GROUNDED THEORY REVIEW
An international journal

Contents

From the Editor's Desk

Barry Chametzky, PhD, Editor

I am greatly humbled and incredibly honored to be following in the footsteps of Dr. Judith Holton, Dr. Alvita Nathaniel, and Dr. Astrid Gynnild as the new editor of the *Grounded Theory Review* (GTR). Having worked closely with Dr. Gynnild and Dr. Nathaniel as the copyeditor for the journal for the past 10 years (it seems much fewer, to be honest), I know them to be outstanding editors, scholars, and very fine people; they have certainly made long-lasting contributions to the journal. As an interested reader of the journal, I am grateful for their efforts during their editorial tenure. Indeed, as I reflect on the future, I know I have big shoes to fill and will do my best to make everyone proud and honor the tenets of classic grounded theory.

The thing about which perhaps I am most excited, as I start my tenure as editor of this journal, is working with authors and scholars world-wide as we all experience the phenomenon of classic grounded theory. Barney Glaser, the founder of the research design, had stated that grounded theory is all around us; he was absolutely correct, but we need to be aware of it. As the copyeditor for the last 10 years, I have enjoyed becoming aware while reading and learning about all the new research involving classic grounded theory; and now, as the editor, I will continue to do the same.

Before anything else, I would like to offer my appreciation to many people. First, thank you to the Glaser family for entrusting me with the editorship of this journal.

To all the peer-reviewers of the GTR: you are the heart of the journal, and I want to thank each of you; without your efforts, the journal could not be where it is today. Please know the editorial and administrative staff members at the journal are greatly appreciative of your efforts. I look forward to working closely with each of you in the coming months as articles come in for review.

To all the readers—old and new—of the GTR, I would like to extend a warm thank you and welcome. We, at the GTR, hope you spend many hours reading the articles in the journal and find them intellectually stimulating as you learn classic grounded theory. No journal can exist without its readers. And thus, I would like to thank you sincerely for all your support.

As one of my colleagues often says, "It takes a village." Leading an international, peer-reviewed journal most definitely takes a village. So, I extend a heartly thank you for all your assistance—to everyone directly or peripherally involved in the journal—as I ramp up and as we move forward.

As I take over the editorship, I would like to introduce our new copyeditor, Dr. Angela Lee. Dr. Lee comes to the journal with many years of editorial experience. As a way to introduce her, here is her short biography: Angela M. Lee, Ph.D., has more than 10 years of experience in higher education, teaching graduate and undergraduate courses, administrative duties, and independent research. She published in national and international journals for education and sociology. Additionally, Dr. Lee has served on several journal review boards and served as a guest editor in journals such as *Computers in the Schools*. Dr. Lee brings a fund of knowledge from multiple fields and experiences.

In addition to the new staff members, the *Grounded Theory Review* is undergoing a transformation and indeed a metamorphosis, as you may have noticed on the new webpage (groundedtheoryreview.org). Perhaps the biggest change is that we are now under the umbrella of the Institute for Research and Theory Methodologies (RTM) and Dr. Kara L. Vander Linden. We, at the GTR, welcome the change as the Institute will allow us to reach a broader audience of researchers and students interested in classic grounded theory. With our affiliation with RTM, more novice researchers will be able to learn classic grounded theory and follow in Dr. Glaser's footsteps.

To all the reviewers and readers of the journal: rest assured that the goal of the journal will remain the same as it has always been: a repository for top-notch, peer-reviewed research using only the classic grounded theory research design. The journal will also remain open-access. Additionally, in the coming months, the process of article submission will become more streamlined. More details will be forthcoming in the coming months. Finally, starting with the next issue, we will be charging a $50 publication fee if an article is accepted in the *Grounded Theory Review* to help defray the costs associated with publishing.

The current issue has two broad areas of focus: several papers in which grounded theories are presented, and various papers in which certain elements of classic grounded theory research design are discussed in a more nuanced manner.

In this edition, we are very fortunate to be able to reprint three theories which were published in the first *Grounded Theory Review* volume but have never been published online. The first theory, by Guthrie and Lowe, is about the basic social process of penetration and sustaining presence with the inner circles of others. In this research, Guthrie and Lowe discussed how people infiltrate into various situations.

The second theory is about serializing, splitting, and integrating. In this article, Ekins discussed the "psychoanalytic social psychology of love" (p. 45). Through clinical illustrations and a discussion of literature in the field of psychology, Ekins presented what he described as "a first attempt to bring together the approaches of psychoanalysis and grounded theory" (p. 46).

The final theory presented is personal legitimizing. In this article, Haslam discussed how people "manipulate situations to suit their own agenda" (p. 25). Within the substantive area of marketing, Haslam discussed the basic social process of legitimizing and how, based on this theory one could operate "outside of the cultural norm of an organisation" (p. 26).

In the second part of this volume, we at the GTR are pleased to include a reprinted discussion about basic social processes by Barney Glaser, originally published in 2005. One key element of a basic social process, as Glaser wrote, is the "feeling of process, change and movement over time" (para. 2) with at least two "clear emergent stages" (Section 1).

Additionally, we have an article about the Constant Comparison Method (CCM)—a foundational element in classic grounded theory first presented in 1965—and a French model of analysis, the *explication de texte*. In this article, Chametzky demonstrated an understanding how what an *explication de texte* is, how one is done, and how it is connected to CCM and classic grounded theory.

There is also a short article on choosing one's words carefully. In the article, Vander Linden makes the vital point that, as we all know, words have meaning and choosing the wrong word will have important consequences. In classic grounded theory, though, we are required to "select the words that best fit the data so [we do not] unground the theory" (para. 1).

Finally, we are also pleased to present an article about the history of the *Grounded Theory Review* and how it will now be connected to the Institute for Research and Theory Methodologies (RTM). More specifically, Goldberg gave a broad roadmap, so to speak, about RTM and how it will "bring the *Grounded Theory Review* to more people with increased awareness of classic grounded theory" (para. 1).

At this point in time, I request that everyone embark with me on a new journey. Let us all dive in and, to quote Glaser (1998), "just do it" (p. 19). For the staff of the *Grounded Theory Review*, the time is now to roll up our sleeves. Please join me on this amazing journey. Let us explore (and continue to explore) the world of classic grounded theory.

Reference

Glaser, B. (1998). *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*. Sociology Press.

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Infiltration: an emerging grounded theory explanation of penetrating and sustaining a presence within the inner circles of others

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Abstract

This is a grounded theory of the basic social process of infiltration. Novice researchers, infants, foreigners and new recruits all face conceptually similar problems of being able to successfully infiltrate into an array of alien situations. The grounded theory emerged from data from the context of a novice researcher gaining and sustaining access for research. Infiltration has three sub-core variables: credentializing, cultivating and experientializing. These sub-core variables are applicable across a wide range status passage situations. The indicators, categories and properties of the emergent variables are explained in detail. The paper follows the orthodox tenets of grounded theory and as such deals with the literature review as a means of comparison subsequent to the emergence of the basic social process of infiltration.

This paper evolved out of the interaction between an experienced and novice grounded theory researcher during the course of gaining access into veterinary practices in Scotland. The more experienced grounded theory researcher encouraged the novice to systematically document all aspects of the research experience and not just those that were relevant to the

substantive area of doctoral research being pursued. The result has been the discovery of an emergent theory of infiltration.

As we write this paper the novice researcher is approaching the end of the first year of a full time PhD program and the experienced researcher has a decade of grounded theory experience.

The aim of this paper is to use Grounded Theory Research Methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in order to develop a theoretical explanation of how a novice researcher becomes competent by the basic social process of infiltration. The problems associated with moving from a state of ignorance to becoming sufficiently knowledgeable we consider to be an example of a status passage transformation. The novice researcher is not alone in having to deal with unfamiliar challenges associated with penetrating the inner circles of others. Infants, foreigners, new recruits, amongst others; face similar dilemmas in varied settings. They must all somehow discover whatever is required to progress in their particular situation from the standpoint of a novice.

By focusing on this transitional passage, the research is endeavouring to:

- increase the awareness and understanding of the processes which have been experienced,

- demonstrate that it is legitimate for a 'novice' to contribute to existing theory, and,

- enable novice researchers to process their transitions more effectively.

As this paper is being written the novice researcher is approaching the end of her first year of a full time PhD program. Data obtained through my her recent experiences as a virgin Grounded Theory researcher have been used in exploring this universally relevant problem. The impetus for this paper springs from the standpoint of being a participant observer inter-

ested in discovering the main issues of concern in veterinary practice. The paper is

co-authored in recognition of the beneficial supervision the novice researcher has been re-

ceiving from her experienced grounded theory supervisor. The framework which emerges is

therefore truly grounded. By this it is meant that any constructs are generated from the reality

of her own experiences. They

are not contrived or contaminated by loyalty to 'accepted wisdom' or the 'thoughts' idolised by

theoretical capitalists.·

Any flimsiness in the texture of the theory put forward is merely a reflection of the emergent

understanding of the data; density on the other hand would suggest movement toward com-

petency. As a consequence of the use of Grounded Theory methodology, the validity of the

emergent theory should be judged ultimately according to its fit, relevance, work and modi-

fiability.

This means the theory should be true to the data, explain the processing of the main

concern of those being studied, be of practical use to others in similar situations; and be read-

ily modifiable in its ability to deal with and integrate new cases.

The basic social process of infiltration

The emergent theory of infiltration which is revealed is both simple and complex. Its simplic-

ity lies in its discovery and the emergence of its three sub-core variables:

- Credentializing (sub-core variable)

- Cultivating (sub-core variable)

- Experientializing (sub-core variable).

The interrelationships between these processes are complex. They have multi-dimensional

relationships with each other. It is not possible to demonstrate in a single static diagram

where credentializing or cultivating gives way to experientializing and so on. The processes are not linear, they intertwine. Figure 1. is designed to illustrate both the interconnectedness and motion which are fundamental to the infiltration process which the novice researcher has been experienced. Removal of the core variable of infiltration leads to conceptual disintegration - the theory fails to 'account for change' in relation to dispossessing one's novice status.

Infiltrating

The sub-core variable of Credentializing.

Credentializing has emerged as one of the main sub-core variables of this study. It has been systematically generated from the data through the use of orthodox Grounded Theory methodology (1978). Credentializing explains how a novice researcher endeavours to disavow the beginners status in favour of developing competence. Credentials are gauges of
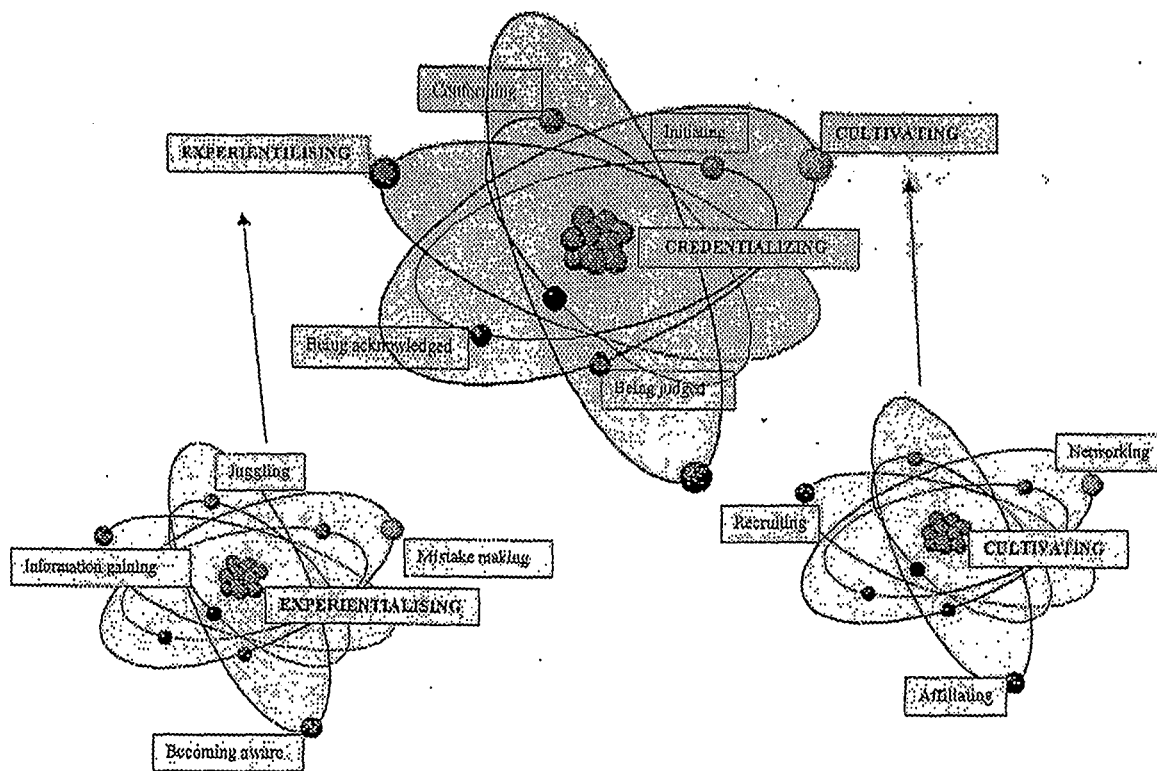

Figure 1: Infiltrating

fundamental significance. Credentializing establishes the legitimacy associated with gaining a license to practice. Self-confidence is a by-product of credentializing. Similarly, credentializing generates confidence in others as to the individual's abilities. The overall effect is of stabilisation through integration.

