, S. & Biddle, S.J.H. (1997). Modelling the relation of goal orientations to achievement-related affect in physical education: Does perceived ability matter? Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 19, 169-187.

Vlachopoulos, S., Biddle, S.J., Fox, K. (1997). Determinants of emotion in children's physical activity: A test of goal perspectives and attribution theories. Pediatric Exercise Science, 9, 65-79.

Waring, M.J. (1995). Gatekeeping processes: grounded theory, young people and physical activity. PhD Thesis. Loughborough University, Leicestershire.

Warren, A., Hulse-Trotter, K. & Tubbs, E.C. (1991). Inducing resistance to suggestibility in children. Law and Human Behaviour, 15, 273-285.

Waterhouse, P. (1983). Managing The Learning Process. London, McGraw Hill.

Watts, M. & Ebbutt, D. (1987). More than the sum of the parts: Research methods in group interviewing. British Educational Research Journal, 13, (1), 25-34.

Webb, F.D. (1984). Introduction to Alice B. Gomme. The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland. London, Thames and Hudson.

Weiner, B. (1992). Human Motivation: Metaphors, Theories And Research Newbury Park, CA, Sage.

Weiss, M.R. (1987). Self-esteem and achievement in children's sport and physical activity. In D. Gould & M.R. Weiss (Eds.), Advances In Pediatric Sport Sciences Vol.2 (pp.87-119) Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Weiss, M.R. (1987). Self-esteem and achievement in children's sport and physical activity. In D. Gould & M.R. Weiss (Eds.), Advances in Pediatric Sport Sciences Vol.2 Behavioural Issues. Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Weiss, M.R. (1991). Psychological skill development in children and youth. The Sport Psychologist, 5, 335-354.

Weiss, M.R. (1993). Children's participation in physical activity: Are we having fun yet? Pediatric Exercise Science, 5, (3), 205-209.

Weiss, M.R. (1997). Self-esteem and perceptions of competence in the physical domain: Current status and future research directions. NASPSPA Abstracts. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 19, Supplement S18.

Weiss, M.R. & Bredemeier, B.J. (1990). Moral development in sport. In K. B. Pandolf and J. O. Holloszy (Eds) Exercise and Sport Sciences Reviews Vol. 18. (pp.331-378). Baltimore, MD, Williams and Wilkins.

Weiss, M.R. & Chaumeton, N. (1992). Motivational orientations in sport. In T.S. Horn (Ed.), Advances In Sport Psychology. (pp.61-99). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Weiss, M.R. & Chaumeton, N. (1992). Motivational orientations in sport. In T.S. Horn (Ed.), Advances in Sport Psychology. (pp.61-69). Champaign, Illinois, Human Kinetics.

Weiss, M.R. & Duncan, S.C. (1992). The relationship between physical competence and peer acceptance in the context of children's sports participation. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 14, 177-191.

Weiss, M.R. & Glenn, S.D. (1992). Psychological development and females' sport participation: An interactional perspective. Quest, 44, 138-157.

Weiss, M.R., Bredemeier, B.J. & Shewchuck, R.M. (1985). An intrinsic/extrinsic motivation scale for the youth sport setting: A confirmatory factor analysis. Journal of Sport Psychology, 7, 75-91.

Weiss, M.R., Smith, A.L. & Theeboom, M. (1996). That's what friends are for: Children's and teenagers' perceptions of peer relationships in the sport domain. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 18, 347-379.

Weiss, M., Bredemeier, B.J. & Schewchuck, R.M. (1986). An intrinsic/extrinsic motivation scale for the youth sport setting: A confirmatory factor analysis. Journal of Sport Psychology, 7, 75-91.

Wentworth, W.M. (1980). Context and Understanding: An Inquiry Into Socialisation Theory. New York, Elsevier.

Wheldall, K. & Glynn, T. (1989). Effective Classroom Learning. Oxford, Blackwell.

Whewell W. (1971). On The Philosophy of Discovery. New York. Burt Franklin.

Whitehead, J.R. (1991). Preliminary evidence of the physical self-perception profile questionnaire for seventh and eighth grade students. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity. Asilomar, CA, USA.

Whitehead, J. R. (1992). Toward an assessment of multiple goal perspectives in children's sport. Paper presented at the Olympic Scientific Congress. Benalmadena, Málaga, Spain.

Whitehead, J.R. & Corbin, C.B. (1988). Physical competence / adequacy subdomains and their relationship to global self-worth and global general self-worth. Paper presented at annual conference of the Association for the Advancement of Applied Psychology. Nashua, NH, USA.

Whiting, B. & Edwards, C.P. (1973). A cross-cultural analysis of sex differences in the behaviour of children aged 3 through to 11. Journal of Social Psychology, 91, 171-188.

Whitney, I. & Smith, P.K. (1993). A survey of the nature and extent of bullying in junior / middle and secondary schools. Educational Research, 35, (1), 3-25.

Williams, A. (1989). Equal opportunities and primary school physical education. The British Journal of Physical Education, 20, 177-179.

Williams, J.M. & White, K.A. (1983). Adolescent status systems for males and females at three age levels. Adolescence, 18, 381-389.

Williams, J.W. & Stith, M. (1980). Middle Childhood: Behaviour And Development. (2nd Edition). New York, Macmillan.

Williams, T., Wetton, N. & Moon, A. (1989). A Picture Of Health, HEA, London.

Williams, T. (1991). Personal communication.

Wilson, H.S. (1977). Limiting intrusion: social control of outsiders in a healing community. Nursing Research, 26, 103-110.

Wilson, H.S. & Hutchinson, S.A. (1991). Triangulation of qualitative methods: Heideggerian hermeneutics and grounded theory. Qualitative Health Research, 1, 263-276.

Wilson, H.S. & Hutchinson, S.A. (1996). Methodological mistakes in grounded theory. Nursing Research, 45, (2), 122 - 124.

Wolcott, H.F. (1994). Writing Up Qualitative Research. Newbury Park, CA, Sage.

Yang, X., Telema, R. & Laakso, L. (1996). Parents' physical activity, socio-economic status and education as predictors of physical activity and sport among children and youths - a 12-Year follow-up study. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 31, (3), 273-289.

Zarbatany, L., Ghesquiere, K. & Mohr, K. (1992). A context perspective on early adolescents' friendship expectations. Journal of Early Adolescence, 12, 111-126.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

- Various Interpretations of the Stages in Grounded Theory

APPENDIX A

Various Interpretations of the Stages in Grounded Theory

WARING, 1995 (based on Strauss and Corbin, 1990)	GLASER & STRAUSS (1967)	GLASER (1978)	TURNER (1981)	STRAUSS (1987)	HUTCHINSON (1988)	CHARMAZ (1990)	PIDGEON, TURNER & BLOCKLEY (1991)
THEORETICAL SENSITIVITY	Comparative analysis is not in itself their goal. It is, however, subsumed under their goal, "...in generating theory it is not the fact upon which we stand but the conceptual category (or a conceptual property of the category) that was generated from it." (p105)	THEORETICAL SENSITIVITY	DEVELOP (1a) CATEGORIES	CONSTANT INDICATOR MODEL (based on indicator to indicator)	THEORETICAL SENSITIVITY	RESEARCH QUESTIONS & PROBLEMS	DATA PREPARATION / DATA COLLECTION
1. a - OPEN CODING		COLLECTION OF RESEARCH DATA	SATURATE / CATEGORIES (1a)		DATA GATHERING		
b - OPEN SAMPLING		OPEN CODING OF DATA (1b)	ABSTRACT DEFINITIONS (1 a & c)	DATA COLLECTION	DATA RECORDING	DATA COLLECTING	DATA STORAGE
c - MEMOS & DIAGRAMS		THEORETICAL SAMPLING	USE THE DEFINITIONS (1 b & c)	CODING	LEVEL 1 CODING (1a)	INITIAL CODING (1a)	INITIAL ANALYSIS / CODING (1a,b,c)
2. a - AXIAL CODING		- MEMOS (with as much saturation as possible) (1c) (2b & c)	EXPLOIT CATEGORIES FULLY (1a) (2a)	OPEN CODING (1a)	LEVEL 2 CODING (2a)		CORE ANALYSIS
b - RELATIONAL & VARIATIONAL SAMPLING	GENERATE CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES & PROPERTIES Researcher constructed codes and those abstracted from the research situation. (1a)	GENERATION OF EMERGING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS & PROCESSES (2a)	NOTE DEVELOP & FOLLOW-UP LINKS BETWEEN CATEGORIES (1a) (2a) (3a)	AXIAL CODING (2a) SELECTIVE CODING (3a)	LEVEL 3 CODING (3a) MEMOING (1,2,3)	MEMO WRITING - RAISING TERMS TO CONCEPTS (1c)	REFINE INDEXING SYSTEM (2a, 3a)
c - MEMOS & DIAGRAMS							CATEGORY LINKING (2b,3b)
3. a - SELECTIVE CODING		SELECTIVE THEORETICAL	CONSIDER THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH LINKS HOLD (2a & c) (3c)	CORE CATEGORIES a category that is central to the integration of theory	THEORETICAL SAMPLING	DATA COLLECTION / FOCUSSED CODING	MEMO WRITING (2b)
b - DISCRIMINATE SAMPLING	MEMOS (theoretical notes) (1c)					(2a)	
c - MEMOS & DIAGRAMS							OUTCOMES
4. WRITING THE THEORY	COMPARING INCIDENTS APPLICABLE TO EACH CATEGORY 1. Incident with incident. 2. Incident with properties of categories	SAMPLING (2b) (3b) CODING (2a) (3a) MEMOING (2c) (3c)	MAKE CONNECTIONS WHERE RELEVANT TO EXISTING THEORY	THEORETICAL SAMPLING COMPARISONS	Even though her temporal model does not show this, sampling decisions are made during the entire research process	MEMO WRITING - REFINING CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES (2c)	CORE PRIMITIVES DEFINITIONS (3c) (4)
	MEMOS (1c)	THEORETICAL SORTING: - MEMOS (1a) SORTED INTO THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS: (1) by chapter (2) by chapter sections (at this stage coding almost saturated) (2a,b,c)	USE EXTREME COMPARISONS TO THE MAX TO TEST EMERGING RELATIONSHIPS (3)	THEORETICAL SATURATION (relevant to each of the coding procedures) INTEGRATION OF THE THEORY	SORTING (3a & c) (2c) SELECTIVE CODING (3a)	THEORETICAL SAMPLING THEORETICAL MEMO WRITING AND FURTHER REFINING OF CONCEPTS	EXTENDED MEMOS (3c) PROPOSITIONS (3b) GRAPHICS (3c) MODELS (4)
	THEORETICAL SAMPLING (2b) (3b)	THEORETICAL WRITING - WRITING UP (& possibly more sorting) - REWORKING FIRST DRAFT - MANUSCRIPT FINALISED FOR PUBLICATION (4)		THEORETICAL MEMOS THEORETICAL SORTING	SATURATION LITERATURE REVIEW WRITING THE THEORY (4)	THEORETICAL MEMO WRITING AND FURTHER REFINING OF CONCEPTS (3c) INTEGRATING MEMOS (3c)	
	THEORETICAL SAMPLING (3b) WRITING THE THEORY (4)					WRITING FIRST DRAFT (4) FURTHER THEORETICAL SAMPLING	

* THIS DENOTES INVOLVEMENT IN ALL SEGMENTS OF THE MODEL

(Waring, M. 1995, p.36)

297

APPENDIX B

- BSP's Compared to Units

APPENDIX B

BSP's COMPARED TO UNITS

UNIT	PROCESS
1. **Relative Focus:** Process is one property of the unit. Analysis focuses on unit itself.	A unit is a place where a process goes on and it provides a set of conditions for its operation. Analysis uses properties of unit, not unit itself. Focus is on process as it explains or processes a problem or behaviour pattern.
2. **Freedom From Time and Place:** Unit bound. Rendition of unit is always bound by its time and place during period of study.	Process is free of unit's time and place. They are properties of unit that are only varying conditions. Another unit varies process differently.
3. **Generalising** Finite to unit; analyst can only generalise a study to a similar, usually larger unit. Generalising is difficult and slow as must study large unit to analyse differences or use random sampling of smaller unit. Number of units to generalise to is limited.	Fully generalisable quite easily, as a BSP transcends the boundaries of any one unit by just varying it for another unit's properties. Thus, the analyst generalises a substantive BSP to a generic BSP. BSP is more general as it may apply to all units.
4. **Action** Provides the conditions that more or less allow the action. Units rely on BSP's to run. Units are where BSSP's[1] and BSPP's[1] intersect. Units themselves may be a BSSP which processes very slowly, compared to BSPP, and is actuated by BSPP. A static unit is a frozen BSPP.	The action of life is always in the process rather than of the unit itself. The unit is actuated *by* process as it bounds and locates it. The action process is a BSPP.
5. **Freedom from Perspective** Study of unit is always in perspective of analyst and/or participants. Bias is part of analysis as it is built; the establishment view of a corporation for example.	BSP's are a separate perspective, irrespective of the perspective of participant or analyst. BSP's go on irrespective of bias of analyst. "Purging" is always purging, "becoming" is always becoming, no matter how perspectived the rendition. Bias is one more variable in a multivariate analysis, that varies it.

298

6. **Durability** Time and place change so studies of a unit becomes *obsolete*, whether unit description, unit theory, or unit formulations of change.	BSP's are quite durable. As units change, they get modified as they transcend the fallibility of units, while keeping up with its changes.
7. **Transferability** Once out of generalising range, it is difficult and hazardous to transfer ideas or findings of one unit to another unit. Transferring ideas about nursing school to an Air Force academy probably do not apply.	Since BSP's are fully general, they transfer easily with modification. Becoming applies to both a nursing school and an academy.
8. **Consultation Based on Transferability** An expert on a unit is restricted to that type of unit, and he requires much knowledge.	An expert on a process can consult on any unit where process is occurring by just knowing general process and applying it to new conditions.
9. **Misattribution of Source** To describe a process as a property of a unit implies that it is uniquely the result of the people in the unit. *This is inaccurate.* The unit simply uses a general process. Thus, women in karate are trying to neutralise sex status, implies they produced this process, which is inaccurate.	A BSP implies that it is being used by the unit, not a source of it, and the use varies within it. This is accurate. Women in karate use one mode of neutralisation of an otherwise differentiating sex status.
10. **Learning** Typical unit studies can be boring unless on a deviant or other particularly interesting group. It is hard to remember the plethora of facts, and understanding the unit is often bereft of intrinsic scope of meaning, because of low generality.	BSP's have much "grab" (they catch interest quickly), because they have high impact in meaning, are easily understandable, and have general ideas which are easiest to remember.
11. **Research Sampling** Random sampling of unit itself is used so the analyst can generalise to a large unit.	Theoretical sampling of properties is used to generate the theoretical completeness of process.