The process of credentializing is complemented by two other sub-core variables. These are 'cultivating' and 'experientializing'. As a novice it is necessary to cultivate relationships in order to manoeuvre into a favourable position to discover, through experience (trail and error) what skills are required in order to be judged competent.

The categories of credentializing which have emerged in this instance are: 'conforming', 'being judged', 'initiating' and 'being recognized as competent'.

Conforming. This encompasses the novices' attempts to gain acceptability to the group or position aspired to. Credentializing depends upon appropriate positioning on a number of dimensions. These dimensions vary according to the specific situation and the subtleties of the codes of behaviour which apply. A property of conforming is copying. In light of prior discovery, having lived the experience, the 'novice' understands the rules of the game. An in depth knowledge of how behaviour will require to be modified makes it possible to align actions accordingly. Matching the expectations of the legitimating authority is paramount. Endeavouring to attain acceptable orientation prepares the novice for being judged.

Being judged. A property of this category is monitoring. The judgement procedure may involve simple observation of the candidate. Equally, complex scrutinization and proving rituals may be in operation. Paper qualifications may be insufficient to guarantee recognition. Technically making the grade is only one dimension, further attributes may be sought. The newcomer may well be expected to undergo an apprentice- ship. After dues have been paid

by being subjugated to menial tasks, superiors may permit an increase in privileges as deemed appropriate. Judging and initiating are manifestations of control strategies designed to protect the status quo. Another property of judging is pacing. This too serves to protect existing group members from dilution or contamination from unfit novices. It would be unusual for full membership rites to be granted swiftly, without a probationary period. Newcomers to the setting are gradually granted full membership rites. Initially the novice researcher was introduced to the vernacular over coffee and chat. Then became privy to gossip and 'invokes' (usually concerning quirky clients). Latterly, the novice researcher was trusted to answer the phone and deal directly with clients. The realisation that a transformation had occurred was something which the researcher only became aware of retrospectively. It would be unusual for full membership rites to be granted swiftly, without a probationary period.

Initiating. When visiting the setting for the first time the novice researcher was conscious of being placed under surveillance. She was scrutinized intensely on first attending the operating theatre. the novice researcher subsequently identified this as an initiation ceremony. It is explained through the concept of flooding', an idea borrowed from the context of blood sports and war. Existing group members bear witness to some sort of trail, which they themselves previously experienced. The process has several stages. The candidate is prepared for the ritual to come, the spilling of blood, followed by assessment of suitability and the actual smearing process whereby the novice is judged worthy of membership.

Being acknowledged. Gaining one's credentials or being accepted symbolises that one is no longer seen as an outsider. In living through this credentializing process, and experiencing confidencing, a property of being recognised, the novice begins to supplant the learner's status. Credentializing is therefore not an end result, it is, in many ways, a beginning.

The sub-core variable of Cultivating.

The cultivation of people constitutes the novice's initial concern. How should support be established in order to facilitate the discovery of the required skills needed to become competent? Most commonly, it involves strategizing with the aim of generating an anticipated result. It seems to be innate to some degree. The novice researcher engaged in different forms of cultivating in the early stages of my research without any apparent calculated intent or explicit awareness.

Networking is a sub-process of cultivating. It involves establishing, maintaining and developing a web of relationships. Four categories of networking have been dis- covered. Speculative networking - means an instinctive type of networking and would be considered by on-lookers as completely irrational as there appears no logical reason to select individuals randomly on the off-chance that there will be some unforeseen benefit. Exploitative networking entails the fostering of contacts with whom one intends to leave at a distinct disadvantage. Enduring networking is that based on mutual benefit for all those involved. Retrospective networking may be practised where initially one failed to realise the benefits of nurturing certain contacts. Networks may also be local or cosmopolitan. For example, through her supervisor the novice researcher had contacts with fellow grounded theory researchers, 'close up', within her department at university, whilst she also networked with others, 'distant' in terms of location and specialism.

The appropriate development of networks has a very tangible effect throughout the process of transition. In the early stages they have an especially supportive role. Equally they may well have a delayed action effect ie. developing contacts with experts in one's substantive area may only yield their rewards much further down the path. For example the re-

searcher had been building contacts with an individual who she knew to be skilled in orchestrating focus groups (an area which she had minimal knowledge of) it is possible that towards the final stages of her research she will want to run a focus group.

Recruiting. Another sub-process of relevance in the cultivating context is recruiting. Primarily recruiting takes place in initial stages and sporadically thereafter, as required. It was necessary for the researcher to recruit what might be called 'useful others' at the outset. There was a need for a supervisor to act as a mentor and a sponsor to assist with financing. The requirement for cultivating is apparent here. The researcher first had to identify potential 'recruits', make contact, interact and demonstrate my suitability by way of past achievements, current activities and emphasis on future potential.

The recruitment process involves wooing. It may involve beautifying, a property of soliciting, adorning of the individual in a bid to tempt. This may necessitate the use of artificial means. This means that one party may feel there is legitimate cause or the stakes are of sufficient magnitude to warrant some form of benign deceit. The overall offering must be judged sufficiently attractive for the recruitment to go ahead. Negotiations as to the remuneration package may be protracted.

In cultivating processes the balance of power is not evenly distributed and this has significance for the evolution of strategies which are primarily deigned to compensate for the asymmetry. This does not preclude the dominant force from seeking out an association with the novice. Recruitment processes are here shown to be reversible. The expert may indeed engage in allurement tactics if a particular association is judged to be particularly desirable. An already highly regarded supervisor may choose a particularly gifted student to collaborate with, craving a share in the rising star's adulation by way of association. The more powerful

player may inspire awe in the eyes of the inexperienced. This awing may serve as the initial

bait to ensnare the innocent, similarly it may be used as a method of control.

Affiliating. The final process which became subsumed under the BSP (Basic Social Process)

of cultivating is entitled affiliating. This involves strategies designed to enable an outsider to

begin the often difficult task of being accepted. Affiliating removes the threat to those in any

social situation. It has the potential to open up a previously unseen world. What would nor-

mally be blurred and out-with the reach of the lens comes into focus. The process of affilia-

tion paves the way for the researcher to experientialize the reality of the social world to be

studied. Without engaging in affiliative behaviour in the context of becoming a competent

Grounded Theorist. The researcher may simply witness a mirage. The researcher is in danger

of being duped by potentially clandestine agendas of vested interests. In which case the re-

sultant theory would be invalid. Affiliating is fundamental in its ability to reveal the truth as

distinct from fiction. Affiliation essentially means getting 'close to' a subject. This was

achieved at a substantive level, in my experience, by adopting the role of participant observer

in the veterinary practice setting. However affiliation should not be judged as being success-

ful on account of merely being present in a setting. Only once the subtleties of the social set-

ting begin to reveal themselves would it be safe to say that cultivation via affiliating was

reaping its reward. The researcher recognises when this begins to occur. It becomes possible

to predict with confidence and reliability what will happen next.

The tactics which were employed whilst in the field, which the researcher termed af-

filiative were aimed at developing and demonstrating trust. At first the researcher concen-

trated on fitting in. This means making the researcher appear as if she belonged in the setting.

The researcher engaged in helping. This involved making a special effort to convey my ea-

gerness to make herself useful. This was not difficult in the frenetic atmosphere of the veterinary surgery. The searcher ensured that she participated fully, working until late at night if that was going on. She was especially careful to willingly attend to the less pleasant aspects of the work. In doing this the researcher gained the respect of the vet nurses. Winning their confidence was essential, because, as the researcher was to discover, gossiping with the nurses over coffee proved to be an excellent source of data. In addition she made sure that if the opportunity arose to do favours ie. run errands, transport animals in her car etc. Every effort to volunteer her assistance was made. Another category of the afffiliating process of significance was friending. The researcher cultivated friendly associations with all those in the setting without discriminating by rank. She was cautious during this phase not to force the pace, so she was subconsciously engaging in pacing in order not to appear too pushy and risk alienation as opposed to incorporation.

Affiliating is therefore fundamental in positioning the novice in order that knowledge and skills necessary to make the transition can be acquired. In essence the novice must cultivate people in order to cultivate skills. It appears that the cultivation process outlined serves to admit the novice to a springboard from which the process of experientializing can begin.

The sub-core variable of Experientializing.

This process involves learning the ropes by actually experiencing life as a novice. It means discovering the subtleties of the social situation of interest by trial and error. By actually experiencing the process one gradually gives it meaning. Only by living the reality of becoming a Grounded Theory researcher was the researcher able to make sense of the data by having reflective conversations both with the data, in the form of theoretical memos and with my supervisor in a series of discussions. Gradually by reflecting on these experiences the re-

searcher discovered that she can now articulate the meaning of the data from the perspective of those being studied. Having developed the necessary skills, it is now possible begin to understand the some of the subtleties that only going through the process could engender.

Information gaining is a category of experientializing. By seeking out information at first hand by watching, listening, recording, then comparing, the researcher discovers the specific language and values sacred to the setting under study. With this expanding understanding of the rules and values underpinning the social world being studied is a growing awareness of the appropriate strategy for discovering what may still remain hidden.

For example in the early stages of the research process, it was judged it appropriate to adopt the role of 'know-nothing' novice. This was for a specific purpose - namely so that she would not appear threatening in any way and also to ensure that any preconceived notions of hers should not be imposed on the research. By acting completely uninformed the researcher encouraged the respondents to unburden what was really on their minds. This enabled agenda-setting to be governed by the prime concerns of those of interest. At a later stage however it may no longer be appropriate to continue in the role of blissful ignorance. The partially deceitful tactic of appearing informed but requiring correction may be indicated. Role-tailoring is a property of information gaining.

A highly significant property of information gaining is revealing rituals. This involves intimate contact and knowledge of the social setting of significance. By observing, documenting and ultimately being capable of explaining what to outsiders would appear as a mysterious ritual could be judged a good indicator of the transition toward competency in developing the sensitivity required of an effective Grounded Theorist.

Mistake making is important to the experientialzing process for the novice. This links to the awareness category. By learning through doing, mistakes are inevitable. By making errors, the researcher is sensitized to the consequences. If they are sufficiently serious it is likely they will be avoided in future. For example in the early stages the researcher avoided engaging in memoing procedures which are fundamental to the Grounded Theory methodology. Becoming aware of mistake making and taking appropriate action to reorient increases through experientialzing.

Avoiding is a coping strategy which emerged through examining the concept of mistake making. It was realised that when one is in the rank of novice, unfamiliar problems can appear insurmountable. As a way of dealing with this the researcher recognised that she was ignoring the difficulty instead of confronting it. For example the novice researcher found herself accumulating lots of interesting data and failing to force herself to code and compare as is necessary in Grounded Theory research.

Becoming aware. The category denoted 'becoming aware' relates intimately to the experientializing process and overall in trying to account for change in the novice. This category would hold less weight if it was being related to a structurally robust status passage. Where as the phases one must pass through in the service of becoming a Grounded Theory researcher are variable and unclear, awareness is significant.

Becoming aware is a function of the experientializing process. It enables the competent researcher to engage in the practice of leap-froging. The researcher simply bypasses unnecessary stages in the process, electing not to be derailed from what Will now be a visible path. In contrast, the naive beginner risks being deflected from the transitional passage through lack of awareness and consequently minimal control.

Awareness not only of the nature of the transitions, but also of the existence of other interrelated status passages is another property emergent from learning by doing. Conflicting passages may hijack the transition to competent researcher. Complimentary passages may enhance the process.

Juggling is the final category of the experientializing process. Learning juggling is an ability to 'work' several things concurrently. It is another coping skill and one approach to dealing with variable demands on time and energy.

Having explained the emergent theory of infiltrating, we now provide a brief justification for this work and then compare it to relevant literature. To conclude, we detail what we consider to be the main contributions of this research.

Justification for the research.

Fagerhaugh (1986), states that "The ultimate goal of analysing qualitative data for process is to account for change over time". He continues, "Process analysis is also the most difficult level of analysis for the novice researcher handling qualitative data because it involves ordering and linking the hundreds of bits of loosely formulated categories into a logical whole". These observations encapsulate the challenge of this paper.

Early work concerning the rites of passage, attributable to van Gennep (1908), focuses predominantly on age and sex linked passages. He focuses, in fascinating detail, on the movement from birth to childhood, through adolescence, marriage to motherhood, to death and possible rebirth. Whilst professing a desire to discover not just the forms of rites of passage but their meanings, he concentrates exclusively on the former. There is a marked neglect of raising the analysis beyond description to a more conceptual level.

Van Gennep's (1908) main contribution is in highlighting the persuasiveness of status change. However, the impression given is that status passages are prescriptive in nature and linear in outline. His emphasis on 'rectilinear' diagramming suggests and overly simplistic view. Our combined experiences in contrast emphasise the dynamism and multi-dimensional character of becoming a more competent researcher. The process of 'passing' indicates an arrival and in so doing implies there will be a departure. However it would appear there is nothing preordained or clearly defined about the transition from novice. Bearing this in mind there is a real need for exploration in conceptual terms.

Comparing this substantive theory to Glaser and Strauss' (1971)

work on Status Passage.

Similarities and Differences.

A significant similarity is the concept of the existence of multiple status passages. The historic belief that status passages are purely scheduled and regularised is contested. The notion that as a novice one makes a smooth transition towards competency with time is appealing. The reality however, as was demonstrated in both Glaser and Strauss (1971) and our case, is more complex. For example, we have discovered that progression along the desired route is by no means inevitable. Regression can and does occur. What we refer to as 'blocking' (for example, due to acute illness or shortage of money) may temporarily obstruct forward momentum. Alternatively a new and exciting relationship might energise other transitions. More seriously, complete regression may mean progress is terminally blocked forcing abandonment of the specific passage. Glaser and Strauss (1971) explain the problems associated with the phenomenon of conflicting passages. They acknowledge the need to juggle with time and energy.

Glaser and Strauss (1971) outline and explore at least a dozen aspects, which they label properties, of status passage. Among these are desirability, inevitability, reversibility, repeatability, collectivity, awareness, degree of control, legitimation and clarity. Credentializing is not explicitly documented. It is therefore not possible to explore this comparison to any significant degree. Legitimating, which appears to correspond to credentializing, is alluded to in a minor way. This difference may simply reflect the specific sources of data from which the theory springs combined With a divergent use of terminology, not substance. There is an exploration of the fundamental problem of control, namely who is in control and who is vying for control over the passage. Glaser and Strauss' (1971) example of 'studentsmanship' seems to reflect the overall process explained by my substantive theory of credentializing. The student is faced with the problem of 'getting through' school. The challenge is not only to 'become' a professional, but to convince the faculty (representing the legitimating authority) that this was being accomplished. The converse example of a failure to credentialize is the student who feels comfortable maintaining student status and wishes to postpone the symbolic act of graduating (being recognised). A further indirect reference to the process of credentializing emerges through the education and training of a candidate towards self-sufficiency. This concept links to the category of being acknowledged and so to the properties of confidencing and becoming independent which were encountered.

Reversibility, the extent to which the direction of a passage may be controlled, would not be relevant in the case of a highly scheduled age linked passage. In the case of the novice dealing With the uncertainty of an unknown passage, the issue of how to influence progression is significant. The transition from novice toward competence is not assured. The question of how to balance the forces of progression versus regression are real. The development,

by way of experientializing, of awareness and subsequent control are mechanisms to deal with the uncertainty ahead. Progression is not automatic. Glaser and Strauss (1971) employ the term reversibility giving an example from within organisations where people not only move upward, they may also be demoted. The label directional control over status passage might prove more meaningful.

The most notable difference between the formal theory and our emergent theory discussed in this paper is that the basic social process of cultivating is not explored by Glaser and Strauss (1971). The process we label 'recruiting' is developed however, so too is its subordinate property of hooking. The concept of 'networking' is raised briefly, although not using the term. The example quoted involves the corporate executive trying to build an 'informal collegial system' to support himself. Instead if seeing this as a conscious act of cultivaton, the authors view it as a means of guarding against their idea of reversibility of status passage. Significantly there is no reference to 'affiliating' which figured prominently in my substantive theory.

Other differences are reflected in the numerically fewer categories emergent from my theory. This can be explained simply as a natural variation between formal and substantive theory generation.

Finally, another important similarity is evident. This relates closely to the process which we call experientializing. This partially emerges in the guise of what Glaser and Strauss (1971) call 'discovering a status passage'. They note that "there are many status passages of whose existence passages are unaware ... It is only revealed to the passage as he goes along". Information or knowledge of the passage is identified with control and equates to my category called 'information gaining'.

Related literature on the processes revealed by this research.

Credentializing. Simmons (1972) in his study exploring the processes involved in becoming a milkman explains the concept of credentializing, although he does not use the term. The novice milkman tries to over-perform in attempting to gain new business. By networking and using cultivating techniques he seeks to earn credit from his route supervisor who represents his legitimating authority. Maxwell (1993) in her paper on "fencing processes" focuses to a significant degree on a category which we label being judged. In this example 'model keepers' (the legitimators) place trainees under surveillance. They regulate or pace their progression strictly. This parallels the initiating category which we use in explaining credentializing. Maxwell also reflects another aspect of my work. *Copying* is implicated as a necessary component of all 'group identity displays'. This corresponds to my experiences in the veterinary practice setting whereby we initially conformed to codes of dress, adopted the 'veterinary vernacular' and as it was revealed to me, their code of behaviour.

Experientializing was also noted in the above mentioned works. The authors both identify information gaining as highly significant in this context. Simmons points to information gaining in order to detect potential new and worthwhile clients. He highlights the importance of 'trial and error' in the process of learning how to become a milkman. Maxwell emphasizes information gaining in discovering the subtleties of social situations and in understanding the identity displays, isolating strategies and hiding activities which may be relevant.

Cultivating of relationships is the core process of Simmons' work. He parallels what we call *networking*, explaining the essence of this as discovering 'good leads' via friends, neighbours and existing customers. The procedures for recruiting are outlined. Finally he ex-

plains my process of affiliating (though fails to adopt the term) - mirroring my strategies in the veterinary context. Trust inducing tactics including 'nurturing pseudofrtendship' and 'effecting obligation' are detailed. The cultivation of friendly relations is also documented in Glaser and Strauss (1973), Experts Versus Laymen. Their property of 'sweet talking' matches my property of friending. In this example

> The subcontractor fosters amicable relations with the 'patsy' in order to gain trust and hopefully the contract to carry out the building work. This is another example of affiliative behaviour aimed at cultivating a beneficial outcome.

Conclusion.

The insights revealed, we believe, help to increase the understanding of status passage; specifically there are three issues to which this paper contributes.

Firstly, the method we have used to diagram the interrelated variables of the process of infiltration allows these essentially abstract ideas to become more understandable to a wider audience.

Secondly, our emergent substantive theory demonstrates the workability and modifiability of the original formal theory discovered by Glaser and Strauss (1971).

Finally, that grounded theory not only has direct relevance for future progress but also for its usefulness in sensitising other novice researchers before entering the field.

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Personal Legitimising: a Perspective of Marketing Management

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Abstract

This paper explains the basic social process of "personal legitimizing" and illustrates its influence on marketing activity. Personal legitimising is the process by which individuals manipulate situations to suit their own agenda. The link between personal legitimising and an organization's marketing activity was discovered using a grounded theory research strategy within a UK management consulting firm.

Personal legitimising has two groupings of behaviour, namely "obstructing existing marketing activity" and "driving new marketing activity". Within the former are the categories of "stigmatising", "pseudo endorsing" and "smokescreening". Tile latter incorporates the categories of hatching on", "self indulging" and "bragging".

The paper has three parts. The first explains the basic social process· of personal legitimizing. The second shows how grounded theory methodology was used in this context. The third develops the possible contribution of personal legitimising to the understanding of marketing.

Introduction

Personal legitimising is about justifying one's own actions or perspective. It is about how individual priorities and prejudice influence an organisation's behaviour.

The use of personal legitimising to influence the marketing activities and style of an organisation has emerged from a grounded theory study into the marketing behaviour of a management consultancy firm.

The UK has some 20, 000 consultancy firms (Keynote 1994). It was commercial interest in management consultancy which led me to study marketing processes in consultancy firms. Although I find it interesting to consider how those tasked with influencing the behaviour of others, namely management consultants, are themselves influenced by their members, the power of grounded theory is the discovery of social processes whose applicability goes beyond the specific research context. Notable examples of this include Bigus, (1972) work on relationship cultivation discovered in the context of a home delivery milk business.

This research is part of a more expansive investigation of the marketing behaviour of management consultants. These findings on personal legitimising are offered as an illustration of what I have seen to date, rather than a fully developed theoretical exploration.

Personal Legitimising and its Core Variables

This section starts with an explanation of personal legitimising as it has emerged from my grounded theory study. I then explain the categories of personal legitimising that the data has suggested following the coding and constant comparison process implicit in grounded theory.

Personal legitimising seems to happen when someone wants to operate outside of the cultural norm of an organisation. Its categories fall into two main groupings, (see Figure 1). In grounded theory parlance these two groupings are "sub core variables" of the process. They are:

- Obstructing existing marketing activity

– Driving new marketing activity

The first sub-core variable is about impeding the progress of marketing ideas and initiatives. The second is the converse and involves the instigation and execution of marketing actions as distinct from those already undertaken by the firm. I will illustrate the three categories within each sub-core variable by referring to the "theoretical memos" developed during the research. Theoretical memos are the researcher's documented stream of consciousness stimulated by the research data. They are the building blocks of theory development in the grounded theory process.

Obstructing Existing Marketing Activity

Personal legitimising the obstruction of marketing actions is about the moves made by individuals in the firm to prevent marketing ideas being adopted. These are the categories observed.
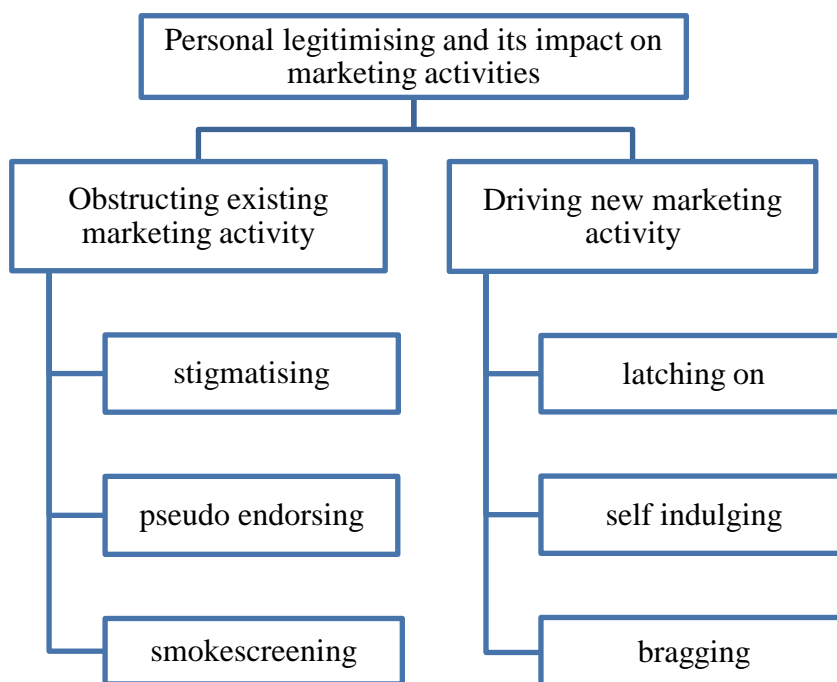

Figure 1: The Basic Social Process of Personal Legitimising

Stigmatising

Stigmatising is where an individual adopts a distorted view to help legitimise a personal perspective, an example of which is shown below:

Theoretical Memo-Stigmatising

(From an interview with the managing consultant.) His view on running promotional seminars and events for clients is that "we tried them two years ago and they generated 'bugger all' business as far as we can see". He doesn't support the firm's intention of doing more.