12. **Research Coverage** Full range of representative factual coverage needed to described the unit accurately, whether for description or verification.	Theoretical coverage requires only theoretical sampling of that segment of all behaviour needed to generate an explanatory theory of a process. The analyst does not need representative coverage of all behaviour.
13. **Research Accuracy** Units tend to require accuracy so that descriptions will be considered correct. Statements are facts to be believed, and subject to slight correction.	*Not crucial* with a BSP, since successive comparisons correct categories and hypotheses. Statements are hypotheses, thus claimed as suggestions to be checked out; they are not claimed as facts.
14. **Research Reading** Read as accurate description.	Unfortunately BSP theory is still read by many as factual description, not as hypothetical generalisations.
15. **Historiocity** Unit studies are fixed in time. They are cross-sectional. They pick up a moment in time, as if forever, but it becomes out-dated, thus temporal scope is severely limited. They are static.	A BSP, since it deals with on-going movement, implies both a past and a future which can almost be extrapolated. A BSP has change built into it, as it is modified to incorporate new data. A BSP considers categories as part of larger ongoing process, historical scope. A BSP is in motion, not restricted to time.
16. **Theoretical Impact** Based on the above differences, unit analysis has limited impact and scope.	Based on above differences, a BSP allows for an expansive amount of grounded theorising about every facet of social life. It has high impact.
17. **New Data** Typically refutes part of unit study.	Generates more BSP theory by comparing it and modifying theory by extention and densification.

300

18. **Relationability** Units are seen as separate entities with definite boundaries. Theory related to a unit is not theoretically related significantly to other units, except perhaps to a larger similar unit which is generalised to. Thus unit studies are non-integrative to social organisation, they make units, which are similar on underlying dimensions, seem separate, which is only arbitrarily so. E.G., normal and deviant studies appear different, not as two dimensions of the same general process. More fundamental patterns are obscured.	BSP's by cutting across and transcending the boundaries of separate units provide ways of relating units to each other through the same process. E.G., cultivating clientel, is a way of relating milkmen to lawyers. Thus BSP's tie social organisation together, they are integrating. BSP's also relate to each other within units.

(Glaser, 1978, p.109-113)

---

[1] There are two types of BSP's: basic social psychological process (BSPP) and basic social structural process (BSSP). (See Glaser 1978, p.102 for further explanation.)

APPENDIX C

- Types of Group Interviews

APPENDIX C

Types of Group Interviews

TYPE OF GROUP INTERVIEWS AND DIMENSIONS				
Focus group	formal-present	directive	structured	exploratory pretest
Brainstorming	formal or informal	nondirective	very unstructured	exploratory
Nominal / Delphi	formal	directive	structured	pretest exploratory
Field, natural	informal spontaneous	moderately nondirective	very unstructured	exploratory phenomenological
Field, formal	preset, but in field	somewhat directive	semistructured	phenomenological

(Fontana, A and Frey, J H, 1994, p.365)

APPENDIX D

- Framework for Recording Interview Data

LOCATION:	GROUP NAME:	CODE:
NAME(S) and AGE(S) of SUBJECT(S):		
DATE:	TIME:	
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:		

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note

Recurring categories:

Diagrams: (To help identification of core category)

Linkages with other research notes / incidents:

304

APPENDIX E

- Examples of Field Data

APPENDIX E

Examples of Field Data

The following examples of interviews are taken from different stages of the research process. Sample A is an early interview using round 1 questions, sample B using round 2 questions, sample C using round 3 questions and sample 4 an example of a re-interview using rounds 2, 3a and 3b.

Sample A (Round 1 questions)

This was the second formal interview with ten and eleven year old pupils in School A. It has been included as it reflects the early stages of the research project and characterises some of the problems and difficulties encountered using the focus group approach with young children discussed in the chapter on interviewing. These included, trying to assess potential sources of bias, coping with a medium sized group (*n* = *6*) of new children and trying to establish a relationship and develop their trust.

The extract represents initial attempts at coding and identification of emerging patterns and relationships in the data. It must be remembered that this is, in effect, a pilot study in which the researcher was attempting to ask questions which would stimulate conversation and allow children to talk about issues relevant to them.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommend coding line by line, that is, considering each sentence and selecting appropriate codes which begin to abstract the data. Glaser (1992) on the other hand, recommends considering larger sections of data and emerging trends before such labelling. The strategy adopted in this study is located somewhere between these two approaches. Each label was selected on the basis of the context of the interview and incorporated the dynamics and sensitivities inherent in the interview situation.

Sample B (Round 2 questions)

This was the fourth interview with a group of eight children aged nine and ten in School C. It was still early on in the research process with some of the difficulties evident in the earlier interview relating to group dynamics and trying to establish a relationship with a new group of children. During the first six interviews the group sizes were relatively large (See Appendix H relating to the natural history of the research) as the objective was to collect data from a broad selection of children before starting to select certain individuals based on the principle of theoretical sampling. This was a rather taciturn group yet the responses from chidlren and open coding from the researcher reveal some recurring trends which are noted at the back of the interview. Codes such as messaging and conforming to the image for example, appear in earlier and future interviews.

Sample C (Round 3 questions)

This represents an extract from an interview with younger, seven to eight year old children from School D. The group size in the later stages of the process was generally smaller, in this case four, which appeared to be the optimum number with children of this age. At this stage the core category had been established and mostly saturated, the mediating categories were in evidence and theoretical sampling was being used to compare and contrast data.

This extract reflects the change in approach developed over the project by the researcher towards being less involved in the group and encouraging the children to speak for themselves. In the early stages there was a tendency for the researcher to intervene and re-direct the children's focus of attention if it was felt they were digressing. However, it was realised that some of the most valuable information comes from encouraging individuals, by using neutral prompts, to talk freely and be prepared to change direction from the original structure of the interview questions when appropriate, and follow the leads of children.

Finding the correct balance, especially with younger children, of encouraging free flow of conversation and intervening to keep their answers relevant to the question was bound to be a difficult interviewing skill. Extracts have been chosen which include some quotes from children that have also been used in the findings chapter in order that the reader can more easily contextualise the field data.

Sample D *(Round 2 + 3a + b questions)*

This is an extract from relatively late on in the research process with three girls who had been interviewed early on in the project. This is an example of theoretical sampling, these children were chosen because their previous responses indicated that they considered themselves, and were thought of by other children in their classes as sporty.

The extract reflects a more relaxed, informal environment in which the children speak quite freely with minimal interruptions from the researcher. Selective coding has been used to analyse children's responses, in other words, the researcher only identifies codes which satisfy the core and mediating categories, this is to ensure theoretical saturation.

At the end of the interview the children were asked to write about their perceptions of physical education. This was done on blank pieces of paper rather than using a structured questionnaire. The researcher chose this approach as it was thought that the children would see this as being less formal, and allow the researcher to control the speed of the process as children waited for each question to be dictated by the researcher and, finally it can give the children more ownership and a sense of responsibility during the interview.

SAMPLE

A

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Interviewer: "What types of games do you like to play at playtimes and lunchtimes."			I've grouped together play and lunch, perhaps they play different games at each. Be careful to be specific.
Chris: "I like to play football, or if there isn't a football I just play like bulldogs which is you just go tigging people."	Equipment opportunities	This idea has emerged before, equipment appears to have an impact on choice of activity.	Find out what he means about "if there isn't a football". Is it the school restricting use?" Bulldog and Tig, does he know the rule differences?
Interviewer: "Do any girls play football?" Group response: "No.... (pause)... Yes." (a hesitant answer)	Occasional cross-sex playing	Some evidence of cross-sex play. Initially some children found this amusing but after this they all seemed to accept that some girls could play.	How often do they play? Who plays? This needs more investigation.
Interviewer: "Would you tease them if they did?" Chris: "No, I've got nothing against it, some play. I don't mind."			This is a leading question, be careful. This point needs investigating further. I felt under pressure that other children in the group wanted to contribute and might become bored.

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Interviewer: "Claire, what games do you like to play?"			
Claire: "Some of us play 'Tag', or some other version, or ice-cream."	Using the right label	Younger children in this school use 'tig' to describe this game.	Child appears very conscious of others in the group. Adopts a 'closed' body language with limited eye contact.
Interviewer: "Ice-cream, what's that?"			
Claire: "Well, some people stand in front of them, you pick a bird, you don't say which bird you are. They pick a bird and you have to run around the playground while the other person chases them, and if they get them, that person is it?	Understanding the rules	There appears to be a fairly rigid structure to the games.	
Interviewer: "Why is it called ice-cream?"	Pretending to be an animal.	A form of pretend play although it differs from the more creative and dramatic narrative play of younger children.	
Claire: "I don't know." (laughing)			
Interviewer: "Who made the game up?"			Laughs come mostly from girls, boys appear disinterested in this game.
Claire: "Andrea, a girl from Canada brought it here."	Imported games	The children have adopted this game which has been imported from abroad. Are games imported from school to school?	
Interviewer: "Laura, what do you like to play?"			I couldn't decipher the rest of what she said. The tape needs to be closer to the child.
Laura: "Talking." (very shy and quiet, then something I couldn't hear)			

309

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Interviewer: "Patrick?" Patrick: "I play football and tag."			This didn't really work. I need more detailed information and develop my strategies. The children are being rather reticent. He seemed aware that I was trying to elicit a surprised response.
Interviewer: "Would you play netball?" Patrick: "Yes, in PE and benchball?"			
Interviewer: (to whole group) "Are you allowed to bring equipment into school to use at playtimes." Group response: "Yes cricket things."			I'm deviating as I feel that I need to start involving the group. It is difficult to identify who is responding. Very little point to this, needs developing.
Interviewer: "How about skipping ropes." Group response: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Julia, would you skip?" Julia: "No." (emphatically) Interviewer: "Why not?"			I'm experimenting with deviating from interview questions.
Julia: "I'm not very fond of skipping." (pause) Interviewer: (prompting) "Why not."	Conforming to the image	The child appears very conscious that skipping is not an appropriate activity for her to be seen doing in front of her friends.	Appears embarrassed by this topic and has become defensive. Try asking less direct questions so as not to put the children on the spot.

310

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Julia: "Well,.... I used to be (embarrassed laugh) but I've grown out of it now, I've just gone off it. It's a bit babyish. I like playing sports and stuff." pause....			
Interviewer: "What sort of sports."		This might not be a good code, but there appears to be some sort of acknowledging of the importance of being healthy which is a message received from someone.	She says this with no real conviction to be notion of being healthy. It seems to be almost regurgitated from a message from somewhere else.
Julia: "I like being fit and stuff."	Messaging		
Interviewer: "What do you mean by that."			
Julia: "Umm... (pause)... I just like being a sporty person. I do sports... I sometimes do sports courses and I've won two trophies for being sportsman of the year."	Being sporty

Gaining awards | The concept of image is recurring in different ways, particularly being seen as sporty. It is interesting that this girl seems to value being sporty and uses the term 'sportsman'. It seems obvious that certain sports are valued more than others as she has rejected skipping as in appropriate. | She seems very proud of having received awards, this appears important.
This is a point that needs following. |
Interviewer: (To group)			
"How about if playtime was organised differently. If teachers organised the play."			This is a double-barrelled question, be sure to avoid this in future.
Chris: "Yes. Divide the playground, Year 3,4,5 and 6 use the top playground. Year 1 and 2 and reception use this playground here."			A possible interesting issue to develop in future, which age groups play together and the space they occupy in the playground.

311

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Interviewer: "Great, thanks everybody...now... I want you to tell me what you do when you get home from school in the evenings."			Need to increase momentum, inject more enthusiasm into the interview.
James: "When I get home I usually do my homework."			I am going to have to think about size of the group, these children appear more reticent than some of the seven and eight year olds. Try interviewing less, some of the children appear inhibited by group dynamics.
Interviewer: "And?" (prompting look)			
James: "Well, we've usually got to have it in, you've got to do the work."			
Interviewer: "Do you have homework everyday."			
James: "Well not really."			
Interviewer: "What else do you do?"			
James: (pause, looks embarrassed)			
Interviewer: "It's okay, don't worry, that's fine?"			Noisy background. Another class passing from a PE lesson.
Julia: "How about you?"			
Julia: "Well, when I get home, I tidy my room 'cos I can't stand when things are untidy and then watch TV, do homework. I like dancing. I don't really do any sports."			

312

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Girl (?) "Homework, then I have piano lessons, I do ballet, tap and Brownies."			I don't know who this is. I must either get children to introduce themselves or refer to their name.
Interviewer: "How many evenings do you do ballet?"		A very structured and active child. It would be interesting to find out who has organised these activities and more specifically, when she goes and who takes her, what does she do at weekends? How much does she enjoy the activities?	The interruption has made listening to the recording very difficult. Next time wait for the noise to go before continuing with the taping.
Girl: "Twice."			
Interviewer: "And how about the other things?"			
Girl: "Tap, once a week, and I'll be starting piano again and Brownies once a week."	Having things organised for me		
Interviewer: "Chris?"	Independence in organising myself		
Chris: Straight away, "I do my homework, just to get it out of the way, 'cos then I often have football practice. I watch TV, play a bit of sport... I just do whatever pleases me really."		This child appears to be dynamic and actively organising himself, perhaps has got this trait from others in family unit. This needs investigating further before the code can be secured.	I am noting some of the children are enthused about the interview and speak freely. The group dynamics and relationships need further investigation. I could ask children about friendships and try to establish which mix of children work best in interviews together.
Interviewer: "That's a lot, do you manage all that before dark?"			
Chris: "No I'm not allowed out later on."			

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical Note	Operational Note
Interviewer: "And you Patrick."		No code obvious here but an area for future investigation should be to differentiate between what children do in their free time and identify that which is organised for them. It would also be a good idea to find out who they play with both in and outside school to see the possible relationship between friendship patterns and activity choice.	He seems to have been influenced by his predecessors answers.
Patrick: "I get my homework out of the way, straight away. Then I go to (pause).... I just sit down and watch TV. Then I have to practise by trumpet. Then..... (pause)..... (nervous laugh) I do karate on Tuesdays....Shukokai..... (pause).... then after dinner, if I've got some spare time, I play on the computer. I play on my bike before dinner, then play football on Sunday's."			Answers very stilted, seems affected by size of group and strange situation. Seems embarrassed about admitting going to karate. Drops his head when saying this and says it quietly.

314

PROCEDURE: (Dynamics of interview, implications for future research etc.)

A major problem is that I am not always identifying the child who is speaking, I could ask them to say their name each time they being to talk, but this will probably inhibit the process. Try to get into the habit of using their name when I address them (this will also hopefully have the effect on increasing the intimacy of the group). A most important issue appears to be the size of the group and the children's relationships with others. Next time reduce the group size to four and try to establish which children work well together. I also need to give the children plenty of time to answer yet keep the momentum of the session going to maintain interest. A smaller group might help children relax more and give fuller answers.