Note, the previous seminars did generate some business, albeit not as much as the firm hoped. They contributed to the profile of the firm and generated goodwill with clients who were invited. From its previous attempt others in the firm concluded that their seminar events would be more commercially successful if they paid more attention to the timing and venue of the event, rather than the content. They felt they had learned from the process and were well placed to try again. The managing consultant does not enjoy cultivating business using client seminars, he directly expressed this view which was endorsed by his colleagues.

In an attempt to legitimise his own lack of enthusiasm for this marketing method, he proffered a stigmatised view. The example highlights a possible property of stigmatising, namely the property of using prior experience as the reference point. In the following paragraph from a theoretical memo, another property, the use of external reference points, is exhibited.

I have already encountered this view that a particular marketing method was not appropriate for the firm because "one wouldn't expect a firm such as this to behave in

such a way." Sometimes this is logical, but not always. For example, the notion of is-suing newsletters to clients was accordingly dismissed, by drawing attention. to the types of firms who used newsletters and voicing an opinion that recipients of news-letters threw them in the bin without reading them. A similar example involved a consultant justifying the non adoption of direct mailing as a marketing method by saying "I don't think it fits with how a firm such as ours should act." People in the firm did accept that newsletters and direct mail can work, and are used successfully by other management consultancy firms.

Within this category, attempts are made to legitimise inactivity by using selective comparison. The next category, pseudo endorsing, happens when the proposed action is initi-ated.

Pseudo Endorsing

Within this category a marketing action is agreed upon within the company, but im-plementation is obstructed by withholding the necessary resources. It is associated with giv-ing "lip service" to an idea. It is also achieved by personally judging an agreed task to be of lower priority than others. In this way activity can be thwarted without colleagues perceiving the pseudo endorser as lazy or obstructive. The following brief excerpts from theoretical memos show how the category has emerged from the data. The indicators of the behaviour are in bold.

Theoretical Memo - Pseudo Endorsing

This memo is an evolution of the notes that I made around the open codes of prioritising, dedicating, underresourcing and evaporating. Pseudo endorsing is proba-

bly a selective code compared to the others mentioned which I see as descriptive open codes.

In the course of discussion with a senior consultant the subject of the monthly management meetings arose. The consultant said,

"And we do have that slight problem that in even our management meetings, which is supposed to be next week or maybe the week after, **client meetings come up and there isn't the three line whip, there should be but there isn't emphasis on that. So one by one people have dropped out because** they have more important client meetings on. **So you know for the business the short term pressures mean that we tend to forget the long term priority or the long term interest** and that I expect is the essence of our marketing."

I didn't detect frustration, merely an acceptance that this is the way it works. This person had also "managed" the firm's marketing for a while, and this is how he explained his experience here.

"...the business isn't big enough for people like Colin and myself to have to start spending a lot of time contemplating the broader issues, and the longer term issues, like marketing. I mean I was supposed to look after marketing for about six months after the company split. Nicholas was then supposed to have taken it on in total for about a year, **but I feel he probably didn't have the interest at the time either,** so it's sort of fallen into abeyance."

Looking at this I feel pseudo endorsing includes the properties of committing to something with agreement of the rest of the firm, assigning what you've agreed to a lower personal priority without necessarily seeking approval from colleagues for this,

then just letting this under researched commitment die a natural death. To describe this last aspect, the terms "fizzling" (as in "fizzles out") and "evaporating" were offered by two separate members of the firm.

My dialogue with Julia, who was appointed as marketing person, shows the evaporating property in context. I met her on a day she was obviously unhappy with her role. She was frustrated by the fact she has to provide admin support to two consultants as well as look after marketing pro- jects. I asked her how the various marketing tasks she and I had discussed three months previously were progressing. She said,

"...I've progressed absolutely nothing. I've done nothing with the papers, trying to get into the papers. Colin has the CV and the information that is needed to get into the BBC but he hasn't had the chance......from the marketing point of view it needs someone who has got the time to actually do something. . . . . .at the moment and under tight deadlines, because I work for Colin and Martin as well, I just have not time to do anything. ...I think that's how everything goes. It starts off with lots of enthusiasm and it fizzles out."

I asked her what ideas she had to ease the situation. She said that Colin (chairman) and Barry (MD) had agreed to a meeting to look at how the situation could be improved. I phoned her later to see how the meeting went- it didn't go ahead due to work pressures on their parts. It was never reconvened. Within two months Julia left the firm for the more organised pastures of a larger firm.

The final category within the use of personal legitimising to obstruct marketing actions is what happens after pseudo endorsing. This I've labelled "smokescreening."

Smokescreening

Perhaps the last step in justifying one's inability to support an agreed marketing action involves smokescreening. This is expressing regret at one's own performance but justifying this lack of performance by drawing attention to strong performance in an area recognized in the firm as being more valuable. The area of strong performance acts as a smokescreen, as the theoretical memo on smokescreening shows.

Theoretical Memo-Smokescreening

Comment from a consultant tasked with managing his firm's marketing; "We know that marketing has an important role, but how do you overcome the problem that we are on short term thinking. We are short term thinking not because we can't think in the longer term. Personally the business demands very short term responses. You know like last week I had to write five complicated pieces of development material which required three weeks' to do."

He goes on to emphasise that he and his colleagues are purely client driven in their work. A laudable quality, but also a distraction of attention from other responsibilities.

A consultant's lack of ability to contribute to a client newsletter was justified by the comment:

"This raises the other problem in that all the client work I do is confidential, I can't mention any of it, it's absolutely unmentionable. It's a shame". It is difficult to argue against such a position, but there are ways of producing effective client newsletters without disclosing specific client details.

The two examples suggest three properties within this category of smokescreening. The first is the use of irrefutable arguments. For example, few could disagree with a consultant's decision to place existing client commitments as top priority. Second is the characteristic of apologising for an inability to meet obligations, and third is seeming to give others the choice or right of approval in the matter.

As the research progresses I may find more categories of obstructing marketing activity. I will certainly be able to enhance my comprehension of the properties and characteristics of each category. The second grouping looks at personal legitimising from a different perspective-to drive, rather than obstruct, marketing actions.

Driving New Marketing Activity

This sub-core variable is about how individuals accommodate their personal perspective successfully within the organisation, in the initiation of marketing actions. The first category is 'latching on'.

Latching on

This is the ability to achieve personal legitimising by aligning one's own opinions or actions with external and highly revered sources. By highly revered I mean not only influential on the person using them, but also with sufficient gravity to influence others. These two aspects of external sources and highly revered ones should be considered as properties of this category. I came across several examples of latching on.

Theoretical Memo-Latching on

In justifying his (a senior consultant) preference for a particular style of working, namely opportunistic and responsive **he explained his attraction to the strategy writings of Prahalad and Hamel**. He described and was able to use the similarities

between Prahalad and Hamels' views on effective strategy and his own style to help legitimise his own approach to winning client work. Secondly, a senior consultant instigated a follow up exercise after a client spoke very positively about his firm's services at a conference. **The source he latched onto was his wife, who was a former sales director for a company in the USA**. She suggested the follow up exercise, but such an "aggressive" marketing action was beyond the consultancy firm's commercial comfort zone. The follow up was duly completed by the individual and proved effective. Interestingly though, despite what should have been powerful organisational learning there seems no inclination within the firm to engineer more opportunities to replicate the exercise.

The second category within "driving new marketing activity" is self indulging.

Self Indulging

Self indulging is a broad category. It involves individuals choosing actions for self interest and enjoyment. The research revealed many examples of self indulging from a marketing perspective.

Theoretical Memo - Self Indulging

This awareness of self indulgence within the firm started with my second interview and Diane's (senior consultant) comment: "**there's space for you to do what you want to do here.** And therefore maybe, that people become too self indulged in doing what they want to do."

These are the main contexts of self indulging that I've seen:

– physically locating the business in the area of the UK in which you want to live;

– developing the products and programmes you fancy doing;

– working with the clients and contacts you prefer working on;

– using your hobby as the basis for client entertaining;

– importing your own beliefs in organisational philosophy into the management style of the business and doing lectures on this to out- side bodies.

In an earlier memo I described the firm as a "hot house of self indulgence". I retain this view. Following a very early conversation I had with Karen in the execrative recruitment team, she said that the firm maintained this activity because "he (the chairman) liked to dabble in recruitment." I confronted Colin (the chairman) with this. I asked how important the executive selection branch was as an introducer of consultancy work. He replied: "Not critical, it's an indulgence of mine." (laughing)

I found it easy to see self indulgence going on. Nobody attempts to hide it , and when it is raised with people (as with   Colin) they admit it. Some form of self indulgence, including the idea of "dabbling" seems to be expected.

As well as the recognition of the "dabbling" property, the data suggests further aspects to self indulging, including the righteous justification of it to others, and the championing of any self indulgence through to the achievement of results.

Theoretical Memo-Self Indulging (continued)

I spoke with a senior consultant about the problems the firm has with its sales monitoring and incentive system that the consultants supposedly work to. He said:

"The system to incentivise people to sell and deliver? Loosely it is intended to do a little of that, but none of us really believe that...I don't think we are involved in this primarily for extrinsic rewards. I think we're much more intrinsically motivated",

Self indulging has the property of being overly present, it also has the property of being covertly traded rather than negotiated. I have come across no "granting for permission" for self indulgence. Scope for self indulgence is what Martin is including when he talks about intrinsic rewards.

The property of result achievement also becomes evident within self indulging. Points don't seem to be awarded for effort. Scope for self indulging seems to be rewarded by its ability to achieve outcomes for the firm. Nobody seems to be self indulging unsuccessfully. It is as if they champion their indulgence.

I feel that future research and data analysis will enrich and develop my understanding of the impact of self indulging. I see this as a more substantial area than the other categories. This grouping finishes with the category of "bragging".

Bragging

Bragging is about legitimising an approach by demonstrating its effectiveness, usually evidenced by numerical data. Consider this example from the theoretical memo on bragging of the consultant who chooses to sell small items of short term work rather than the organisational norm of longer term projects.

Theoretical Memo - Bragging

Within the organisation he has become known as the 'works department' because of the jobbing shop mentality. Yet he legitimises his approach by pointing out that at any one time he manages three times as many clients as the other consultants, and that he is the organisation's leading fee earner. The rest of the organisation seem ambivalent to this revelation. The data he quoted was his own research and not the official organisational line. His evidence was neither con- tested nor recognised, and the types of

projects pursued by the rest of the organisation remained the conventional longer term projects.

Bragging happens when facts and numbers can be mustered, irrespective of whether these have an official blessing or not. Individuals claim their own bragging rights. The reason it appears at the end of the process is because the action needs to be undertaken and achieved before performance can be claimed. Properties of bragging therefore look to include that which is experience based, and factual. And as with earlier categories, information is used selectively by the individual.

Further research will develop my understanding of "driving" and the processes I have described. The next part of the paper takes a step back in order to show how the grounded theory methodology was applied to this research, and how the understanding of "personal legitimising" emerged.

Explanation of the Procedures Adopted During this Research

The objective of the grounded theory research method is to create explanations of behaviour beyond a simple description of what people are doing. It seeks meaning from data. Its originators were Glaser and Strauss, who first developed the technique in a study of the terminally ill (Glaser 1992). Glaser describes grounded theory as the "systematic generation from data of a theory that explains most of the variations in the data." (Lowe, 1996).

In grounded theory, data collection and analysis occur simultaneously as analytic interpretations and discoveries shape ongoing data generation. This is because the methodology is based on process discovery rather than on a measurement of units. It is difficult to show the process in a diagram but Figure 2 gives an illustration of some of the main activities.

Data Generation

My research was made possible by obtaining access to a high profile but small (annual turnover £2m) management consultancy firm. I gathered data by observing its working practices, having conversations with management and administrative staff in both formal and social settings, and attending internal meetings.

In the first two months of the project I spent eight working days on site with the firm. This was followed by further visits over the next nine months and the gathering of more data including in-depth taped interviews with six of the firm's 20 staff.

Between research interventions I coded the data, wrote and analysed theoretical memos, then decided what I needed to collect next, as the notion of "personal legitimising" began to emerge. The term given to this continual focus for the field work is Theoretical Sampling. In grounded theory, the researcher undertakes sufficient data collection around a particular concept (which has emerged from the data) to saturate the understanding of it.

Coding

Coding is the part of the process of how data is developed into an explanatory theory.

Coding starts with "open coding" which involves the fracturing of data by isolating significant incidents such as events, issues, processes or relationships, and labelling them using respondent or researcher expressions. The label assigned to a code is usually a gerund, i.e. the form of a verb ending in "ing". This helps sensitise the researcher to the processes and patterns which may be revealed at a later stage.

Open codes are simply the first attempt to highlight data which the researcher believes may have an importance beyond the simple description of the context of the data. When interesting and thought provoking ideas are seen in the data they are carefully and systematically catalogued, and built into theoretical memos (see below). This allows the re-

searcher to trace codes back to source and context, which is essential for the constant comparison process (see later), The six taped interviews in the research created over 40,000 words of dialogue, which in tum generated 109 open codes.

The synthesis of open codes creates "selective codes". This is achieved by the interplay of theoretical memos and the constant comparison process. The shift of perspective from the descriptive open codes to conceptual selective codes requires the researcher to engage both intuition and intellect. As the open coding gathers pace the researcher begins to see that several of the open codes are logically related to each other. For example, the category of "pseudo-endorsing" evolved from open codes on "prioritising" "dedicating" "under-resourcing" and "evaporating".

Figure 2. The Grounded Theory Process
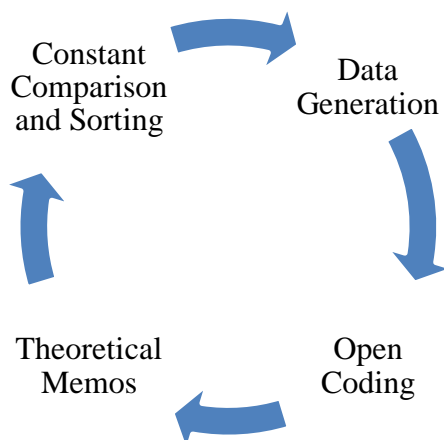
Theoretical Memos

Theoretical memos are described as "the theorising write up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst whilst coding" (Glaser 1978). They are a means to abstraction and conceptualisation and are used throughout the grounded theory process. Initially they may be as short as one sentence, but as the analysis moves on, they are updated and de-

veloped and can be several pages in length. Although there is not a strict single format for a theoretical memo, they should contain at least four aspects.

- A title, which is usually an open code label;

- A description of the categories of the concept to which the memo relates;

- The properties within each category; and

- Indicators, illustrations taken from the data which highlight the properties and categories within the memo.

The Constant Comparison Method

Theoretical categories are developed through a process of tentative conceptualisation whereby categories are created and then theoretically sampled to see how they fit across new data. Categories are redefined and refined as relationships clarify. By constantly comparing the data and by looking for negative occurrences of relationships it is eventually possible to elaborate and integrate data to the point where no new evidence occurs within a category.

The sorting of theoretical memos in grounded theory is best done manually (as in this case) in order to retain an intimacy with the data. In sorting, the researcher taps into the bank of theoretical memos which have been written up as the research has progressed. Sorting happens several times during a piece of research to ensure that the indicators are able to be upgraded to core categories. The process of personal legitimising and its constituent categories are the result of the constant comparison process being applied to my interview transcripts, field notes, and secondary data from the management consultancy film.

Core Variables

Grounded theory is concerned with the discovery of basic social processes which explain the resolution of the problem or issue which confronts people in the substantive area

being studied. Theory generation happens around the core variable. A core variable accounts for most of the variation in a pattern of behaviour. A fully integrated grounded theory is likely to have several inter-linking core variables. For example in the study of the merging of corporate entitles, (Lowe 1997), the core variables of default remodelling are cultivating relationships by supporting, terminating relationships, coercive isolating, and neglecting relationships by benign denial. These are all fully integrated with each other. Take one of them away and the theory collapses. My research has identified the one core variable of personal legitimising so far. I expect that as the study progresses then the constant comparison process will reveal others to provide a more integrated theory.

Personal Legitimising - Implications for Marketing

The third part of this paper therefore suggests the possible value of "personal legitimising" to the understanding of marketing.

In grounded theory, the review of literature around the substantive area of study does not take place until the stage of the creation of an integrated theory. The purpose of the literature review is to situate the emerged theory in the context of other academic work. Since this theory is still emerging it is difficult for a literature search to be more than indicative. However, it is useful to approach this starting as close as possible to the research context (i.e. UK management consultancy) and then moving towards greater abstraction.

Literature on management consultancy tends to focus on consultants, contributions (or otherwise) to clients, rather than their marketing activities. What exists is practitioner based and aimed at informing rather than explaining. For example, Bianco-Mathis (1996) on the consequences of client referrals, and Russam (1996) on network approaches.

One possible position for personal legitimising is helping our understanding of the marketing management process. Brownlie (1991) comments that most studies in marketing management focus on the technical rather than broader managerial aspects. This observation leads to Brownlie's call for greater attention to be paid to understanding of the general management aspects of the marketing process. As an illustration in support of Brownlie's view, Cunningham et al. (1987) focus entirely on a rational view of marketing management with logical processes, analysis frameworks, and transparent decision-making techniques in their text *Marketing A Managerial Approach*. Slater et al. (1994) highlight research which indicates that a market-oriented culture is most likely to develop in an organisational environment where there is strong top management commitment to the concept. This indicates a link between personal influence and marketing performance.

Personal legitimising is also suggesting a link between personal influence and an organisation's marketing approach. Few would challenge the importance of an organisation's people on the style of its marketing in today's service-dominated environment. It is perhaps in this situation, helping understand how the "people" marketing mix variable works in practice. The broader managerial literature seems to carry a greater discussion of the types and consequences of personal influence. Egan (1993). for example, raises the notion of "self serving deals" and the accommodation of "individual idiosyncrasies" in what he terms the organisation's "shadow side" or "arationalities". This seems sympathetic to the processes and behaviours I observed within personal legitimising.

The various categories of personal legitimising seem to be recognised individually within social sciences literature. For example, Lowe (1997) in his study of the default remodelling of relationships, mentions the work of the sociologist Goffman around stigma and

stigmatizing. Stigmatising is one of the categories my research indicates. If personal legitimising is to contribute to our comprehension of marketing activity it is likely to be as bringing together of such building blocks into a process capable of describing behaviour.

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SERIALISING, SPLITTING AND INTEGRATING:

ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF GROUNDED THEORY TO A PSYCHOANALYTIC

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF LOVE

Richard Ekins

INTRODUCTION

This preliminary communication is a contribution to the psychology of love inspired by Freud's early papers on the topic (Freud, 1910: 1912: 1918). It suggests a method of researching the clinical situation in psychoanalysis which might enable psychoanalytic research to be brought more firmly within the mainstream of social scientific research. More ambitiously, it might be seen as setting forth the beginnings of a framework for the systematic study of the psychoanalytic social psychology of love.

BACKGROUND

I give four anecdotes to situate the thrust of the paper - the first, an oftrepeated remark by Anna Freud; the second, some thoughts on a paper by Joseph Sandier; the third, some remarks on what I call 'the problem of imposition'; and, finally, some thoughts on the recently stated editorial policy of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. The first anecdote explains what led me to the central theme of the paper - the conjoining of the research methodology of grounded theory (GT) with the research method of psychoanalysis. The remaining three anecdotes are designed to intimate why this conjoining might lead to a worthwhile con-

tribution to what Emde and Fonagy (1997) have recently referred to as 'an emerging culture for psychoanalytic research?'.

Anna Freud often used to remark how psychoanalysts will frequently find a way of returning to the specialism (or specialisms) they were trained in prior to their psycho- analytic training. In my own case, prior to psychoanalytic training I had spent a considerable part of my academic research life trying to apply the methodology of grounded theory to whatever empirical area in the social sciences took my fancy (e.g. Ekins, 1997). In the second section of the paper 'On Grounded Theory'. I will outline the approach of grounded theory. For the moment, it is sufficient to emphasise that grounded theory is a strategy for the simultaneous collection, analysis and writing-up of data which emphasises the logic of discovery rather than verification.   It is a method of qualitative analysis which lends itself particularly well to the analysis of qualitative data. It is a method of research which demands intimate apprecia- tion of the arena studied, but which writes up that intimate appreciation in terms of theoretical analyses (Ekins, 1997). In particular, it emphasises theoretical coding. As Glaser (1978, p. 55) puts it: The essential relationship between data and theory is a conceptual code. The code conceptualises the underlying pattern of a set of empirical indicators within the data. Thus, in generating a theory by developing the hypothetical relationships between conceptual codes (categories and their properties) which have been generated from the data as indicators, we "discover" a grounded theory. Soon after qualifying as a psychoanalyst, I found myself seek- ing to develop an approach to psychoanalytic research which drew upon the grounded theory method of research. I should stress. perhaps, that this paper is a first attempt to bring together the approaches of psychoanalysis and grounded theory. Whilst Odis Simmons has pioneered what he terms 'grounded therapy' based largely on his grounded theory study of the practice

of counselors (Simmons, 1994), the conjoining of psychoanalysis and GT is entirely virgin territory.

But what of the relevance of Joseph Sandler's writings to my research problem? Here I focus on Sandler's important position paper 'Research Without Numbers' (Sandier, 1995). In this paper, Sandier details his conceptual approach to research - an outgrowth of the Hampstead Index, initiated by Dorothy Burlingham. This paper may be situated within the contemporary call to research the psychoanalytic process. In it Sandier argues forcefully that researching the psychoanalytic process does not necessarily entail the use of numbers. Rather his approach entails the generation and application of psychoanalytic concepts from clinical material by groups of researchers; the elaboration and fine tuning, and, if necessary, reconceptualisation and application of the concepts; and discursive reports of alternative conceptualizations which are designed to lead to greater clarity and more systematic development of psychoanalytic conceptualizations, which are then available as resources to feed back into both the clinical and research arenas. I was impressed by Sandler's approach. It accorded with my preference for qualitative and conceptual research. However, in truth, I found his approach over-conceptual and lacking the empirical substance needed to verify the conceptualizations. In particular, I found his approach lacking in detailed directions to be followed by researchers wishing to work within his preferred tradition. I had the hunch that grounded theory applied to psychoanalytic research might provide a worthwhile important alterative approach. It could facilitate a 'research without numbers' which incorporated both a sensitive tool and detailed direction for psycho- analysts wishing to retheorise and generate new theory.

What I term 'the problem of imposition' is conveniently illustrated by a more personal anecdote. I had not long been attending Scientific meetings of the British Psycho-Analytical Society when I happened upon a particularly striking example of the problem of imposition. Robert Caper (1996), from the United States, presented a Kleinian formulation which sought to explore the relationship between depressive awareness and the Oedipal situation. He prefaced his paper with a review of certain ideas about paranoid schizoid and depressive object relationships with an eye to clarifying what he meant by depressive awareness. He stated his view that emergence into the depressive position depends on one's being able to have a realistic experience of the Oedipal situation and, *inter alla*, discussed Oedipal aspects of the transference. Caper then presented a clinical illustration viewing his clinical material through his Kleinian formulation of the Oedipal situation in such manner that that the formulation seemed to give validity to his reading of the clinical material, and the clinical material seemed to provide evidence for the validity of the formulation. The paper was greeted with considerable applause, whereupon Hanna Segal (1996) warmly praised the speaker for the courage and independence which had led him to write his paper. He had, as I understood her, sought out Kleinian teachers who were officially unrecognised by the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA), rather than undergo a psychoanalytic training which would lead to IPA accreditation. For fourteen years Caper had been in no-man's land career wise. Only when the new Institutes in the USA were sponsored by the IPA did Caper become a training analyst, a fact cited by Dr. Segal as evidencing that 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating'.