RECURRING CATEGORIES:

This is still early and therefore there are no obvious recurring features in the data collected so far, however, I am noticing some codes which were evident in the interview with the younger children in this school such as opportunity with equipment and children being able to organise themselves. A summary of codes emerging in this interview which might be worthy of future investigation.

'EQUIPMENT OPPORTUNITIES'   'OCCASIONAL CROSS-SEX PLAYING'

'USING THE RIGHT LABEL'   'UNDERSTANDING THE RULES'

'PRETENDING TO BE AN ANIMAL'   'IMPORTED GAMES'

'CONFORMING TO THE IMAGE'   'MESSAGING'

'BEING SPORTY'   'GAINING AWARDS'

'HAVING THINGS ORGANISED FOR ME'   'INDEPENDENCE IN ORGANISING MYSELF'

315

DIAGRAMS: (to help identification of core category)

MESSAGING → BEING SPORTY   Investigate parent influence/peer influence)

BEING FIT →

CONFORMING TO THE IMAGE → CROSS-SEX PLAYING)

GAINING AWARDS →

BEING SPORTY →

SCHOOL → EQUIPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

UNDERSTANDING THE RULES

HOME → INDEPENDENCE

) INVESTIGATE
) LEVELS OF
) INDEPENDENCE
) HOME AND
) SCHOOL

(keep open focus in future interviews before categorising)

_____

LINKAGES WITH OTHER RESEARCH NOTES/INCIDENTS:

Difficult to determine at this stage because only second interview. A general theme emerging is opportunity and equipment. Need to establish the possible relationships between some of these codes. Organisation and independence seem more attributable codes with older children. There is a change in the type of pretend play occurring.

SAMPLE

B

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
(First part of interview spent collecting information relating to children's ages and family backgrounds)			Operational note was made suggesting I collect this factual information from the children before starting the tape.
Interviewer: "Good. Now would you tell me how you get to and from school?"			
Charlotte: "On Wednesday and Friday I walk, it's only ten minutes, not in winter though, my friend's mum brings me. My mum brings me on a Monday and Tuesday. On Thursdays my friend's mum brings me."	Seasons opportunity	This has an obvious impact on whether children walk to school, the distance from school is also mentioned, this might be worth pursuing.	Could pursue notion of dark or bad weather which is most important as inhibitor.
Interviewer: "And you Vicky?"			
Vicky: "My mum takes me and picks me up".			
Interviewer: "And Philip?"			
Phillipa: "My mum takes me and picks me up."	Parents sharing responsibilities		
Interviewer: "Rebecca?"			
Rebecca: "My dad takes me, and picks me up on Friday, my mum picks me up other days."			Pace of interview is too slow, keep the momentum going.
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			

317

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Daniel [1]: "I walk to school with mum and go home with a friend."			How far is home? How old is the friend?
Interviewer: "Ben?"			
Ben: "Mum brings me in the car but I walk in summer."	Walking in summer	Stating he walks in summer might mean he has some understanding of the benefits of walking, who decides he should walk in?	Does his mum walk with him or is he left to walk on own or with a friend?
Interviewer: "And you Daniel?"			
Daniel [2]: "My mum brings me in the car and takes me back."			
Interviewer: "And Marco?"			
Marco: "Mum always brings me in the car."			
Interviewer: "Okay, good, thank you for that. Now, I want to tell me who you most like to play with outside in the playground."			
Charlotte: "I play with Alexandra, Samantha, Rebecca, Joanna and Victoria Setter."			
Interviewer: "Thank you, and you Vicky?"			
Vicky: "I play with Phillipa, Bianca", . . . pause . . . "and Richard sometimes plays with us."	Same sex play in school → Occasional cross-sex playing	The girls appear to have a group which has occasional visits from a male.	This could be followed - why is Richard allowed to play, does the game change for him or does he enter the group when a certain game is being played?
Interviewer: "And Phillipa?"			

318

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Phillipa: "Victoria Fell, Victoria Thompson, Kelly and Bianca"			This is an obvious group which is predominantly same sex, in future interviews it would be an idea to explore if the groups change and check the frequency of play with some playground observations.
Interviewer: (Looking towards Rebecca with prompting glance.)			
Rebecca[(1)]: "Victoria Fell, Victoria Thompson, Phillipa, Kelly and Bianca."			
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			
Daniel[(1)] "Daniel, Michael and Simon."			
Interviewer: "And Ben?"			Ask the children to give their friends surnames as well as christian names.
Ben: "David, Marco and Daniel" . . . pause . . . "and Andrew Pollard."			
Interviewer: "Good, thank you, and you Daniel?"	My group of friends		
Daniel[(2)]. "With Ben, Andrew Pollard, Marco, Daniel Addy, Daniel Beresford, Simon and Daniel Tinker"			
Interviewer: "Good, and finally, Marco?"			

319

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Marco: "With Daniel, Ben, Daniel, Daniel and Andrew." Interviewer: "Well done. Now, I'd like to know what games you play in the playground, Charlotte?"		Children are very sure about these groups and seem very conscious of the importance of the friends in a particular group.	Facial and bodily expression have changed slightly, the children have become more attentive when others are describing friends, this seems important.
Charlotte: "We play, Tig, Blind Date, and Hopscotch."			Again, I am unable to distinguish between Daniels. Check for surnames.
Interviewer: "And Vicky?" Vicky: "We talk." Interviewer: "And Phillipa?" Phillipa: "We talk too."	Being with others	The children are saying "we" in their responses which might indicate the importance of the group, tentative code for now, will need confirmation.	
Interviewer: (Looking towards Rebecca) Rebecca[1]: "I talk . . . and play Tig sometimes." Interviewer: "And Daniel?"			As before, the potential problem with a large group is that I am unsure if answers are being influenced by what has been said by others in the group.

320

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Daniel[1]: "I usually play Black Pudding."	Labelling games	Where do these labels come from? How is Black Pudding different from Tig?	This could be an interesting issue, I should explore the rules of the game and possibly compare these between schools and ages of children.
Interviewer: (Puzzled look towards Daniel)			
Daniel[1]: "It's like tig."	Understanding the rules		
Interviewer: "Thank you . . . and Ben?"			
Ben: "I usually play Bulldogs with the others" (looks towards boys) "not with the girls."	Boys games/girls games	There is an obvious trend amongst this group of labelling certain games as appropriate/inappropriate for either sex. Brother makes it acceptable?	Is there any cross over of boys/girls between these games?
Vicky: (Interrupting) "It's more of a boy's game, I used to play it 'cos my brother plays rugby so I might as well."	Doing what others do		Does she still play? Or is this past tense?
Rebecca[1]: "I normally play on the school field in summer."	Seasons opportunity		Could check to see if games and forms of play change between children playing on the field or in the playground. Be careful with the leading questions, try to remain neutral.
Interviewer: "What? . . . Football?"			
Rebecca[1]: "Only one girl" (Rebecca[1] and Vicky together) "Catherine, she's like a Tomboy."	Tomboy	This was a definite group thought, the girls mention Catherine in a way which makes her sound very odd.	
Interviewer: "In what way?"			
Rebecca[1]: "She likes a lot of boys' games."	Conforming to the image		

321

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "If the boys play football, what do you do?" Rebecca: "We just like to chase, one another and do handstands or play ambulances and dead men, I learnt them from my friends."	Labelling games	Interesting that both girls and boys label their games.	Find out what these games are, how they vary and how often they are played. Do they have a limited lifespan?
Interviewer: (Looking towards Vicky and Rebecca). "Are there any games you would <u>not</u> like to play?" Rebecca: "Rugby " (said with very distaining expression).			
Interviewer: "Why not?" Rebecca: "You get knocked over, get pulled all over, and dirty."	Boys games rough Discomfort		I'm not sure how much of this is to draw attention to themselves in the group.
Interviewer: (Looking towards Vicky) Vicky: "Micro machines" . . . (Looks towards Rebecca who reciprocates the disparaging facial expression) . . . "and toy cars". Interviewer: "Fine . . . (looking towards Ben and the two Daniels) are there some games you would not like to play?"	Boys equipment/girls equipment	The girls are aware of these games, how have they learnt about them?	

322

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Ben: (Looking in a teasing way towards the girls in the group). "They get dolls and dress them up . . . they do cartwheels and handstands and play Blind Date."	Boys equipment/Girls equipment		Is this the dynamics of the group, or do they really feel this way?
Interviewer : (Looking in a quizzing way towards Ben)			
Girls: (Two girls start speaking, unsure who this is . . .) "In Blind Date some of the girls pretend to be boys."	Pretending to be someone else.	This might be important, I cannot think of a better code at the moment.	Perhaps revisit this. Does this relate to pretending to be mummies and daddies. The family unit. What type of pretend games do boys play?
Interviewer: "Marco, which games do you like?			
Marco: "Football, rugby, basketball", . . . pause . . . "sometimes kwik cricket when the teacher brings it out."	Opportunity (Kwik-cricket) equipment	The opportunity to play certain games again appears to be controlled by the availability of equipment.	There seems to be a lack of clubs in this school for the children and bans on equipment being used at times.
Interviewer: "Now, I want you to tell me about the PE you like in school . . . Vicky, what PE do you like in this school?			
Vicky: "We used to have PE in the sports hall, but not any more. We usually swim on a Tuesday, but we've stopped now. We play rounders in summer and have gym on Fridays."			She seems to have merely listed the PE that is done. Is this what she likes?

323

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Do you dance?" Vicky: "No, . . . pause . . . , . . . we have to make a show on apparatus, we're in groups, the rest of the class watch a group."	Purpose	Perhaps the code should relate to inhibition. She seems, however, to be emphasising that the show has little purpose.	Body language and facial expressive reflect more of a disenchantment with the show itself, its purpose rather than embarrassment of having to perform.
Interviewer: "Good, thank you. Boys, which PE lessons do you like? Daniel first . . ."			Good, re-emphasize the focus of the question regularly.
Daniel[(1)] "I like swimming best."			
Interviewer: "And Ben?"			
Ben: "I like games, especially rounders."			
Interviewer: "And Daniel?"			
Daniel[(2)] "Yes . . . games most . . . rounders."	Neutral games	Rounders not labelled as girls game.	Seems to be some repetition here. Are they a group or copying one anothers answers.
Interviewer: "And Marco?"			
Marco: "The same, games and rounders."			
Interviewer: "Thank you . . . I want you to tell me about any sport you watch on T.V. Ben, do you ever watch sport at home on the television?"	Media trends	Interesting to note he identities something that is being shown, following the current trend.	
Ben: "The Olympics, skiing."			

324

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Do you watch sport often?"			
Ben: "No, 'cos my dad's always watching something else."			I need to probe these answers more, must reduce size of the group. much of this information feels superficial.
Interviewer: "Does he like sport?"			
Ben: "No."			
Interviewer: "How about you Daniel?"			
Daniel[2]: "I watch football, rugby, tennis, the Olympics and running."			
Interviewer: "Do your mum and dad watch it too?"			
Daniel[2]: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "And your sister?"			
Daniel[2]: "She's more into drawing and things."	Links between TV choice and club	This is interesting. He later tells me he goes to football, here he chooses to watch even though his dad doesn't.	
Interviewer: "Marco?"			Who introduced him to the football club?
Marco: "I watch football, skiing and running."			
Interviewer: "With your dad?"			

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Marco: "No he doesn't like football."			
Interviewer: "And you Phillipa?"			
Phillipa: "I watch tennis, ice skating" . . . . pause . "My mum and brother like boxing and things like that."			
Interviewer "And you Vicky?"			
Vicky "Swimming and show jumping . . . and . . . . tennis."			
Interviewer: "Charlotte?"			
Charlotte: "I watch ice skating and skiing . . . . 'cos I go skiing, and I'm going this winter to Austria."	Link between TV choice and activity		
Interviewer: "Rebecca?"	Media trends Link between TV choice and activity	Also identifies a hobby as horse riding later on.	
Rebecca: "Horse jumping, the Olympic Games and Ice Skating."			Not a well-worded question try to follow issues through and avoid asking very direct questions.
Interviewer: "Why those things?"			
Rebecca: "I like horses."			

326

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Good, thank you everyone. I'd now like you to think about your favourite sports person – someone you might have seen on TV..... Marco?"			Need to probe more, why are these their favourite stars? What do they admire about them?
Marco: "Gary Kelly" (Leeds United player)	Local heroes		
Ben: "Gary Speed and Steve Backley."			
Interviewer: "Rebecca?"			
Rebecca: "Sally Gunnell and Linford Christie."			
Interviewer "Why have you chosen them?"			
Rebecca: "Because they're British"	Messaging	Has this come from parents?	Explore the reasons for saying this, likely to have come from parents or teachers?
Interviewer: "and you Phillipa?"			
Phillipa: "Linford Christie and Sally Gunnell."			
Interviewer: "And Charlotte?"			
Charlotte: "Torvill and Dean and Nancy Kerigan."			
Interviewer: "And Dan?"			
Daniel[(2)]: "Gary Kelly"			

327

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Why?"			
Daniel[(2)]: "He also plays for Ireland."			
Interviewer: "Good, thank you. I now want you to think about games you play in the playground, why you play them, Rebecca?			
Rebecca: "Cos they're fun."			The children are struggling with this question, it is obviously too difficult, perhaps a smaller group and more time to think might elicit more fruitful answers.
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			
Daniel[(1)]: "Because there isn't anything else to do. It's better than doing nothing."			
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			
Daniel[(2)]: "To do something, because it's fun.			
Interviewer: "Okay, good. Can you tell me what school clubs you go to, if any . . . Phillipa?			
Phillipa: "I go to recorders."			
Interviewer: "And you Rebecca?"			
Rebecca: "I go to recorders too."			
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			

328

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Daniel[1]: "I do a gala twice a year."	Lack of opportunity	The school appears to have few opportunities for clubs.	Liaise with teachers to establish what is available for the children in school and extra-curricular time.
Interviewer: "And Ben?"			
Ben: "There's a football team, I go to that sometimes"			
Interviewer: "And you Daniel?"			
Daniel[2]: "I go to swimming practice every Tuesday."			Now I'm rushing them too much; try to maintain a consistent pace. I'm conscious that some children are becoming bored as it takes so long to get to each child.
Interviewer: "Very good, thank you." Can you now tell me what you normally do when you finish school at this time of year?" (Looks at Marco).			
Marco: "I play out till dark on my bike, usually on my own on the field. Then I watch TV."	Doing it on my own.	He states "usually on my own" implying he is aware of this.	Is this a choice? Are there others in his street with which he could play.
Interviewer: "And you Daniel?"			
Daniel[2] "I do my homework, watch TV, then we go and pick my dad up."			
Interviewer: "Ben?"			
Ben: "I normally help my dad, he's a farmer so I help with the feeding and things like that."	Helping parents		

329

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "And Daniel?" Daniel[1]: "I get home, get changed, I watch TV, sometimes, practice on the piano or play on my computer, sometimes I go on my bike in the park or on the streets." Interviewer: "On your own or with someone else?" Daniel[1]: "Usually on my own." Interviewer: "Rebecca?" Rebecca: "I do my homework, then watch TV and play on roller skates with a friend." Interviewer: "Phillipa?" Phillipa: "I get changed I go out to play or sometimes go swimming. I play cricket with my brother 'cos he has no one to play with sometimes I mess around on a swing." Interviewer: "Good, now could people tell me what they do at weekends? Rebecca, how about you? What do you usually do at weekends?"	Playing with friends	Children seem to state whether on own or with friends without being prompted.	Are these friends outside school stable, the same age etc?