It seemed to me that our American visitor had cleverly detailed a tautology. Having viewed and selected the clinical material through his Kleinian lens, he then

used both the lens and the material to validate each other. His tautology was then duly praised as evidencing as Dr. Segal put it: 'an outstanding example of a man who has a mind of his own'.

This problem of imposition, this 'grid-reading' of clinical material as it might be called, is widespread in the psychoanalytic literature - simply scan the relevant literature on any substantive area and see how the area is re-written with every major shift in psychoanalytic conceptualization. Whilst you might argue that each new conceptualization tells us more about the same researched object, it has always seemed to me that each new conceptualization constitutes a different object of research. Far better, for research purposes, to seek an approach which does not provide a version of data as filtered through an imposed theoretical framework. This, indeed, is the promise of GT. As Glaser puts it: 'Categories are not precious, just captivating. The analyst should readily modify them as successive data may demand. The analyst's goal is to ground the fit of the categories as best he can' (Glaser, 1978: 4).

My final background anecdote is taken from a recent 'editorial afterthoughts' (Tuckett, 1995) in the *International douMal of Psychoanalysis*. The editor David Tuckett is a sophisticated methodologist. He underscores the theoretical pluralism in contemporary psychoanalysis and details what he refers to as 'the grossly inadequate' 'efforts to develop a rigorous basic methodology of communication and debate'. After outlining his view of the nature of data in the analytic situation he argues that 'it follows that communication of clinical facts requires the analyst, as participant-observer in the intersubjective field, to provide us with as clear and complete a record of the occurrences and his subjective experience and his thoughts about them as possible . . . it is a fallacy to believe that the patient's (and analyst's) words have a

meaning outside the analyst's subjective context. 'More ominously, in the context of future peer review procedures for The International Journal, he argues that 'the study of the analyst's mind and his observational and inferential methodology (be placed) at the heart of the accumulation of psychoanalytic knowledge'.

While we might agree with the tenor of his diagnosis, his 'way forward' does not follow. Data does, indeed, emerge within the interplay of analysVresearcher and patient. Theory does, indeed, emerge within the same interplay. However, it is perfectly in accord with an 'intersubjectivist', post-positivist methodology to write up that emergence in terms of forms and contents of social process, rather than in terms of the study of the analyst's mind. This is a possible GT 'solution' to his problem and one that I personally favour. Other psychoanalytic researchers who are not particularly enamoured with the contemporary tum to the mind of the analyst may well find the GT approach a congenial alternative.

ON GROUNDED THEORY

I have suggested that GT provides a sensitive and detailed methodology for 'research without numbers' that does not fall foul of 'the problem of imposition'; that it is a methodology compatible with a post-positivist ontology and epistemology; and that it might find its rightful place within an emerging culture for psychoanalytic research. So what is grounded theory in the present context?

I shall content myself with a few remarks before turning to the substantive focus of the paper - that of the problem of object-choosing. Far better, in the present context, to illustrate the fruits of GT rather than spend too much time delineating the methodology.

Grounded theory is the discovery of theory from data systematically obtained and analysed in social research, following the basic methodology set forth in Glaser and Strauss

(1967) and expanded in Glaser (1978), Bigus, Hadden and Glaser (1982), and Strauss (1987).

Each researcher who adopts the approach is likely to develop his or her own variation of technique (Charmaz, 1983). My own approach is most influenced by Glaser (1978). In that book, Glaser emphasises the fact that 'The goal of grounded theory is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for those involved. The goal is not voluminous description, nor clever verification' (Glaser, 1978: 93).

Glaser delineates how the researcher generates substantive codes from the data which conceptualise the empirical substance of the research area; how s/he then generates theoretical codes in order to conceptualize how the substantive codes may relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into the theory (Glaser, 1978: 55); and how both are then subsumed under a small number of core categories which have the greatest explanatory power. Grounded theory is concerned to research generic social processes. In this sense it is concerned with form not content. The principle methods it uses are theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method. GT gives specific directions for theoretical sampling. That is to say it indicates where you might look too next as a result of analysis of data previously collected. The constant comparative method has four main stages: (i) comparing incidents applicable to each category; (ii) integrating categories and their properties; (iii) delimiting the theory; (iv) writing the theory.

Of particular importance to Glaser is the value of conceptualising codes and categories in terms of what he calls 'basic social processes' – a concept developed further in Bigus, Hadden and Glaser (1982). The basic social process in the research domain is the process that continually resolves the main concern of the subjects studied. To access it, the researcher asks

the question: what is the chief concern or problem of the people in the substantive area, and what accounts for most of the variation in processing that problem?

Using the GT method of theoretical sampling, I began to scour my own personal experience, my knowledge of literature, current affairs and so on, together with my past and present case load notes, for incidents of object choosing which I could compare using the 'constant comparative method' as detailed in the GT methodology texts. Further, I began to listen to colleagues' case presentations with a particular ear for incidents of objectchoosing, and did likewise with my reading of the psychoanalytic literature. My coding of such incidents soon led me to the view that object-choosing took three major modes, which I termed 'serialising', 'splitting' and 'integrating'. Furthermore, it emerged that all object-choosing viewed as a social psychological process could be seen with the maximum parsimony and bite in terms of these three modes - their dimensions and properties and their respective interrelations.

An adequate grounded theory of object-choosing would entail what GT calls 'theoretical saturation'. 'Saturation' means that that no additional data are being found where the GT analyst can develop properties of the categories. As s/he sees instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated.

It is not my present purpose to detail, or even illustrate, an adequately dense and integrated theory of object-choosing, however. Rather, in the remainder of this section I shall briefly set forth each of the three modes of objectchoosing in isolation, with reference to a number of their major dimensions and properties, and give a number of illustrative examples. My intention is both to give something of the flavour of my particular use of GT, and also to provide the basic conceptual wherewithal to develop the illustrations in the section on 'clini-

cal illustratons' which follows this one. In that section, I return to the clinical cases of Mr. A. and Mr. B. - those cases that led me to develop a theory of object-choosing in the first instance.

SERIALISING

Serialising refers to object-choosing which arranges itself in a series. Principal dimensions of serialising are as those of number, intensity and time.

Don Juan may be taken as illustrating one end of the serialising continuum as regards numbers of object-choice. He endlessly seeks partner after partner only to drop them just as soon as he has seduced them. The most commonplace psychoanalytic observation about the Don Juan type is that he is treatiing his partners as he was treated. Just as his mother left him, he leaves his mother-substitutes. Furthermore, as he is unconsciously seeking his mother, each object-choice in the series is unsatisfactory once secured, and must be given up in an endless search for the lost mother-object. At the other end of the continuum, as regards numbers, might be the person who keeps choosing the same object and goes through seemingly endless cycles of falling in love, securing, and separating. Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton engaged in   this type of serialising for many years. Solicitors tell of couples who marry, divorce and re-marry each other - many times over. What anthropologists term serial monogamy has increasingly become the norm in advanced industrial countries in late-modernity.

The intensity dimension refers to the degree of drivenness of the serialising. Many serialisers feel so bereft without a partner, that they habitually engage in overlapping serialising. That is to say, they seek to ensure they have obtained the next object in the series, before dispensing with the preceding object. Others seem less driven to serialise. They engage in what might be termed unintermittent serialising (cf. continuous serializing). There may be

greater or lesser periods without an object-choice. Or such persons might variously content themselves with fantasy object-choices. Or they might tide the period over with variously elaborate schemes of securement.

Each object-choosing in the series may be be for variously short or long periods. At one end of this continuum might be placed the person who endlessly seeks one-night stands with readily available and willing partners. At the other end of the continuum, we might place the long-term married, who on the death of their spouse may take up with another spouse - a series of just two. Most serialising does, of course, take place variously within these 'extremes'.

Serialising is variously bound to different pre-conditions in the objectchoice, and variously bound to the qualities possessed by the object-choice. At one extreme might be the clothes fetishist who may serialise with any object who is prepared to wear the fetish. Others may have the most elaborate pre-conditions of object-choosing. Again, serialising is marked by differing degrees of ritual and flexibility. In highly ritualised object-choosing, what we might see as the compulsion to repeat seems particularly evident. Finally, we might highlight the degree of awareness of serializing possessed by the serialiser. Conscious awareness of a driven serialising which is seen to be unsatisfactory, at best, and highly damaging, at worst, may well propel the serialiser into therapy.

SPLITTING

I use the term 'splitting' with some hesitation. It is, of course, a term widely used in the psychoanalytic literature sometimes descriptively and sometimes with explanatory intent. I have in mind here, object-choosing which entails two or more simultaneous partners. The term might also be applied to fantasy partners, but in its simplest form the splitter sees to it

that he has two or more concurrent object-choices, each of which are sought to meet different needs.

As with sertalizing, the dimension of number is significant. Overtly widespread is the male who marries and keeps his wife at home, while also having a mistress. Three-fold splits into the mother-figure, madonna-figure and whore-figure are widely written about. Again there may be various preconditions, variously ritualised, and variously enacted. John, a successful lawyer, always found himself attracted to what he termed 'the bar-room floozy/working-class type'. He wooed and married such a woman whom he found 'particularly beautiful'. As his wife became older, had children and generally became more encultured within his professional circle and his upper middle-class family, he found himself becoming increasingly attracted to alternative 'bar-room floozies'. It was not long before he had set up one such as his mistress.

The splits may be variously what might be termed 'aparted'. Many splitters carry secret 'aparting' to their graves. John seemed compelled to so manage his affair with his mistress that third parties brought the affair to the attention of his wife (dual-world fusing). There followed much heart-ache and recrimination, but always John sought to secure his dual-splitting anew. After some thirty years, he remains married to his wife and has had a series of three mistresses.

Many splitters seek to secure multiple object-choices each filling different needs. Others find this too difficult, impracticable, or dangerous when sought in 'reality'. They may increasingly seek satisfaction of their needs in fantasy relationships. An interesting variant here is the cross-dresser who 'splits' within himself. Too fearful or inhibited to secure his own heterosexual partner, he creates one in his fantasies. As the psychiatrist in the final denoue-

ment of Hitchcock's classic *Psycho* (1960) says of Norman: [Norman] was simply doing everything possible to keep alive the illusion of his mother being alive. And when reality came too close: when danger, or desire, threatened that illusion, he dressed up. Even to a cheap wig he bought. He'd walk about the house. Sit in her chair. Speak in her voice. He tried to be his mother. And er ... now he is.'

INTEGRATING

When I read a draft of this paper (up to this point) to a non-psychoanalyst colleague, she commented that not much of it seemed to be about love. It is of interest in this regard that when Otto Kemberg re-worked his paper 'Barriers to Falling and Remaining in Love' for his recent book *Love Relations: Normality and Pathology* (1995) he did so in a chapter he retitled 'Psychopathology'. From this standpoint, serialising and splitting are likely to be seen as pathological variants of mature love. Indeed, integrating might best be seen in terms of movement towards neither serialising nor splitting. At its simplest, 'integrating' in object-choosing refers to the objectchooser's integrating his various needs in one object. When elaborated, 'integrating' is well illustrated with reference to psychoanalytic writings that have focussed on genital love (Balint, 1948), or mature love (Kernberg, 1974, 1995). Balint, for instance, suggested that, in addition to genital satisfaction, a true love relation included idealisation, tenderness, and a special form of identification. He suggests calling the last Genital identification', within which the 'interests, wishes, feelings, sensitivity, shortcomings of the partner attain - or are supposed to attain - about the same importance as our own' (p. 115). Balint's idea was a shift from the then dominant focus on 'genital primacy' per se as the the basis for ideal love relations, pointing to the important preoedipal elements influencing geni-

tal identification, and to the importance of integrating pre-genital tenderness with genital satisfaction.