330

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Rebecca: "I usually get up late" …. (looks around to others for approval) "I go to the newsagents, have lunch. Sometimes we go to Bradford to shop. Sunday I go to church in the morning. Sometimes we go to a car boot sale." Interviewer: "Marco?"	Messaging	Is this 'deviant' behaviour a message picked up from someone such as parents?	The looking round for approval from others might indicate she thinks the staying late in bed is a trendy thing to do.
Marco: "I do homework. I watch TV. I go swimming with Dan. On Sunday I watch TV and play out on my own or with my sister, we sometimes play climbing." Interviewer: "And you Charlotte?"	Older siblings and friends as determining choice	Weekend movements for many seem heavily determined by parents and older siblings.	What do they feel about being with siblings, would they want more freedom at weekends?
Charlotte: "We go shopping. On Sunday mornings I go to rugby with my brother, we just mess around at the clubhouse. Then I watch TV." Interviewer: "Phillipa?" Phillipa: "We have a big breakfast. I go shopping with mum. On Sunday my sister's fiancé comes round and we watch TV." Interviewer: "Great, thank you. I'd now like you to think about hobbies what do you most enjoy doing in your free time … Charlotte?"			

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Charlotte: "I mostly like swimming, tap and ballet."	Enjoying the activity		
Interviewer: "When do you do these?"			
Charlotte: "Swimming is on Tuesday with the school. Monday I swim with mum, and on Wednesday and Thursday. Friday is ballet. I have piano on a Monday and Brownies on a Tuesday."			
Interviewer: "Good, how about any toys or games?"			
Charlotte: "I like to draw. I play Monopoly and Cluedo with my brother."	Boardgames in winter.	Seems less enthusiastic about these.	Voice drops when saying this and body language implies these are a chore.
Interviewer: "Vicky?"			
Vicky: "I like horse riding, we went on a horse riding holiday. I like roller-skating in the garden . . . and drawing."			
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			
Daniel[(1)]: "On Saturday I like roller-blading and swimming at the weekend and afternoon. On Tuesday people come round to the house to play."	Popular pastimes		

332

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: (interrupting) "Who?"			Daniel pauses and laughs testing my control, I castigate him mildly but atmosphere is temporarily subdued.
Daniel[(1)] "Marco and Richard."	Close friends	These friends visit his home as well as being friends in school.	
Interviewer (prompting look) "Go on"			
Daniel[(1)] And drawing and swimming on Tuesday.			
Interviewer: "Thank you, and Ben?"			Appears a sociable child, often structures answers to include mention of friends.
Ben: "I like swimming with Dan on a Wednesday. Playing football and playing on my computer with my brother."	Being with others	Often mentions being with others in his answers.	
Interviewer: "And you Daniel."			The answers are seeming to become rather repetitive. Try to make sure children understand the questions which must have a clear focus
Daniel[(2)]: "I like playing football inside and outside. I'm in the football team. My favourite thing though is playing on the computer, my game boy."			
Interviewer: "What about in winter, what would you be doing then?"			
Daniel[(2)]: "Usually stay in and watch TV."			
Interviewer: "And at weekends?"			
Daniel[(2)] "I go to the leisure centre with friends"			

333

Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Structured days and routine		
		I could have asked this in more subtle way, child interpreted question as almost confrontational.

. "Playing football on Friday. Saturday swimming. Monday at cubs. I like playing scaletrix at home . . . or my gameboy."

Interviewer: "You go the Cubs?"

Marco: "Yes, we play games like Dodgeball.

Interviewer: "Rebecca?"

Rebecca: "I like horse riding, swimming. I also like going on journeys and walks. I like cooking" . . . pause . . . "and going with Brownies, . . . sometimes go camping. I enjoy drawing."

Interviewer: "Do you play with dolls?"

Rebecca: "No."

Interviewer: "When did you stop playing with dolls?"

Rebecca: "7 or 8"

334

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "How about you Vicky, what are your hobbies?"			Good, repeat focus of question for children. I'm finding that as answers progress they are losing track of the original question.
Vicky: "Swimming, tennis, horse-riding. I play tennis with my sister. In winter I play monopoly, scrabble and on my computer. I like walking with my parent."	Boardgames in winter Parent facilitators	This has been mentioned a couple of times. These games do not receive enthusiasm from the children but appear 'gender neutral.'	
Interviewer: "Good. Now I want you to think about some of the facilities in this area such as a leisure centre. Do you ever go? Charlotte, how about you?"			
Charlotte: "I swim at the leisure centre with my mum on Wednesday, Thursday and Monday and Tuesday."	Parent facilitators	Many of the children at this age seem to have their out of school time structured by their parents.	
Interviewer: "Vicky?"			
Vicky: "On Saturdays I go to Aireborough, then watch TV."			This could have been followed up with another question. I'm getting tired and rushing to get through the questions.
Interviewer: "Daniel?"			
Daniel[1] "I go swimming and use my roller blades. Thursday I go to piano, sometimes snooker. I like to watch TV and draw" ... pause ... "I like to listen to music. There is a leisure centre just round the corner."			

335

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "And Ben?" Ben: "I go swimming with Dan, I watch TV. I go to the park with dad. I walk to school."	Isolated activities (context specific)	Activities in different contexts appear to have little carry over and not played elsewhere.	
Interviewer: "Don't your parents mind?" Ben: "They walk with me."		At least I've learnt who brings him to school and that he doesn't walk on his own.	Repetition from earlier.

336

Procedure: (Dynamics of interview, implications for future research etc.)
Interviewing eight children provides an insight into the individuals involved in the group but the information is superficial. I'll stay with this group size a little longer and then begin reducing to get some richer information. There were times during the interview when I wanted to probe deeper and ask further questions but I was very conscious of others in the group becoming distracted and disrupting the flow of the interview. This was a relatively articulate group but were fairly reticent during the process, this I think was due to the slow start, the fact that it is the first meeting with these children and that the group size was too big. Boys and girls seem inhibited in front of one another, could try single sex groups?

Recurring categories:
Still fairly early on with children in a new school therefore I will continue to list codes and treat these with an open mind as far as possible. Some codes are recurring but this will be in part due to me using words I create to describe events which have their own specific meanings.

Links	Local Heroes	Lack	New Codes	
		Equipment	Parents sharing responsibilities	Doing it on my own
Occasional cross-sex playing	(Modelling)		Walking in summer - seasons	Boardgames in winter
Being with friends (others)		Opportunity (Boys/	Tomboy	
Labelling games (using the right label)		Girls)		
Conforming to the image	Pretending	Structured days Seasons	Purpose in PE	Media trends
Messaging	(to be someone) + routine			Links TV + Activity choice
				Isolated activities

Boys Games/Girls Games + Neutral Games

Diagrams: (To help identification of core category)

Doing what others do
Being with others
My group of friends
Local Heroes
labelling games
IMAGE
Media Trends
Tomboy
Conforming - Messaging
Boys/Girls games - Boys games rough
Playing with Friends

Linkages with other research notes/incidents:
Image (although not a recurrent code) appears to be important in different ways, particularly in school. Friends seem very important with this group and they are very clear about certain games being suitable for boys and certain games for girls. Pretending not as prevalent amongst these as the younger group although it is still mentioned. Friends in and out of school need further investigation and how these have a potential effect on choices of activity (this appears to be an issue).

337

SAMPLE

C

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "What equipment and toys do you play with at home Jack?" Jack[1] "I've got a boomerang, I play with that sometimes and a computer CDI, a handheld Game Gear and a mountain bike"	'Having the gear'	Jack is very enthusiastic about the toys he possesses, particularly the boomerang although the computer seems to carry more status.	He glances at others in the group with proud look on his face as he mentions the computer and Game Gear.
Interviewer: "What type is it, do you know? Jack[1] "It's a Falcon mountain bike, I don't go bike riding anymore, my grandad can't find any place we can go"	'Playing safe'	He seems disappointed about not being able to play out.	In the tone of his answer he seems very aware of the reason for not being able to play out.
Interviewer: "Where did you used to go" Jack[1] "I used to go to a place near my aunts"			
Interviewer: "Amy?" Amy: "I've got a 'boy game'" Interviewer: (interrupting) "Pardon"			

338

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Amy: (Puzzled, thoughtful expression)... Sorry, I mean a Game Boy (hearty laugh, shared with other children) I get them mixed up. I've got a computer, I don't really know what it is - A Sega, I think and a bike, a Raleigh Bianca.	'Using the right label'	Appears genuinely unfamiliar with terminology, perhaps this is not a regular topic of conversation with her friends. Investigate further in next interview, who bought it, who uses it? Tentative code.	Group laugh is not ridicule and Amy is not disturbed by their giggles.
Interviewer: "Where do you ride it?			
Amy: "In York Road, and I'm allowed to ride it up and down the roads. That's all"	'Playing safe'	Also conscious in her expression of potential dangers.	
Interviewer: "Dolls?" Amy: (immediate laugh) "No, I don't like them. I like reading.		This is an interesting response from Amy who mostly plays pretend games at playtimes and engages in pretend play at home. Perhaps she is shy about admitting this in front of the boys.	I know Amy spends time with Jack both inside and outside school. Perhaps she is embarrassed. Her denial is emphatic however. Could use tactic of asking one of the children in the other interview group from her class about her play.
Interviewer: "And Katie?" Katie[1] "I've got Super Ludo, a really big Ludo. And Twister, I play it with friends and my mum plays. She strained her ankle".		In contrast Katie is not pre-occupied in the slightest about sharing her pretending exploits with the rest of the group. She appears very engrossed in her description of her favourite toys.	.
Interviewer: "Playing Twister?"			

339

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Katie[1] "No, she slipped through the step ladders (looking very sorry).... (pause)... I play with my dolls most of the time. I like them, I've got lots of clothes for them. I've got teddies, a really big one. I took it for breakfast this morning. I was showing it to my hamster and pretending I was giving it all my toast and cornflakes, but it wouldn't eat it".	Girls pretending with dolls		This is much better, I must continue to let the children have choice to say all they want to rather than stop them if I feel that it is not relevant enough to physical activity. Used subtle strategy of encouraging facial expression to introduce Jack when I thought Katie had finished.
Interviewer: "Thanks Katie, Jack, how about you?"			
Jack[2]: "I like playing on my bike, it's a Falcon. I've also got a computer, a Nintendo. I like playing Bike-a-Mice, one more and I've got the set".	Neutral toys	The computers appear to be neutral in their gender affiliation as do bikes.	
Interviewer: "What are they?"			
Jack[2]: "They're like these little things you collect in a game."	Owning the goods	It appears important to have this equipment, it is almost as if it gives the child more status.	
Katie[1]: (Interrupting) – (goes into long-winded explanation of this game).			
Interviewer: "Thankyou... carry on Jack"			The others look on very interested when equipment is the focus of conversation.
Jack[2]: "My stepbrother has a hide out, (pause.... thinking) I like playing with my nerve blaster as well".			

340

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "A gun?"	Boys pretending at war		
Jack[2]: "It's like ....."			
Katie[1]: (Interrupts again and explains toy)	Gendered toys		Careful not to let Katie interrupt too often.
Interviewer: "Thankyou everyone... now I want you to think about your favourite activities, things you enjoy doing most at playtimes".			
Katie[1]: "When we do art and craft, maths and recorder groups"......			Good, be patient with the group. Try to keep questions as succinct as possible and repeat if difficult.
Interviewer: (interrupting). "No, sorry Katie, I mean at playtime, what do you most enjoy doing at playtime, what's your favourite activity?"			
Katie[1]: "Playing with friends. I've got two sets of friends, in case my other friends fall out with me, I can go and play with my other friends".	Ephemeral friends	She has mentioned this before, it appears to be accepted by others, a feature common to quite a few children. Perhaps it is more common at this age need to saturate this category further.	
Interviewer: "The friends you described yesterday?"			
Katie[1]: That's one group"			
Interviewer: "The other group?"			A good flow, momentum is about right.

341

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Katie[1]: "Katie Partridge, Jessica Files, mostly year sixes"			
Interviewer: "What do you most enjoy playing?"			
Katie[1]: "Tiggy on and just playing, sometimes Tiggy Scarecrow, not Bulldogs".	Using the right label.	This is not supported by observations or what other children say Katie plays, she has also expressed dislike for physical games in the past.	She is not laughed at when she says "tiggy on" this label seems to change to Tig with the older children.
Jack[2]: "I like playtimes and Bulldogs and football"	Equipment opportunities and Risking opportunities	This code keeps emerging in many of the interviews. If football is prohibited children resort to other active games such as Bulldog or a chasing game. The related code of risking opportunities has also appeared before, football obviously first choice for many, mainly boys.	Defiance in voice towards school.
Interviewer: "When do you usually play football?"			
Jack[2]: "We're only supposed to play at lunch, but sometimes we get away with playing at other times"	Footballing		
Interviewer: (Expectant look to Jack[1])			
Jack[1]: "PE and Show and Tell. I like Bulldogs and sometimes Tiggy Scarecrow. (Pause).... I like learning French because my Mum can't understand me when I speak".		No conviction about Tiggy Scarecrow. Needs re-investigating again, use some observation to establish play pattern.	Looks slightly embarrassed at admitting to Tiggy Scarecrow.

342

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: (Deviation from protocol following Jack's mention of PE)"Katie what do you think about PE?"			Remember to give child sufficient level of confidence by asking open question but providing a framework for them to answer. Puzzled look on Katie's face implies this is difficult for her.
Katie[1] "I like it sometimes, I like movements...(Pause, thinking).			
Interviewer: "Which bits do you like?"		No conviction about liking PE in the way she replies, re-investigate.	
Katie[1] "We don't use equipment that often, we do chest passes....(pause)			
Interviewer: "That's okay, have a think, I'll come back to you later"			
Interviewer: "What do you think of PE lessons?"			
Amy: "I liked it when we did robot movements last week and when we do dances and use the whole body a lot when they're hard".	Challenge of managing my own body.	I have classed Amy as a pretend player previously. It is interesting that she relates to this creative aspect of physical education. She seems most taken by the actual difficulty of the challenge presented by the dance.	She seems genuinely enthused by this although she has previously expressed general disinterest in most PE, mainly games.
Interviewer: "Hard?"			I should have followed this up more, be sure to in a following interview.
Amy: "Like, you have to move your whole body, sometimes you get confused which parts you have to use"	Exploring body potential		Very interesting point.