Integrating may be variously fragile/secure. It may be variously dependent on pre-conditons in the chosen object. It may appear variously in an objectchoosing career. Trajectories of integrating may be variously short or long. Mature love is not seen to happen overnight, however. It entails getting to know the chosen object; seeing him/ her as a whole person, time for development, and so on.

CLINICAL ILLUSTRATIONS[3]

A moment's thought will suggest that although it may be possible to speak conceptually about the three modes - serialising, splitting and integrating - in isolation, in the empirical world they, and their various dimensions and properties, will interrelate. Furthermore, it will also be evident that differing emphases on description and psychoanalytic explanation and their interrelations are possible. In the previous section I deliberately remained largely at the descriptive, psychoanalytically unsophisticated level. This is because, once the explanatory realm is entered, a veritable hornet's nest of epistemological and methodological problems are stirred up - particularly in regard to problems of reliability and validity.

To introduce the more complex issues, I now contrast and compare the cases of Mr. and Mr. B. Both illustrations might be seen principally in terms of splitting. Both patients also illustrate secondary serialising. The instability of Mr. A's splitting has led him to therapy. His integrating is minimal. Mr. B's· splitting is relatively stable and his analysis facilitates noteworthy integrating. In Mr. A's case we have little or no evidence to move from description to evidenced explanation. The progress of Mr. B's long analysis provides a mass of data

which might be drawn upon to explain his modes of object-choosing, their changing patterns and their changing interrelations.

I saw Mr. A. for just 32 sessions in twice weekly psychoanalytic psychotherapy. He frequently missed appointments. Though I was free to speculate about explanations of his object-choosing pattern, I uncovered no material which could in any sense be said to provide convincing psychoanalytic explanation. He did, however, provide a very interesting example of a particular type of object-choosing which might be seen as very illuminating for descriptive purposes. On the other hand, I have seen Mr. B. for some six years in five times weekly psychoanalysis. He remained very firmly 'in analysis' for those years. Recovery of memories and psychoanalytic reconstructions provide very plausible explanatory material, in addition to the interesting descriptive material he has furnished.

Mr. A., a 30 year old unmarried local government clerical officer, presented in some desperation. He had been adopted as a baby and had lived at home with his adoptive parents until his early 20's. Since his late teens, he increasingly spent his weekends away from home, in a coastal resort where he generally had a 'rave', mainly within a sub-culture involved in music and soft drugs - marijuana, magic mushrooms, and the like. He had occasionally taken LSD.

He would feel himself getting attached to a woman and then suffer severe panic attacks, and feel he had to get away from the woman. I have already referred to the occasion when after a long-standing on and off affair with an Australian visitor, the woman tried to forcibly restrain him from leaving her, and he fell to the floor trembling and sweating. On another occasion, he fled from a woman with the intention of going on a solo trip around the

world. By the time he had reached London (from his home in the United Kingdom), he was in such a bad state that he had admitted himself to a psychiatric hospital.

It was difficult for him to talk about anything else besides his panics. He would repeatedly ask a similar set of questions. Was he irreparably damaged in some way? Could I help him? Did he have to reconcile himself to a life of living alone? A solitary life resolved the problem of his symptoms, but most of the time he felt he did not want to be without a partner. Yet, what was the alternative?

As I have said, I only saw him for 32 sessions, and he found it very difficult to come to the sessions regularly. So in a sense he was repeating in the transference his characteristic way of relating. The slightest of movements towards attachment to me tended to herald his missed sessions.

Rather soon a picture of his relationships with women emerged. I came to see him as a very good example of a man unable to unite what Freud (1912) referred to as the affectionate and sensual currents in love. It was striking, too, how much his preferred object-choices resembled each other.

His object-choosing typically conformed to the following pattern. He would meet a woman who was engaged, or married, or sometimes just involved with someone else, but uncertain whether to continue the relationship. My patient would be kind, considerate and helpful to her. Gradually the woman's attachment would switch to him. She would break off the relationship with the husband, fiance or partner. As long as Mr. A. was just being 'helpful' to her, things were fine. He would feel great tenderness and love for her. Then, quite inexplicably to him, despite his loving feelings for her, he experienced panic attacks. He just had to 'get away'.

He had his first girlfriend when he was 19. The relationship lasted a couple of weeks. The young woman was engaged at the time. They had intercourse. Then Mr.A. thought, 'God, What have I done?'

At 22 he met another young woman who was engaged. She broke off the engagement to.be with Mr. A. He had intercourse with her once and did not want her any- more. He explained what had happened to his family who told him it was quite normal. 'You just did not want her when it came to it', they said.

On occasions he was able to sustain a relationship over several years, as he did with the Australin girlfriend who only came to Ireland occasionally. She was a keen surfer - 'more like a man', as he put it. On one occasion, when she made advances towards him, he thought 'back off you bitch'.

Not surprisingly, he was getting attached to another woman in the series, when he was seeing me. In session 16, he related: 'I've just had the worst attack ever and I want to tell you about it. I arranged to see Fiona on New Year's Eve. I wanted to touch her. We got close through talking. This meant more than having sex. I don't think I could have sex with her. She telephoned me on Tuesday for lunch. I went through the door (at her house) and had an attack.' He then recounted how things were getting worse for him. How he really did love her, but that things were changing again. How he went back to his own house, broke down crying and took the dog out for a walk. As he tellingly put it: 'I've got you; I'm fed up with you; I hate you. The dream switches to a nightmare'. Even at this stage, he would be jealous if his woman friend talked to anyone else. He talked of suicide and of his fears that the treatment was making him worse. In session 25, he talked of the women he can have sex with. 'With some girls it's just a good funk - you don't mind me using these words?'

He spoke of one woman who was married and renowned for sleeping around. He thought: I'm going to screw you. I've no feelings, whatsoever, for you - no affectionate feelings; no soft feelings. Just sex. I don't give a toss about your marriage. I want rough sex. I don't care about you at all'. He continued: 'I showed roughess to her. I enjoyed it. I went to the bathroom next morning, cleaned up, and walked away. The.re were no feelings of affection, love or tenderness. It was a release; like a form of masturbation'. Once he's besmirched the women, he's not interested in them.

Now it is, of course. quite possible to speculate about antecedents, and so on. We might note the fact that Mr. A. was adopted and might find ouselves speculating about the significance of the mother who had abandoned him. Perhaps she. was the prototype of the faithless woman whom he wanted to funk and then abandon, as he was abandoned. Perhaps, the prototype of his affectionate object-choices was an idealised natural mother. Perhaps, the affectionate object-choices provoked anxiety as Oedipal conflicts became aroused and it was these Oedipal conficits that led to his panic attacks.

The fact was, though, that Mr. As preoccupations with his symptoms and his bleak future precluded the uncovering work necessary to provide any evidence for these speculations - or, indeed any alternative speculations - let alone a convincing case for them. Indeed, shortly after I had put it to him that he was reluctant to tell me his secrets, he broke off his treatment with me. However, in terms of his serialising and splitting, it is instructive to note his particular compromise formations.

Mr. B. was referred to me with episodes of palpitations, uncontrollable shaking, and fear that he was going to die. He was a highly successful workdriven advertising executive of 38, married with two children.

Following work on various issues and a striking reduction of his symptoms during the first year of analysis, his relationship with his mother became the focus of his analysis. He had lived with her until he was four, then following a spate of illnesses, his mother had spent the next three years in and out of hospital.

He went to live with his Aunt's family and her unmarried sister who was still living at home. At the time his analysis began he had no memories of those three years. He was told that his mother had visited him for periods at a time but had no recollection of any visits.

As a young boy, he recalled lying awake in bed determining to become a successful businessman and provide for his parents and family the security, comfort and possessions that his own parents had been unable to provide for him. He had done just this, for the most part single-handedly.

As the analysis progressed over some four years, it became apparent just how much the insecurity of his early object relations had affected his relations with his object-choosing, laying down the template for his subsequent pattern of 'splitting'.

From post-adolescence onwards, he contrived to have one permanent 'safe' partner, to whom he was not very attached, and did not find very satisfasctory.

First, there was a relationship with a trainee social worker, while he, himself, was at College. Later, he had a relationship with the woman he married ·in his mid-20s. He would have fairly regular intercourse with his wife, but did not find it satisfactory.

In parallel with the 'safe' relationship, he had one non-sexual relationship which he fantasied would provide the answer to the security he sought. For most of his life, since his student days, his fantasy relationship took the form of one particular person who he idealised. However, whenever he had the opportunity to make the fantasy reality, he never took it.

When he came near to it, he was married by that time and was unable to make the break from his wife and children. Furthermore, he felt too guilty and inhibited to pursue a sexual relationship with his idealised partner when the opportunity arose, which it did on a number of occasions over a twenty year period. His inhibitions in this regard did not stop his fantasies. He would fantasise that this idealised woman would take the initiative, acknowledge what he had been through, hold him in her arms and comfort him.

In parallel with these two main relationships that continued throughout his adult years and, indeed, through many years of his analysis, he maintained a third relationship. This took the form of a secret and sexual affair with a junior work colleague whom he found very attractive and who was always available for him but with whom he felt unable to have full intercourse.

Over the course of his analysis, we came to see how his object-choosing mirrored his early object relationships. When is mother left him for hospital, he lived for those 3 years with his aunt. She was safe, but unsatisfactory. He could never commit himself to her. It was his mother he wanted.

When, however, his mother returned, or when he lived with her again later, he could not commit himself to her either. He was angry that she had 'gone away', that she did not acknowledge his pain, and, most of all, he was fearful that she would go away again. He could not acknowledge his anger with her, far less express it to her - she was too fragile, and that might send her away for good. He was not going to be caught out again. Yet he so yearned for her to understand him, comfort him, say how much she appreciated his suffering, how she would not go away again, and so on.

Similarly, with the mother-substitute fantasy relationship, he would never put it to the test, for fear of losing her. Here, sexual inhibitions were particularly overt. In any event, the evidence suggested that his idealised object-choice wanted a mature companion and lover. He, on the other hand, wanted a mother-figure. So in reality the relationship was never sustained, however strong the fantasy, and whatever the opportunity to fulfil the fantasy.

The extent to which his object-choosing mirrored his early object relationships came as a complete revelation to Mr. B. We came to see that on each occasion he had presented for psychiatric help, or, indeed, had been hospitalised, a particular crisis had arisen in the management of his three relationships. The chronology was such that it seemed irrefutable that it was when his 'splitting' failed him that he became ill. Similarly, there was abundant evidence in the clinical material that when Mr. B. became aware of the extent to which his current relationships mirrored their proto- types, their grip on him began to wane. The central dilemma then became - do I have to try to settle for my unsatisfactory 'aunt' wife, or have I created such a person? Might it be possible to commit myself to my wife, to integrate the splitting.

By the fifth year of his analysis, there had been such genuine psychic change that both the fantasied relationship and the relationship with his work colleague had finally ceased to hold their grip on him. We increasingly entered periods where 'integrating' material was particularly prominent in the sessional material. He began to make increasingly sustained efforts to commit himself to his wife, to find the integrating increasingly satisfactory, and to maintain the periods of integrating for increasingly longer time spans. Coterminously, I might add, he began to confront the possibility of the analysis coming to an end - pointing to all sorts of parallels between 'integrating' and 'terminating'. But there we must leave Mr. B.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

In the space of a short preliminary communication it has not been possible for me to develop the GT analysis in any conceptually or theoretically dense manner. Had I done so the development would have followed three main directions. Firstly, I would have detailed many more dimensions and properties of my core categories of serialising, splitting and integrating. Secondly, I would have begun to explore their detailed interrelations with reference to my clinical illustrations. This would have raised hosts of issues as to diverse trajectories of object-choosing and their interrelations, trajectories of discovery of patterns, of patterns of antecedents, and so on. Finally, I would have drawn on a great deal more clinical data to provide evidence for my underdeveloped explanatory comments. This would have provided ample opportunity to explore the contributions of transferential and counter-transferential data to GT analysis. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that I have at least provided enough background material, preliminary GT analysis, and illustrative material to have indicated the potential of the GT approach for researchers seeking a hitherto unexplored approach to qualitative psychoanalytic research.