343

The whole interview was conducted over three sessions each taking approximately half an hour. Mostly set at an appropriate pace with good flow and the children were responsive. Some tiredness evident in the final interview, Katie[1] gets over excited, need to balance sense of urgency in interview with enabling individuals to keep calm and provide clearly thought out answers. The strategy of going back to children after giving them time to think is worthwhile, answers didn't seem to be biased by those of others.

Particular interesting areas to pursue in future interviews with this group include, the friendship groupings, particularly of the two girls which appear to be complex and somewhat ephemeral. Monitor the mixed sex friendships over the next year as these seem less evident with older children. Also what children value in friendship appears a valuable avenue to explore as the friendship patterns have an obvious choice on activity.

More relationships between identity of child and their perceptions of PE are emerging which need future investigation with these and older groups. The children appear to give many answers which include 'adult criteria' in their rationale for choosing activities or liking something, particularly both Jacks, this also warrants further questioning.

Recurring Categories:

Playing Safe
Owning the goods

Less differentiated { Girls }
at this age in school Pretending {
                       Boys }

Playing Opportunities
Equipment Opportunities

Gendered out of school

Relying on Parents
Using the right label

Footballing

Core category support/contradictions

Pretend players (Amy) liking dance, challenge presented, mixed sex interactions, pretending from film characters, low perceived physical self competence. Jack [1] + [2] playing pretend games both boys and girls.

Sporty Participant (Jack[1] and Jack[2]) (Value given to outside clubs, plays cross-sex activities)

Reluctant Participant (Katie: This interview many characteristics of pretend player though chooses mainly inactive pursuits outside school, avoids being active by moving friend groups, attitudes to PE need re-investigating).

Core category already emerged and relates to the 'type of person' the child believes themself to be. There appear to be a number of related categories which effect this central core category.

'Using the right label'


```
HAVING THE
   GEAR
```

Footballing

CONFORMING?

Gendered toys   }
Boys pretending war   }——→ IMAGE
Girls pretending dolls }

'Playing safe'

```
BEING LIKE OTHERS?
```
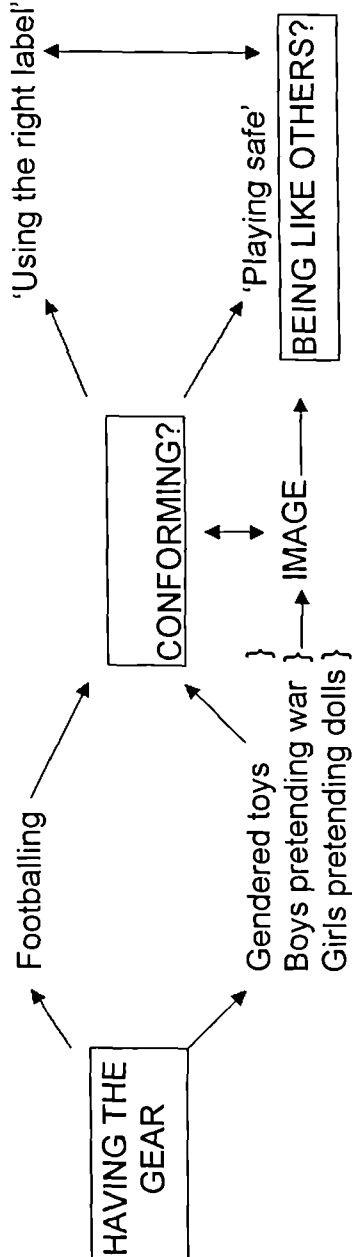
Related categories which might mediate core category are in evidence - need further investigation.

_____

Linkages with other research notes/incidents

                     (negative)   (negative)
Conforming (B.1.2.94.p2.3; C.1.2.94.p6; E.2.3.94.p4/5/7; I.7.3.96.p1; C.1.2.96.p4; A1.2.96,p5; G3.a.PE.5.96,p3)

Having the gear/
owning the goods (F3.1.96.p6; F23.1.96.p6; G.3.1.96.p3; G3.1.96.p6; C1.2.96.p5)

                     (negative)
Being like others (F.3.1.96.p5; G3.1.96.p2; G.3.1.96; I.7.3.96.p1; C.1.2.96.p4; H3a5.96.p6; F+G 3a+bPE 10.96,p8; C+A 3a+b.11.96)

345

SAMPLE

D

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "What PE are you doing in school?" (Looks towards Charlotte)			Enthusiastic answer, she seems relaxed.
Charlotte: Well we've been doing things on apparatus concentrating on balance, spinning and rolling and jumping. In the summer we usually play games outside like rounders, netball and things like that."	Knowing what's available	The child demonstrates a good knowledge of what PE is offered in the school.	
Interviewer: "Is there anything she's missed out Laura?"			
Laura: "Yes, before we broke up we played rugby and rugby training."			
Interviewer: "Do you know what the PE areas of the National Curriculum are, in other words, what PE you can do in school?"			I should have left out the words 'National Curriculum'. I think this confused the children.
No response from children . . . pause			
Charlotte: "Rounders?"			
Amy[1]: "Apparatus?"			
Interviewer: "What about swimming?"			
Laura: "We used to go in Year 4."			

346

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "How about any outdoor and adventurous activities?"			
Charlotte: "Yes, we've been on a trip to Ingleborough and Ned Nook."			
Interviewer: "Any dance?"			
Laura: "Yes, dance and drama on Tuesday."			
Interviewer: "Any athletics?"			
Laura: "In sports day."			
Interviewer: "At any other time?"			
Laura: "Yes, sometimes we practice."			
Interviewer: "What do you think of PE?"	Having the knowledge		
Charlotte: "It's good fun. I prefer outdoor activities, the hall's not very big, there's more space outside and on the courts for netball and rounders."			
Interviewer: "I have noted that I think you are a sporty person. Would you describe yourself as sporty?"			
Charlotte: "Yes."			

347

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Why?"		Shows a critical awareness of activities which might develop her skill level. Also aware of her limitations.	Charlotte is portly and probably not suited to endurance.
Charlotte: "I'm not too particular about running around the field but I like to use bats and balls and things like that."	Purpose Playing to learn		
Interviewer: "And you Amy?"			
Amy[1]. "It's okay, I like it. I like indoor ones and apparatus.			
Interviewer: "Any bits you don't like?"			
Amy[1]. "No."			
Interviewer: "Are you a sporty person?"			
Amy[1] "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Compared to others in your class?"			
Amy[1] "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Laura?"			
Laura: "Yes . . . pause . . . I think it's good."			
Interviewer: "What's good about it?"		I'm not sure that this is something she is fully aware of or whether she has picked it up as a message from someone else.	Said with conviction but with a slightly 'rehearsed' note as if she is expected to say it.
Laura: "It keeps you fit and things and you learn."	Messaging		

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Learn what?"			
Laura: "How to run faster."	Playing to learn Improving myself		
Interviewer: "Anything you don't like?"			
Laura: "No."			
Interviewer: "Good, thank you everybody. Now can you tell me what you feel about boys and girls being together in PE, does it bother you?"			Leading question!
Charlotte: "No, if you want to change, you can all be mixed. Most of the boys are funny and good to be with so it's okay."	Learning from others Having a good game	By "if you want to change" I think she means, if you want to improve.	Check meanings whenever possible to ensure common understanding.
Interviewer: "Laura and Amy?"			
Laura: "I don't mind."			
Amy[1]: "It's okay."			
Interviewer: "Thank you. If you were in a games lesson who would you most like to play with?"			
Charlotte: "Someone athletic like Simon or Mark. They're good runners and Simon is an extremely good thrower. From the playground he could probably get the ball down to the other end of the field."	Temporal loyalties Being with sporty people Being skilled	This seems important, these children appear to sometimes select friends on the basis of sporting ability.	She says this without looking embarrassed. Being with someone who is skilled/sporty seems an important feature for the two sporty participants.

349

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Laura: (Interrupting) "He has done, he's got it over the hedge."			
Interviewer: "Amy?"			
Amy[1]: "I'm not bothered" . . . thoughtful pause . . . "Someone sporty"			
Interviewer: "Why."			
Amy[1]: Thoughtful pause . . . "I don't know."			
Laura: "I don't mind if they're fast or not good."	Letting everyone have a go	An innovator trend, she seems to genuinely feel this.	Rather a leading dialogue, remember to try and ask succinct and neutral questions.
Interviewer: "What matters?"			
Laura: "So that people who aren't left out."			
Interviewer: "Thank you. Now I want you to tell me how skilful you think you are. How skilful are you Charlotte?"			A bit of a leading question, avoid drifting from the notes too much.
Charlotte: "Not as skilful as some people but, I'm good at netball and dance, those are my main sports. And I've started playing football a lot. My mum's one of the netball coaches so I get a lot of practice at home. I play with my brother, and when I play football the older boys give me a lot of tactics and things like that."	Practising the skills Learning from others	A lot of familiar codes fit here, I'll choose the most relevant.	Better approach in this interview; allowing them to speak with less interviewer interruption.
	Boys do it better	The girls always specify boys are better, even the innovator girls are "nearly as good as some of the boys".	

350

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "In PE lessons or playtime?"			
Charlotte: "Playtime."			
Interviewer: "Do they?"			
Charlotte: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Don't they mind you joining in?"			
Charlotte: "No" (laughing) "they're not exactly bothered."			
Interviewer: "Amy, are you skilful?"		A few codes could fit here, this is probably the most relevant.	Change question, too leading. Ask more open-ended version.
Amy[1]: (A little nervously) "A lot".	Being able to do it		
Interviewer: "What are you good at?"			
Amy[1]: "I play rugby, football, I do athletics, rounders, netball . . ."			
Charlotte: (Interrupting) "You're very good at football aren't you? She's the best girl footballer."	Being the best	Sporty participants give way to the innovator, football seen as most important?	Very interesting interaction. The focus on level of skill is of great importance to the girls who fell close toward offending each other. Each sporty girl has respect for the others. The innovator comes out on top.
Amy[1]: (Protesting and looking towards Laura) "Laura's better."	Knowing who's best		
Charlotte: (with a slightly guilty look) "Those are the main two girls, they're very good at football."			

351

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Laura: "Well, I'd say I'm more skilful at sports than others. I'm more better at swimming and diving than running."	Knowing my limitations	An innovator and participant trend.	Says this very thoughtfully and appears to be giving very honest self-critical answer.
Interviewer: "What would you like to be best at, if you could choose two sports?"			
Laura: "Football and diving."			
Interviewer: "The ones you are good at now?"			
Laura: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Good. How does skill change from one person to another?"			
Charlotte: "It just comes to you as you play more and more."	Learning the skills	I think this answer offers support to this code.	
Interviewer: "Good. But how is it different from one person to another, say between Amy and Laura?"			
Amy[1] : "Some of us are better than others at things, some of us don't play it."	Everyone is good at something	More of an innovator trend, but Amy seems to exhibit it clearly here.	
Laura: (Helping out Amy) "I'd say, between Charlotte and Amy, Amy's better at some sports than Charlotte is" . . . pause . . . "and Charlotte is better at some sports than Amy is. charlotte's good at netball 'cos she's tall."			

352

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "How tall are you Charlotte?"			
Charlotte: "About 5'5" to 5'6" .			
Interviewer: "Could a person be skilful without being good at PE?"			
Charlotte: "Yes, Victoria is not exactly brilliant at PE but she is a very good netballer."			
Interviewer: "So she's skilful?"			
Charlotte: "Yes . . . at netball."			
Interviewer: "Could someone be good at PE without being skilful?"			Too philosophical, this has just confused them and has little purpose.
(Long pause as they think.)			
Amy[(1)] : . ...?........ (couldn't hear name on tape) "is skilful, but very shy, She'll speak to you but she's very shy."			
Laura: "Well it depends what sort of thing it is, football or swimming."	The complexity of skill	A very insightful answer, innovator demonstrates knowledge of complexity of skill.	
Interviewer: "What does skill mean then?"			
Charlotte: "That you are good at something, that you've got a real talent for this sport."	Being skilled		

353

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Thank you. These are very good answers. Now I want you to think about how important winning is to you. On a scale of one to ten, one is not important at all, ten is extremely important, how important is it to win?"			I wasn't sure about this question, but the answers would indicate it is worth pursuing.
Charlotte: "Netball is quite important to me, and rounders, it would be six . . . and netball eight or nine."	Knowing my limitations	The sporty participants opt for a higher rating for things they are good at, could relate to other codes such as showing I can do it and awards.	
Interviewer: "Why?"			
Charlotte: "I've got into it quite a lot, and I'm very good at it and I'm always winning . . . not against others . . . but others in school."	The importance of skill		
Amy[1]: "In rugby, we normally win, I'd say seven or eight. Football, the same. Netball about five 'cos I'm not very good at it."			
Laura: "All sports for me would be . . . I'd say about five or six. It doesn't really matter as long as you've had a good game."	Having a good game	Innovator less emphasis on winning that the sporty participants.	
Interviewer: "What other things are important?"			
Charlotte: "It's the taking part that counts."	Having a good game		
Interviewer: "How do you feel when you win?"			

354

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Charlotte: "Great, 'cos I've played my hardest."			
Interviewer: "When you lose?"			
Charlotte: "I'm not bothered."			
Interviewer: "Is winning more important when you play other schools."			
Laura: "Not really, it doesn't matter who wins. It's just taking part that matters."	Taking part		
Interviewer: "Should teams be the same? Should they be even?"			This is a badly worded question, double barrelled and leading, should know better by now.
Amy[1] : "I'd say it would be best, 'cos like when we played our last netball match . . . Charlotte . . . we won 'cos they were all down here (indicates low chest level with hand) and Charlotte was right up here (indicates low chest level with head). It would be honestly fair to have a few sizes of small and some big."		No code as poorly worded question might have influenced answer.	
Interviewer: "What about cheating? Is it okay to cheat at times?"			Double barrelled, they'll only answer one part!
Amy[1] : "Not really."			
Charlotte: "No."			

355

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "How could PE lessons be improved? How would you change PE lessons?			
Laura: "I'd ask the children what changes they'd like to make, some people like something, some people others."	Inventiveness	A thoughtful answer, demonstrating willingness and ability to listen to others.	
Interviewer: "How about you?"			
Laura: "A bigger hall for more space."			
Interviewer: "Should they wear kit?"			Pace is still good. Helped by children's interest.
Laura: "When playing against another team, but not inside, only if there are some visitors in. It doesn't matter as long as you get it done with."			
Amy[1] : "I'd make it a bit longer, 'cos in our class we only do one PE lesson a week and then we do a drama and dance lesson. But I'd say more variation, we do a lot of apparatus. Some things are permanent, some could be folded away."	Knowing what's available	Participant demonstrates awareness of limitations of existing PE framework in school.	
Interviewer: "Would you change the lessons? Is gym worthwhile?"			
Amy[1] : "Yes. It would be a good idea to have athletics in the summer outside. But inside I'd say gym and apparatus and dance and drama."			

356

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Fine, well done. What are your favourite lessons in school?"			
Charlotte: "Design and Technology. We do a lot of tie-die, jostic holders, we're doing India at the moment" . . . pause . . . "and music."			
Amy[1] : "PE, dance, athletics etcetera. My second would either be DT or music."			
Laura: "DT or music. My second would be maths or music."			
Interviewer: Why do you say that? I thought you might say PE?			
Laura: "Well" . . . pause . . . "I mean sometimes it can't be that good and sometimes it can be that good."			
Children write a series of answers relating to questions about PE lessons.			See final sheet for review of these.
Continue interview - Returning to round 2 of questions. Last done with these children: Charlotte 14.12.94, Laura and Amy[1] 22 & 27.3.95.			
Interviewer: "Charlotte, you live with your mum and dad and brother?"			

357

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Charlotte: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Who is now 9?"			
Charlotte: "Yeah."			
Interviewer: How do you get to school?"			
Charlotte: "I get dropped off, usually, on Wednesday I walk 'cos I go to a friend's house."			
Interviewer: "Who do you most like to play with in the playground?"			
Charlotte: "People who are sporty, I mean my best friend Joanna doesn't really play as much as I do, so I play with Richard and Sam and Amy 'cos they like to play netball, otherwise I just go and talk on the top terrace with some of my friends."	Temporal loyalties Being with sporty people Having friends	An important quote from Charlotte. Reinforces similar statements from children high in continuum. The word 'just' again, maybe implies she should rather be active, she obviously still values her friends.	Slightly guilty look when she mentions Joanna, but falters very little. It seems reasonable to seek out sporty friends.
Interviewer: "What do you normally play?"			
Charlotte: "Netball, football in summer, when they play on the field, we've got a pair of stilts and I play on those a lot."	Challenging myself Having the goods		
Interviewer: "Can you bring equipment into school?"			

358

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Charlotte: "Well, it depends on what it is, you can bring a ball into school, there are three pairs of stilts that belong to school. We can go to the pond area and look at the pond creatures."	Knowing what's available		
Interviewer: "What sport do you watch on TV?"			
Charlotte: "I watch a lot of horseriding and I watch swimming."			
Interviewer: "Do you go skiing anymore? - you used to watch skiing."			
Charlotte: "Yes, I watch it quite a bit and I still go."			
Interviewer: "And skating?"			
Charlotte: "Yes, I skate quite a lot as well."			
Interviewer: "Who is your favourite sports person?"			
Charlotte: "Newcastle's Shearer, he's a good player."	Liking what is cool Knowing the names	Moves away from local hero, code given by some slightly lower in continuum.	
Interviewer: "Can you remember what you said last time?"			
Charlotte: "No."	Liking what is cool		

359

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: Torvill and Dean."			
Charlotte: (very embarrassed but relaxed laugh)			
Interviewer: "What do you normally do after school at this time of year?"			Difficult to specify but expression / demeanour seemed to give outside school events greater importance.
Charlotte: On Monday I go to drama and singing. On Tuesday, Tap. On Wednesday, Guides. On Thursday, swimming. On Friday, I go for a bike ride and on Saturday roller skating or swimming. On Sunday I watch ....?..... (distorted on tape).	Importance of club	Appears to attach importance to these events outside school.	
Interviewer: "And at weekends?"			
Charlotte: "On Saturday I swim or roller skate at the local leisure centre. Sometimes ice skating on a Sunday."	Being active	She seems proud of her active lifestyle.	Has an air of pride in body position describing her busy, active lifestyle out of school.
Interviewer: "Last time you said shopping and messing about at the clubhouse. Do you still do that?"			
Charlotte (nervous laugh) "Yes."			
Interviewer: "What are your hobbies?"			
Charlotte: "Netball."			
Interviewer: "Do you still do ballet?"			

360

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Charlotte: "No."			
Interviewer: "Why?"			
Charlotte: "It was to much money, it was £34 just for half-an-hour".			
Interviewer: "What toys and equipment do you mostly play with?"			
Charlotte: "I go out on my bike a lot. My brother's got a Mega-Drive. I play on that a lot."			
Interviewer: "Do you go to the Guides?"			
Charlotte: "Yes, and I swim a lot".			
Interviewer: "Do you still play Cluedo and Monopoly with your brother?"	Liking appropriate activities		
Charlotte: "No." (laughing)	Liking what is cool		
Interviewer: "Do you still go to Church?"			
Charlotte: "Yes, on Sunday with the Guides."			This seems better, concentrate on one child at once, avoids the copying of answers by others?
Interviewer: "Thank you Charlotte. Now Laura, who do you mostly play with at the moment?"			
Laura: "Charlotte, Richard, Simon and Daniel."			

361

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "And outside school?"			
Laura: "They sometimes visit."			
Interviewer: "Do you have a different set of friends outside school?"			
Laura: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "Who are they?"			
Laura: " .....?..... (tape distorted) O'Reilly."			
Interviewer: "A boy?"			
Laura: "Yes, And Nicola who lives just across the road."			
Interviewer: "And Rebecca still?"	Stable friends		
Laura: "Yes."			
Interviewer: "And Philip Cresswell?"			
Laura: "Occasionally" (says this doubtfully).			
Interviewer: "Why not so much now?"			
Laura: "Because he's in the year below me, but I play with his brother who's older."		Negative case for innovator, usually keep friends and avoid mentioning age.	

362

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "How do you get to school? Does your mum still bring you?"			
Laura: "Yes, but I walk home."			
Interviewer: "What do you play at playtime?"			
Laura: "Netball, basketball, football in summer."			
Interviewer: "Who do you play with?"			
Laura: "Simon, Richard, Daniel, Nathan, Christopher, Matthew, Layton and some of the girls."			These children have been described as sporty by others.
Interviewer: "Which club do you go to?"			
Laura: "Thursday I go swimming, from 8 till 9.30pm. I do diving on Friday. On Saturday, sometimes I go swimming or rollerblading and Sunday (? - lost in tape as her voice went quiet).			
Interviewer: "Do you still go to tennis with Matthew?"			
Laura: "Yes, with Matthew in the class above."			
Interviewer: "You used to go to Guisley Music Centre on a Saturday."			

363

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Laura: "Yes, I still go."			
Amy[1]: (Interrupting) "Yes, she does."			
Interviewer: "Who would you say your favourite sports person is now?"			
Laura: "Tony Yeboah."	Local heroes	Chooses male footballer as hero.	Could have explored this a little more. Don't miss opportunities. Media influence has cropped up before.
Interviewer: "You said Gary Speed last time."			
Laura: (small laugh)			
Interviewer: "Fine, thanks Laura. Amy who is your favourite sports person?"		Unusual, nearly all children have a sporting hero. A negative case for sporty participant or innovator.	
Amy[1]: "I haven't really got one."			
Interviewer: "You said that last time, why?"			
Amy[1]: "I don't know. I like all sports, I haven't really got one."			
Interviewer: "Who do you play with in school?"			
Amy[1]: "Charlotte, Joanne, Laura, Sophia, Samantha, Rebecca, Nicola."			
Interviewer: "And outside school?"			

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Amy[(1)]: "Just people in the street."	Being where the action is	"Just" is possibly referring to the fact that friends in school are seen as more important than those outside in maintaining status.	
Interviewer: "Who are . . .?"			
Amy[(1)]: "People next door, Cathy, Hannah, Sarah."			
Interviewer: "And Thomas?"			
Amy[(1)]: "I still play with him a bit."			
Interviewer: "Is he older than you?"			
Amy[(1)]: "The same age."			
Interviewer: "How do you get to school?"			
Amy[(1)]: "My mum brings me."			
Interviewer: "You used to come with Matthew and your mum?"			
Amy[(1)]: "I just come with mum now?"			
Interviewer: "What do you play at playtime?"			
Amy[(1)]: "In summer I play football with the boys and Charlotte and sometimes Laura. And now in the winter we play netball if we're allowed outside."	Activity determines friends at play		Do any of the boys play netball? Missed opportunity again.

365

Interview question and response	Code	Theoretical note	Operational note
Interviewer: "Last time you said, just running around, didn't you used to play football?"			
Amy[(1)]: "No. I do now. I didn't really think much of it, but I like it now."			
Interviewer: "Why?"			
Amy[(1)]: "I really got into it, and I enjoy playing."	Testing own ability	A bit shaky but I think it's a suitable fit.	I find it difficult to delve deeper without 'over prompting'. Maybe the child herself has not thought this through.
Interviewer: "Which clubs do you go to?"			
Amy[(1)]: "I don't do anything on a Monday. I do athletics on a Tuesday, Brownies on a Wednesday and drama" .. pause ... "swimming club from 8 till 9 on a Thursday at night. Friday is netball or football. On Saturday I either go roller blading or also do music centre, play keyboard. On Sunday I play rugby and mess around in the clubhouse (looks towards Charlotte with a smile), sometimes Charlotte comes."			The clubhouse seems an important venue for those girls and others from school, possible avenue for further investigation.
Interviewer: "Who goes to the clubhouse that you know?"			
Amt[(1)]. "Charlotte's there and a load of boys from school.			
Interviewer: "Any parents?"			
Charlotte: (interrupts) "My dad's there, 'cos he's one of the team coaches."			

366

What I think about P.E.

ames I like games (5)

I like Some times it can be a bit
I'm boring, but I mainly like it. (6) a bit

I like (Bore) Dance because you learn thing
and things varyate. (4)

I liked the trip to ingelborough, becau
we, were all together, with our friends. (2)

nning I'm good at swimming, and I like
(3)

letics I like athletics becase, (6) I'm sporty
ly way, and I like all sports (1)

) Athletics
0| A
swimming
Dance

 names

names Gym

mes: (7-8)

n : (9)

lelics : (8)

nning: (9-10)

e : (9-10)

: (8-9)

Why I do , P.E.

Education/Curriculam

Keep fit)

: Things I would change

More classes

More sports   (9)P,E

~~~~)A hall just for (Game~~~~ct)

More equipment,

B. How it makes me feel :(P.E).

~~Exite~~   Happy
Ex iler ated
exited

369

What I think about PE

Games   They   are   very good I enjoy
         these   the most   (1)

Gym   I like it but not a much is
         Games.   (5) 5

Dance   Dance is alright but I prefere a
         lot Games.   (6) 6

O/A   I enjoy this a lot because
         you some on trips for a week
Swimming   times.   (2)

         I am a very good swimmer

Athletics so I enjoy it   (3)

         I enjoy this event because
you have a lot of fun and you get
to run around with balls and bats
and things like that   (4)

My   choices

1 Games   5 Gym

2 O/A   6 Dance

3 ~~Athletics~~ Swimming

370

4 Athletics

) How good I am at PE

Games   9

Gym   6

Dance   6

O/A   7

Swimming 9

Athletics 7

₁) Why I do PE

    Because it keeps me fit.

b Because it is fun

ι It helps me to do more things.

4) ~~Tho~~ Things I would like to change about PE

I would like to have ballet and horse riding and more out door sports

5) What I ~~feeling~~

I feel extreamly healthy about the sports but I still wish I could do the sports above.

What I think about P.E. :—

Games   I think games are good but it does vary on the type of game. ③

Gym   I think Gym is O.K. ④ and does have its meaning for some people

Dance   Dance is pretty good when you ⑥ concentrate on it

2/A   I think it is brilliant! I love that ① sort of thing, like asault courses

Swimming   I think it is a good sport to do I enjoy diving and racing in water ②

Athletics   Athletics I think is O.K. ⑤

How good I am :—

Games : (7)

Gym : (4)

Dance : (4)

2/A : (8/9)

Swimming : (8/9)

Athletics : (6/7)

373

Why I do P.E.

A: keep fit

B: Learn

C: Educate

4. Things I would change about P.E. lessons:

A: make the room bigger

B: More equipment.

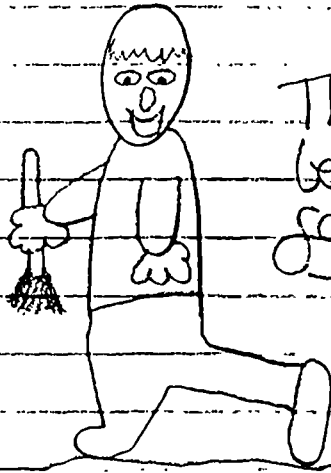C: Have self defence classes.

How it makes me feel = (P.E.)

: Calm,

Procedure: (Dynamics of interview, implications for future research etc.)

Questionnaires support the interview, children tend to like what they perceive they are good at, this didn't take too much time. However, with less articulate children I might need to provide the questionnaire for them. A very flowing interview with few flat spots, a good momentum with no interruptions. The two sporty participants and innovator appear to have a good relationship and respect for one another which helped the atmosphere and meant that the children were generally open and responsive. Some of Amy's replies seemed stilted, I think she is shy and felt a little intimidated by the interview.

Recurring categories: Selective coding stage: Charlotte - mainly participant
                                                       Amy merges innovator/participant quite often
                                                       Laura - mainly innovator

Codes to support participants knowing what's available, having the knowledge, playing to learn, improving myself, learning from others, being skilled, being with sporty people, being able to do it, knowing my limitations, the importance of skill, having friends, importance of club, being active, liking what is cool, being where the action is, testing own ability.
Codes to support innovator: Having a good game, letting everyone have a go, being the best, everyone is good at something, the complexity of skill, taking part, inventiveness, challenging myself.
Mediating categories: Messaging, temporal loyalties, knowing who's best, activity determines friends at play.

Diagrams. (To help identification of core category)

Sporty Participant		Merging Codes		Innovator
	(	Being Active	(	Good game, will play
Desire to improve skill	(	Knowing who's best	(	with others not overly
and demonstrate sporty	(	Testing own ability +	(	concerned with game type
image.		The importance of skill } INVENTIVENESS	(	but prefers formal sport.
		(negative)		

Linkages with other research notes / incidents: (Most relevant)

Sporty participants: (B.1.2.94.p3; C.1.2.94.p1; D.2.12.94.p1; E2.3.94.p4,6; F.3.1196 p6; G.3.1.96 p3, 13, 18; H.3.1.96.p20; I.3.1.96 p9; C.1.2.96.p4,8,13; A.1.2.96 p7,10; G.3a.PE.5.96 p4,5,11,13; I PE5.96 p2; F+G. 3a+b.PE.10.96 p3,6)

Innovators: (A.12.94.p2; B.1.2.94.p3; C.1.2.94.p3, 4,5 + 6; E2.3.94 p2. + p4; G.3.1.96 p5,6; I.3.1.96 p8; C.1.2.96 p4,5,10; G.3a.PE.5.96 p2; I.PE.5.96 p1,5; F+G 3a+b PE 10.96 p7; C+A 3a+b.11.96 p3)

375

APPENDIX F

- Children's Drawings

This person looks healthy because he is eating healthy food and running along the pavement

This is a unhealthy person because he is eating lots of cakes and ~~eating~~ watching T.V

Drawing of healthy and unhealthy person
by Sporty Innovator, aged 9, School B.

Drawing of healthy, unhealthy
and fit person by Sporty Participant,
aged 10, School D.

this Person sits in watching tv
all day eating unhealthy food
like sweets crips and popcorn.

this person keeps it does lots
of sports to keep healthy the
does swimming by running and
lifts weights down with her
friends.

377

This Person eats fruit
vegtables and newtrishus food
healthy

378

Shes un heamy because she whant eat fruit and things like that

Drawing of healthy and unhealthy person by Follower, aged 8, School D.

This person eats lots of good food and eats lots of fruit. my mum

379

This person eats lots of sweets and smokes

Drawing of healthy,
unhealthy and fit person
by Pretent Player,
aged 8, School D.

This person eats fruit which is good for you and veg Doesn't Smoke.

This person is doing exersise and eats healthy food and doesr smoke.

APPENDIX G

- Interview Structure

INTERVIEWS

Initial stages of the research were characterised by informal, unstructured interviews. Formal interview schedules follow. However, for the most part, the interviewer followed a guide rather than specific questions (except for the first interview designed to open up the general area). Consequently, the protocol is designed as a guide for the interviewer who remains flexible, a required feature of the grounded theory process (Glaser 1978, 1992, 1994; Strauss and Corbin 1990). It was found after initial interviews that, especially with young children, the researcher needs to be prepared to follow leads of the interviewees, use prompting and encourage natural group discussion, rather than follow a rigidly prescribed series of questions.

Rounds 3a and 3b were designed for children, towards the end of the project, who were described by friends, and thought of themselves as 'sporty' or 'non-sporty'. They are more specific in nature as they were designed to collect data which was analysed to re-investigate previous findings and saturate emergent categories.

Throughout the process groups tended to become smaller, with a maximum of four children in the latter half of the project. This allowed for a greater number of questions to be asked and more time spent with individual children. Furthermore, some interviews were conducted over a series of a few days with the researcher revisiting a group several times to complete various sections of the interview schedule.

Rounds 1 and 2 were only used in the very early stages of the research. Round 3, a more comprehensive profile of questions, formed the main data collection framework for most of the project.

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Round 1

What type of games do you like to play?

Do you enjoy playing games? Why / Why not?

What games do you know?

What things do you play when you get home from school?

Who do you normally play with at   a) school?

b) home?

c) weekend?

What things do you like to do at weekends?

What did you do last weekend?

How does physical activity and exercise make you feel?

What is a healthy person like?

Draw a picture of a healthy / unhealthy person.

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Round 2

(Theme/topic headings rather than specific questions since focus changed to more open structure as research progressed.)

1) Name
2) Date of birth
3) Family profile
4) Friends inside / outside school
5) Role models
6) How do you get to school?
7) Likes / Dislikes   a) PE

                               b) Playground

                               c) Sports

8. Reasons for playing sports, exercise or being active
9) School clubs / outside clubs
10) School teams
11) After school activities
12) Weekend activities
13) Hobbies
14) Toys, equipment
15) Impression of facilities in playground / local parks
16) Watching live sport
17) Pets

Draw a picture of a healthy and unhealthy person.

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Round 3

1)   Personal profile (parents, siblings, residence)

2)   Friends   a) Inside   ) + ages

                       b) Outside   )

3)   Clubs   a) Inside school

                      b) Outside school

4)   Hobbies

5)   Role models   a) sporting

                      b) non-sporting

6)   Watching sport   a) TV

                      b) Live

7)   Equipment / Toys

8)   Favourite activities a) In school

                          b) Outside school

9)   Weekend activities

10) After school activities

11) Activities with parents / relatives

12) Activities with friends a) in school

b) Outside school

13) What do your friends spend most time doing?

14) What do your parents spend most time doing?

15) Who do you like spending most time with

a) In school

b) Outside school

16) Activities you would most like to drop

a) In school

b) Outside school

17) What does skilful mean to you?

18) When is skill most important?

19) Are you skilful?

20) Draw a healthy / unhealthy / fit person.

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Round 3a (Perceptions of physical education)

Reinterview using Round 3 then continue with:

1) PE you have done / are doing in school (include school trips and sports days)
2) What do you think of PE?   Likes   Dislikes
3) Mixed PE / separate PE (boys and girls)
4) Teams - importance of even sides
5) Who do you like / would prefer to play with?

Skill

6) How skilful are you (at different aspects of PE)?
7) Who is skilful in your class at PE?
8) How does skill vary from one person to another?
9) Can a person be skilful without being good at PE?

Competition

10) How important is it to win?   (least important) 1 ———⟶ 10 (most important)
11) What else is important other than winning?
12) How do you feel when you win? lose?
13) Is winning important when you play other schools?
14) Cheating. Playing fairly

Lessons

15) The lesson - how would you change / improve?
16) Other activities you would like to do.

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Round 3b (structured questionnaire to follow Round 3 and 3a)

1)   What do you think about (write a sentence) about PE?
      each of the six aspects of PE curriculum

      Enjoy most / why?
      1.   4.
      2.   5.
      3.   6.

2)   How good are you at each element of PE / Why?
      1.   4.
      2.   5.
      3.   6.

3)   Why do you think you do PE?
      1.
      2.
      3.

4)   Things you would change about PE
      1.
      2.
      3.

5)   How does PE make you feel?

APPENDIX H

- Natural History of the Research

The formal interviewing of children took place between February 1994 and November 1996. A series of informal interviews were also conducted in the twelve months preceding the first group interview and for three months following the last group interview.

The following table lists the interview round, date, school, age of children, number of girls/boys and the group name, the first group to be interviewed were labelled group A, the second group B, and so on up to group I, the table shows where individuals/groups have been re-interviewed ® throughout the process.

Round	Date	School	Age of Children	No. of Girls/Boys	Group Name
1	7.2.94	A	Yr.4	4G + 4B	A
1	7.2.94	A	Yr 6	3G + 3B	B
1	8.2.94	B	Yr 4	4G + 4B	C
2	14.12.94	C	Yr 4/5	4G + 4B	D
2	22.3.95	C	Yr 3	4G + 4B	E
2	27.3.95	C	Yr 3	4G + 4B	E
3	10.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	F
3	11.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	G
3	12.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	F
3	15.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	G
3	16.1.96	D	Yr 3	2G + 2B	H
3	17.1.96	D	Yr 3	2G + 2B	H
3	22.1.96	D	Yr 3	2G + 2B	I
3	23.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	F
3	24.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	F
3	25.1.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	G
3	26.1.96	D	Yr 3	2G + 2B	H
1	21.2.96	B	Yr 6	4G + 3B	C ®
1	23.2.96	A	Yr 6	3G + 3B	A ®
3	7.3.96	C	Yr 3	2G + 2B	I ®
3a	14.5.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	G ®
3a	16.5.96	D	Yr 5	2G + 2B	F ®
3a	21.5.96	D	Yr 3	2G + 2B	H ®
3a	24.5.96	D	Yr 3	2G + 2B	I ®
3a+3b	28.10.96	D	Yr 5	1G + 1B	G+F ®
2+3a+3b	30.10.96	C	Yr 5/6	3G	E+D ®
3a+3b	1.11.96	E	Yr 7	2G	C+A ®

Total number of children interviewed   = 54
Total number of group interviews   = 27

389

APPENDIX I

- Playground Observation Form

PLAYGROUND OBSERVATION FORM

Name of teacher: _____

Name of school: _____

Time of observation: From: _____   To: _____

Types of activity played by children during breaktime eg. chasing games, make-believe, skipping, talking with friends, skipping, ball games etc.

Child 1	Child 2

Nature of peer interaction during breaktime (please indicate details of names of children in peer group, type of play/interaction eg. competitive, co-operative, solitary etc.)

Level of activity during break (over the period, how would you describe the child's activity?)

Very Active (child frequently out of breath/sweaty)	☐	
Quite Active (eg. walking, some chasing but not out of breath)	☐	
Not Active (very little movement)	☐	

Very Active (child frequently out of breath/sweaty)	☐	
Quite Active (eg. walking, some chasing but not out of breath)	☐	
Not Active (very little movement)	☐	

APPENDIX J

- Description of Schools used in Study

APPENDIX J

Description of Schools

School A:

Situated in Ilkley, a Catholic aided, mixed, comprehensive day school educating children from 5 to 11 years of age. The school has 196 pupils currently on roll and there are seven classes. Most of the children are white and come from a range of socio-economic groups. The majority of families with children in the school could be described as supportive and children come 'well prepared for school'. There are two Bangladeshi children and three with mixed race parents. The school is regarded as having a very good reputation in the local area and there is a demand for available accommodation at Key Stage I. The school has recently been the subject of an OFSTED inspection and received a favourable report. The local environment could be described as semi-rural and there are plenty of local parks and open spaces. The school has substantial playing areas for the children including grassed areas for summer use and a large asphalt playground. Children have a morning and afternoon break. There are occasional extra-curricular sporting activities though the school priority appears to be towards maintaining its high academic standard.

School B:

Located in a suburb of Leeds this Church of England (aided) primary school was built in the 1960s and has 245 pupils from four to eleven years of age. There are a few Pakistani children, however, most of the children are white and come from less affluent socio-economic groups than children in the other schools involved in this study. The single storey school building is described as multi-purpose as it serves both as a school, community centre in the

evenings and as a church on Sundays. The building is surrounded by large playing fields and has a substantial asphalt area for children to play. The local environment could be described as urban and there are few open spaces or local parks for the children to play. The building is situated in a less affluent urban area than School A. Children have a morning break but no afternoon playtime. There are few opportunities for extra- curricular sporting activities.

School C:

A small village school in a predominantly rural setting outside Leeds which dates back to the 1860s. There are three classes in this Church of England school catering for 90 children from mainly white middle-class backgrounds. The school has recently been the subject of a successful OFSTED inspection and the change of headteacher has seen an increase in the sport ethos of the school. Parents play an active role and links with sports governing bodies and local sports clubs are encouraged. The playground area is small but adequate for the size of school. There is both an afternoon and morning playtime. There is a commitment to extra- curricular sport provision for children in winter and summer, at lunch time and after school.

School D:

Built in 1969 this Church of England school caters for 192 children from 5 to 11 years and is situated in a semi-rural town in North Cheshire. There is a Nursery which was opened in 1992 which caters for 52 children from age 3-5 on a half-day basis. There is both an afternoon and morning playtime in which children have access to a substantial asphalt playground and in summer, a large field, which has recently had a site devoted to an adventure play area, this is popular with younger children. There is a commitment to

physical activity with after school and lunchtime extra-curricular activities in various sports depending on the time of year.

School E:

A high school for girls situated near the centre of Leeds established in 1876. The school has a strong reputation for both sport and academic standards. There is an attached preparatory and junior school together with the senior school. Substantial opportunities for extra-curricular sporting activities are provided. There is a mix of grassed and asphalt areas which provide plenty of space for children's play at morning, lunch and afternoon breaktimes. The school attracts a range of children from various socio-economic backgrounds though mainly white middle-class. Fifty places are open to candidates outside the school for entry at 11 to the senior school.

APPENDIX K

- Analysis of Data and Generation of the Core Category

Appendix K

Analysis of Data and Generation of the Core Category.

Grounded theory involves coding data at various stages during the research, asking questions, constantly comparing data, drawing diagrams, writing memos and theoretical coding which involves piecing the story back together. The following samples provide an insight into how the researcher analysed the data and the way in which initial codes were grouped to arrive at the identities which make up the core category. These samples are extracts aimed at enabling the reader to gain an insight into how the data was handled, the researcher obviously also used various memos, other working diagrams, theoretical codes and the summaries formulated during the end of interviews (some of which have been included in Appendix E)

Sample A

This represents a working diagram very early on in the research where recurring codes are listed in the form of a flow chart with important (frequently recurring codes) listed in boxes. The codes are mixed with ideas from the researcher which represent an early attempt to try to link the emerging concepts. Models such as this are flexible and open to re-interpretation following future data collection, they represent the researcher's working thoughts and act as a stimulus to future analysis.

Sample B

This reflects a later stage in the research process where codes are grouped together based on comparisons using theoretical codes. It is still, however, relatively early on in the project and merely a working diagram to organise the thoughts of the researcher. The reader can see some of the concepts central to the mediating and core categories beginning to emerge. At this stage of the research the analyst was still using open coding although some selective coding was beginning to take place.

Sample C

Theoretical codes, memos and diagrams were initially made separately. However, later in the process where the handling of the many codes became more complex these strategies were combined into one paper. This sample shows how codes are grouped together and the core category has become more defined. However, although selective coding was taking place at this later stage there was still some open coding which resulted in re-organising and reforming of existing concepts. The notion of a hierarchy based around self-image emerged at this latter stage although the theme of identities was formulated much earlier on.

Sample D

This reflects the final stages in the research whereby recurring codes were grouped together to establish the various traits of each identity. The sample gives an example of two identities from different points on the Identity Profile Continuum, The Sporty Participant and the Pretend Player. The identities are saturated with recurring codes which have occurred frequently during the research process, the most powerful codes make up the essential traits and less frequently occurring codes, the secondary traits. Final rounds of interviews were primarily used to generate selective codes to reinforce and ultimately saturate these identities.

SAMPLE

A

A.1.2.94 + B.1.2.94 + C.1.2.94

Chasing games

Pretend

Type of Play

Football

Girls?

Cross-sex Play?

Boys?

AGE?

IMAGE OF SELF

Being with friends?

Sporty Person

DECISIONS

ACTIVITY

EQUIPMENT

Owning the goods

INVESTIGATE (SUMMARY)

Pretend
Organised For Me/By Me
Age Differences
Home/School
Image - Sports Person
Equipment - Owning the goods

Playing Safe

+

Weather

Clubs

Family

Parents

OPPORTUNITY

Equipment

Distance

Space

INHIBITORS

−

−

396

SAMPLE

B

SUBSTANTIVE CODES

Related codes
Recurring codes +
'Characters'

Local heroes
Media messages
Messages from club
Good players
Being with those who matter
Having the right friends
Liking the right things
Using the right label
Having the connections
Idolising
Showing I can do it
'Girls just'

Uninspired
Discomfort
Rejecting
Regressing to younger days
Disinterested
Having something else to do
I don't like
Not wanting to be noticed

Copying
others

Unwilling

MESSAGING	CONFORMING
WHO I AM	
KNOWING MY LIMITATIONS	DOING IT LIKE OTHERS DO

Organising myself independently

Being sociable

Level of interest
Commitment

Isolated activities
Context specific activities
Indifference to being in group
Having my own space
Organising self
Quiet environments
Established friends
Choosing what I like
Structured days
Occupying my time

Playing with my friends
Going along with things
Having the friends
Keeping my friends
Doing what they do
Having your own group
Knowing the groups
Doing it to be liked

397

SAMPLE

C

FAMILIES OF OPEN CODES	LINKAGES	RECURRENT CODES FROM FAMILIES	TYING THE STORY TOGETHER - THEORETICAL CODING	PERMEATING CODES	GENERAL TRAITS	MY PERSONA	INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS
Leader, Being sporty, Popular pastimes, Gaining awards, Showing skill, Being active, Understanding the rules, Inventiveness, Being the best, Organiser, Doing it for the club, Enjoying the activity, Importance of club, Club opportunity, Being good at things, Showing off skills, Footballing girls, Awards, Fair play, Following, Local heroes, Copying, Doing what others do, Good players, Idolising, Knowing the names, Keeping my image, Practising to learn, Learning skills, Doing my own thing, Organising self, Having my own space, Independence, Independence in organising, Independence in myself, Isolated activities, Structured days, Improving myself, Routine, Having things organised for me, Parents organising, Relying on others, Liking the trend, Spending time with others, Being with others, Having the right trends, To be with others, Mixing, Going along with it, Working with others, Keeping it together in the group, I can still have a go, Creating our game, Being creative, Adventures, Make believe, Escaping, Imagining, Exploring body potential, Close friends, I can do other things, Tomboy, Indifference to activity, Indifference to usual rules, Just can't do it, Uninspired, Rejecting, Disinterested, I don't like, Not having the contacts, Not wanting to be noticed, Avoiding, Doing other jobs, Isolated activities	Sporty; High level of activity; Seen as popular; Awards and clubs important; To copy others; On my own; Structured routine; To mix with others; Alternatives to formal play; Unable / unwilling; Avoiding activity	Being active; Sporty person Image; Enjoying the activity; Being skilful; Copying; Practising; Improving myself; Organised by me/ Organised for me; Being with others; Having friends; Being Creative; Discomfort; Disinterested; Not wanting to	The children at the top of this ladder tend to be high in intrinsic motivation towards sports and activity and appear to be frequently active. They are mostly concerned with their sporty image and demonstrate some leadership qualities. The club is seen as being important and provides a site for being able to challenge themselves and possibly succeed in achieving rewards which can be used to reinforce their sporty person image and status. Lower down this ladder are children who are less intrinsically motivated towards sport and take part in either to impress others or emulate heroes or popular children. Some children seem to have good time management skills and will spend time organising themselves, often in isolation to practise skills which might help them improve. Their time is often structured, it might be that this is a carry-over from the structured environments their parents provide for them. This needs investigating before I can progress further. Some children exhibit a very structured lifestyle which sometimes evolves around their parents giving them little time for choice of activity. Others simply seem to follow trends which are occurring at a particular time in school or the home environment. They appear easily influenced. Towards the lower end of this ladder are children whose main motivation for being active is to maintain their friendships which they see as very important, they appear to have a less positive self-image and most enjoy activities in groups where their lack of skill is not noticed. A lot of children play pretending games and may often reject the formal play of their peers in favour of creative pastimes. They tend, however, to face a dilemma as they get older as these forms of play become less acceptable in the playground. Children at the bottom of the ladder have little interest in being active and are sometimes in break-away groups, ostracised from others. Some children even seem to deliberately avoid any form of activity.	Messaging; Conforming; Image; Using the right label; Understanding the rules; Being in the group; Changing images; Stable friends; Ephemeral friends; Context specific activities; Being with those who matter; Being liked by others; Neutral toys; Supplying the goods; Liking the right things	A sporty person - high intrinsic motivation Organiser - having to lead others For club and rewards Wanting to be sporty Wanting to be successful Being able to show off Knowing my limitations But practising to improve Being led - having things done for me Wanting to mix with others - being part of the group Enjoying close friends, being creative and playing pretend Feeling inadequate and unable to participate Sometimes ostracised from groups Non-sporty person - rejecting - most physical activities especially formal types of sports and games	Positive ↑ S E L F I M A G E Less positive WHO I AM ↓	**LEADER** — Organises others, Enjoys being active, Enjoys demonstrating skill, Thrives on activity, Intrinsic motivation **SPORTY** — Good knowledge of rules, Knowledge of sports/ heroes, Good player, Image important **INDEPENDENT?** — Self-motivated, Tends to play on own, Good player **COPIER** — Follows others, Improves performance practising, Structured routine, Wants to be sporty **SOCIALISER** — Wanting to be with others, Being seen to be in a group, Enjoys mixing above the activity, Enjoys team games **PRETENDER** — Plays pretend games, Enjoys being creative, Friends important, Usually avoids sports **RELUCTANT** — Mostly unwilling, Lacks physical skills, Small circle of friends who share common characteristics, Low self image

S A M P L E

D

CATEGORY - SPORTY PARTICIPANT

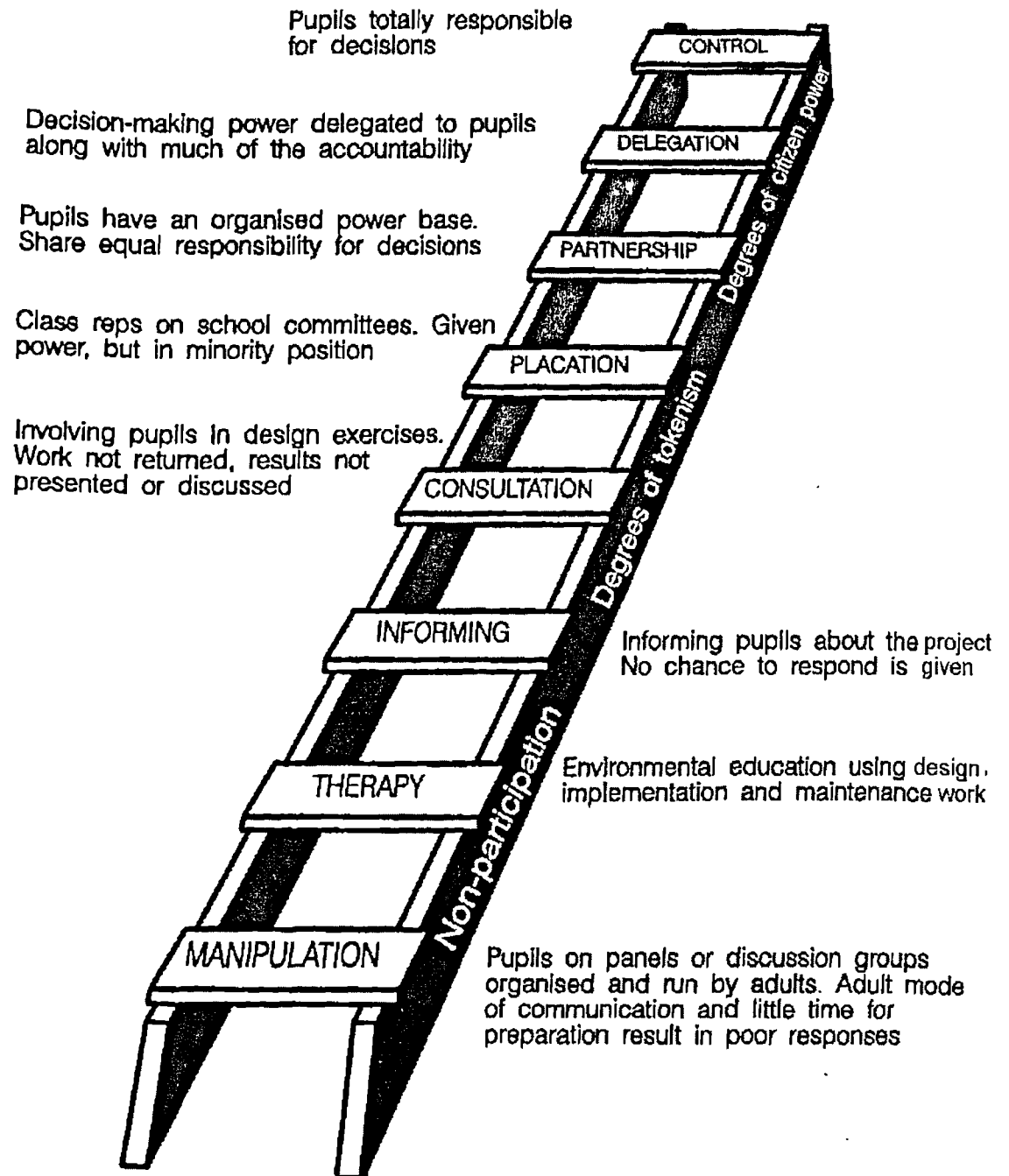| Substantive Codes	Theoretical Code	Concept
Importance of club Being liked by others Achieving my reward Doing it for the school Being popular Showing I can do it Club opportunities Gaining awards	The achievement of awards seen as important as a means of establishing and maintaining their positive physical sporty image	Tangible rewards are seen as very important ESSENTIAL TRAIT
Being seen to keep busy In the finals Having the connections Being the best Being able to do it Knowing what's available Being where the action is	Clubs outside school Environment often viewed as more important than school clubs and activities, especially in later primary years. Being in a well-known local team with chance of winning awards	Clubs outside seen as very important in developing their image ESSENTIAL TRAIT
Showing off skills Knowing my limitations Testing my ability Liking what is cool Popular pastimes The importance of skill Using the right label Knowing the names Having the goods	Concentrate on and are positive about things they do well - very aware of own limitations physically and are conscious of image within their immediate culture	Strong desire to be viewed as a sporty person by significant others. Good awareness of their physical strengths and weaknesses. ESSENTIAL TRAIT
Being active Being skilled Being fast The importance of exercise Eating the right things Having friends Intrinsic ambitions	Aware of a broad nature of health concepts. Not just physical attributes and having some purpose or goal.	Good knowledge and interest of healthy concepts. ESSENTIAL TRAIT
Fair sides Equal teams Reaching the top Understanding the rules Knowing what I like	Enjoy play and games in which they can excel but must be a clear structure and purpose. Will join in many games so long as a challenge and flow.	Interest mainly in activities with an obvious purpose, structure, clear goals and objectives. SECONDARY TRAIT
Doing the training Practising the skills Testing own ability	Can play idenpendently and may organise time to practise and develop their skills although usually seek out testing company.	Will manage time to ensure opportunities for sports to develop skills SECONDARY TRAIT
Having new challenges Having the ideas Inventiveness Letting others know I have the responsibility	Have some creative tendences though prefer to be led by innovators - though can enjoy taking on some responsibilities and may inspire games with challenges	Occasionally inventive and may take on characteristics of innovator in their absence SECONDARY TRAIT
Boys do it better Fair terms Having a good game Playing to learn Learning from others	Will cross age/sex barriers for a good game or chance to learn skills but desire to maintain sporty image makes less versatile and more inhibited than innovator	Willing to play most games despite traditional gender labels attached to the activity, though less versatile than innovator. SECONDARY TRAIT

399

CATEGORY - PRETEND PLAYER

Substantive Codes	Theoretical Code	Concept
Playing with animals Local characters and themes Forbidden Can it be an animal? Who cares? Doing my own thing Absorbing myself	Pretend players appear to fully involve themselves in their games of make-believe or acting out of some scene, animal behaviour or battle. Even when they approach the top of the junior school, although they realise it is forbidden in their culture, they continue.	Absorbs self in activity with little/no concern for sporty image ESSENTIAL TRAIT
Being someone else Forget your age It's like, different rules Regressing to younger days Rejecting the norm Discovering Accepting my role	Pretend play takes many forms and often crosses age differences. Whilst some children fall from this category others reject the expected norms, accept the role in which they find themselves and often exhibit traits of earlier childhood behaviour.	Playing of pretend games donminates through to the end of primary school ESSENTIAL TRAIT
Make up games Adventures Creating our game Being a family unit Mummies and daddies Blind date Indifference to usual rules Creating the story	The play of this group, in the same way as those of other children is bounded by a set of complex rules governing acceptable behaviour. Some games are created others based on media influences or family units where individuals take on the role of characters.	Creates complex rule structures for play ingnoring conventions of more formal sports ESSENTIAL TRAIT
If I was good Feeling awkward I can do other things Girls just ...... You have to be able to do it to like it Not wanting to be noticed	This group seem to have a relatively low regard for their preceived level of physical skill and may avoid formal sports because they feel they cannot perform well. They feel awkward if attention is diverted to them in formal sports.	Low level of perceived skill. SECONDARY TRAIT
Discomfort Uninspired Just can't do it Disinterested Ban football Don't like the contact	This group find fault with most formal sports which usually relates to the discomfort experienced in taking part in the activity such as bodily contact or feeling cold or confined in a space.	Responds unenthusiastically to organised and structured formal sport SECONDARY TRAIT
Imagining The challenge of managing my body Explore body potential Learning how I can move Being creative	They tend to respond positively towards aspects of the pe curriculum particularly gymnastics and dance when there are opportunities to be creative and learn how the body can move	Enjoys aspects of pe curriculum allowing for creativity SECONDARY TRAIT
Pretend leaders Knowing what my friends are up to Doing it with others Keeping it in the gang Knowing the group Keeping my friends Stable friends	Particularly boys in this identity can play alone but most pretend players prefer group interactions for the complex story lines and security offered in numbers as the activities are rejected by many others as they get older	Can play on own but prefers pretend games with close friends SECONDARY TRAIT

APPENDIX L

- Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

Pupils totally responsible for decisions

Decision-making power delegated to pupils along with much of the accountability

Pupils have an organised power base. Share equal responsibility for decisions

Class reps on school committees. Given power, but in minority position

Involving pupils in design exercises. Work not returned, results not presented or discussed

Informing pupils about the project No chance to respond is given

Environmental education using design, implementation and maintenance work

Pupils on panels or discussion groups organised and run by adults. Adult mode of communication and little time for preparation result in poor responses

CONTROL

DELEGATION

PARTNERSHIP

PLACATION

CONSULTATION

INFORMING

THERAPY

MANIPULATION

Degrees of citizen power

Degrees of tokenism

Non-participation

(Arnstein, 1969, p.217)