Footnotes

1. The Editor and Regional Editors of the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* recently announced a special interest in encouraging papers discussing empirical research in psychoanalysis and in debating their value (*Int. J. P. Pschoanal*, 1997, 78: 643). This preliminary communication is a contribution to that debate. An earlier version was presented as a talk to the Northern Ireland Association for the Study of Psycho-Analysis on 25 October, 1997.

2. In psychoanalysis, an object is that which the subject requires in order to achieve instinc-

tual satisfaction. Object-choice 'refers to the process by which one renders someone else psychologically significant.' (Moore and Fine, 1990, p. 129).

3. Biographical details have been altered to protect the identity of the clinical cases.

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Basic Social Process

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Abstract

The goal of grounded theory is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behavior that is relevant and problematic for those involved. The goal is not voluminous description, nor clever verification. As with all grounded theory, the generation of a basic social process (BSP) theory occurs around a core category. While a core category is always present in a grounded research study, a BSP may not be.

BSPs are ideally suited to generation by grounded theory from qualitative research because qualitative research can pick up process through fieldwork that continues over a period of time. BSPs are a delight to discover and formulate since they give so much movement and scope to the analyst's perception of the data. BSPs such as cultivating, defaulting, centering, highlighting or becoming, give the feeling of process, change and movement over time. They also have clear, amazing general implications; so much so, that it is hard to contain them within the confines of a single substantive study. The tendency is to refer to them as a formal theory without the necessary comparative development of formal theory. They are labeled by a "gerund"("ing") which both stimulates their generation and the tendency to over-generalize them.

In this paper, we shall first discuss the search for, and criteria of, core variables (categories) and how they relate to BSPs. Then we go on to a section on several central charac-

teristics of basic social processes. Lastly, we discuss the relative merits of unit vs. process sociology.

Core Category and Basic Social Process (BSP)

While grounded theory can use any theoretical codes, the basic social process (BSP) is a popular one. As with all grounded theory, the generation of a BSP theory occurs around a core category. While a core category is always present in a grounded research study, a BSP may not be. BSPs are just one type of core category—thus all BSPs are core variables (categories), but not all core variables are BSPs. The primary distinction between the two is that BSPs *are processural* or, as we say, they "process out." *They have two or more clear emergent stages.* Other core categories may not have stages, but can use other theoretical codes.

Without a core category, an effort at grounded theory will drift in relevancy and workability. Since a core category accounts for most of the variation in a pattern of behavior, it has several important functions for generating theory. It is relevant and works. Most other categories and their properties are related to it, rendering the core category subject to much qualification and modification because it is so dependent on what is going on in the action. In addition, through these relations between categories and their properties, the core has the prime function of *integrating* the theory and rendering the theory *dense* and *saturated* as the relationships increase.

These functions then lead to theoretical *completeness*—accounting for as much variation in a pattern of behavior with as few concepts as possible, thereby maximizing parsimony and scope. Clearly integrating a theory around a core variable *delimits* the theory and thereby the research project.

Upon choosing a core category, the first delimiting analytic rule of grounded theory comes into play. Only variables that are related to the core will be included in the theory. Another delimiting function of the core category occurs in its necessary relation to *resolving the problematic* nature of the pattern of behavior to be accounted for. Without a focus on how the core category resolves, solves or processes the problem, the analysis can drift to accounting for irrelevancies in the pattern, instead of being forced to conceptually integrate the relevant categories around the main concern.

Yet another delimiting function of a core category is its requirement that the analyst focus on one core at a time. Thus, if two core categories are discovered—or one worked on before another emerges—the analyst can choose one, being sure of its relevance. S/he then demotes the other by filtering it into the theory as a relevant "near core"—but not core—variable. Thus, in *Time for Dying* (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), we included ideas about awareness, but only *insofar* as they affected time. And in *Awareness of Dying* (Glaser & Strauss), 1967, we did the reverse. By this method, the analyst can be sure that the other core does not disappear. It can still take a central focus in another writing. Many studies yield two or (sometimes) three core variables. To try to write about them all at once with no relative emphasis is to denude each of its powerful theoretical functions.

Discovering the core category is our grounded answer to the perennial research problem of "which focus." This focus cannot fail, since it is systematically generated, by a sentence-by-sentence grounding in its capacity to be relevant and to work. In contrast, to core a study and its theory around a "pet" sociological interest or a logically elaborated interest from scholarly writings can easily miss on the many functions mentioned above. Since it is not grounded, there is no assurance that it will integrate any other categories or properties or ac-

count for any or sufficient variation in a behavioral pattern. Nothing—or not much—may emerge as related. Plus, it derails the analyst from discovering the true core. Thus the analyst cannot start a grounded theory study with preconceived notions, from whatever source—even grounded—about what will work in a specific project. The focus must emerge on its own to do justice to the data, while accounting for significant variation in problematic behavior.

Discovering Core Categories

Looking: First, the analyst should consciously look for a core variable when coding his data. As s/he constantly compares incidents and concepts s/he will generate many codes, while being alert to the one or two that are core. S/he is constantly looking for the "main theme," for what—in his or her view—is the main concern or problem for the people in the setting; for that which sums up, in a pattern of behavior, the substance of what is going on in the data, for what is the essence of relevance reflected in the data, for categories (gerunds) which bring out process and change (two properties of BSPs).

As the analyst asks these questions while coding, analyzing and theoretically sampling, s/he becomes sensitized to the potential answers. Possible core categories should be given a "best fit" conceptual label as soon as possible so the analyst has a handle for thinking of them. The analyst may have a feel for what the core variable is, but be unable to formulate a concept that fits well. It is OK to use a label, which is a poor fit until a better fit eventually comes. As the analyst develops several workable coded categories, s/he should begin early to saturate as much as possible those that seem to have explanatory power. This way s/he will see which category is related to as many other categories and their properties as possible. S/he theoretically samples to maximize differences in the data to help saturate the categories. This is relatively easy with quantitative data. The analyst need only run possible core categories against all

other variables to see how much each relates to others. With qualitative data, it is more difficult since these relations must be kept track of in memos, which get spread out until sorted. The core category must be proven over and over again by its prevalent relationship to other categories thereby integrating them into a whole.

When the analyst starts coding, categories tend to emerge quickly, giving the appearance of finding core categories. But the analyst should be suspect of these as core. It takes time and much coding and analysis to verify a core category through saturation, relevance and workability. It always happens that a category will emerge from among many and "core out"—but it happens "eventually"! And, even then the analyst may still feel s/he is taking a chance on selecting what the core variable is, until it is finally proven by sorting data into a theory that works. The more data, the more sure the analyst can become of saturation, relevance, workability and integratability of the chosen core. Time and data can be expensive; in smaller studies an analyst often has to take chances. Certainly, deciding on a core category tests the analyst's skill and abilities. If s/he acts too quickly on a thin amount of data, the analyst risks ending up with a large array of loosely integrated categories, and a thin, undeveloped theory with little explanatory power.

Criteria: It is helpful to sum up the criteria by which an analyst can make judgments as to the core category.

1. It must be *central*; that is, related to as many other categories and their properties as possible and more than other candidates for the core category. This criterion of centrality is a necessary condition to making it core. It indicates that it accounts for a large portion of the variation in a pattern of behavior.

2. It must *reoccur frequently* in the data. By its frequent reoccurrence, it comes to be seen as a stable pattern and becomes increasingly related to other variables. If it does not reoccur a lot, it does not mean the category is uninteresting. It may be quite interesting in its own right, but it just means it is not core.

3. By being related to many other categories and reoccurring frequently, it takes more *time to saturate* the core category than other categories.

4. It relates meaningfully and easily with other categories. These *connections* need not be forced; rather, their realization comes quickly and richly.

5. A core category in a substantive study has clear and grabbing implication for formal theory. The analyst can talk of hospital shifts and immediately realize the implications of shifts as a basic social condition in any twenty-four-hour-a-day work operation and start to conceive of generating a formal theory of work shifts.

6. Based on the above criteria, the core category has considerable carry-through. By this, we mean it does not lead to dead ends in the theory nor leave the analyst high and dry; rather, it gets him/her through the analyses of the processes s/he is working on by its relevance and explanatory power. S/he literally carries through his analysis based on the core's use.

7. It is completely variable. Its frequent relations to other categories make it highly dependently variable in degree, dimension and type. Conditions vary it easily. It is readily modifiable through these dependent variations.

8. While accounting for variation in the problematic behavior, a core category is also a dimension of the problem. Thus, in part, it explains itself and its own variation. While "becoming" a nurse explains the process that student nurses go through in relation to

their training and their interaction with nursing faculty, it also in part explains why a nurse becomes a nurse. They engage in becoming to become, while becoming also explains how they handle those largely responsible for formalizing their entrance to the profession (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968).

9. The criteria above generate such a rich core category that, in turn, they tend to prevent two other sources of establishing a core which are not grounded but, without grounding, could easily occur: (1) sociological interest and (2) deductive, logical elaboration. These two sources can easily lead to core categories that do not fit the data and are not sufficiently relevant or workable.

10. The above criteria also generate a false criterion. Because it has so much grab and explanatory power, the analyst begins to see the core category in all relations, whether grounded or not in the data. While serving as a positive indicator of the core, this logical switch must be guarded against so that relationships among categories are earned through emergence and not forced upon the data through deductive logic.

11. The core category can be any kind of theoretical code: a process, a condition, two dimensions, a consequence and so forth. When it is a process, additional criteria also apply.

The "Process Out" Requirement of BSPs

Once the analyst becomes theoretically sensitized to the search for core categories and those that process out, discovering core categories—and BSPs in particular—becomes natural. Indeed, we have found that analysts must be careful about tacking a gerund on to any core variable and treating it like a process when, in fact, it does not process out. For example, in one study, "shifting" was seen as a BSP. After review, we found no stages and reconceptualized it

as "shifts"—a basic social structural condition confronting people and organizations that have a twenty-four-hour-a-day operation.

The "process out" requirement of—at minimum—two clear, emergent stages requires that the *stages should differentiate and account for variations in the problematic pattern of behavior. If not, the stages collapse conceptually and there is no BSP*. For example, in information-gaining processes, the stages of playing completely naive, playing mildly informed but needing correction, and finally, playing knowledgeable, each results in a different interaction pattern in bidding subcontractors. In this sense, a BSP processes a social or social psychological problem from the point of view of continuing social organization. Irrespective of whether it solves the problem, to some degree, it processes it.

A process is something that occurs over time and involves change over time. These changes over time ordinarily have discernable breaking points—discernable to the extent that stages can be perceived, so they can be treated as theoretical units in themselves, with conditions, consequences (which may be another stage), other properties, and so forth which are unique in form to each particular stage. Stages are perceivable, because they sequence with one another within certain temporal limits. Sets of codes related to these stages may "carry forward" into one or more stages further on in the process.

Stages may be in vivo (generally perceivable by those persons involved), or purely heuristic (generally not perceivable by the persons involved, but demarcated by the sociologist for theoretical reasons), or some shade in between. If the stages are built into the social structure, they and their transition points will likely be clearly perceived by social actors (e.g. receiving a diploma, passing a course of study, getting a promotion from "worker" to "supervisor", and so forth). Conversely, stages that are perceivable before one goes through them

would likely be built into a social structure (Glaser & Strauss, 1971). However, stages not determined by social structure can also be perceived by social actors ("When they started joking with me I knew I was in"). In some instances, stages may be perceivable by social actors only after they have been through them. This would likely be the case with stages that are marked by common sense indicators and such.

Some stages may be learned as persons go through them. For example, milkmen, when learning to "cultivate," learn from their coworkers that a particular stage in cultivating a relationship is reached when the customer routinely offers the milkman a cup of coffee (Bigus, 1972). This is, the novice learns, a "coffee stop" and is considered the last and most successful stage of a relationship, if the customer is worth it in monetary return. The novice is informed in one way or another that when this occurs, he no longer need worry about the relationship to the extent that he does others, and that "coffee stops" will perform certain functions for him—a place to go to the bathroom, a place to get a payment when one is needed, and so forth.

Stages, if perceivable by social actors, may be brought about by their conscious intentions. Again, the milkman: once he learns about the "coffee stop" stage, he consciously sets about cultivating to get particular customers (the large ones) to that stage. Other stages, particularly those demarcated by institutionalization, begin and end without conscious effort on the part of participants.

A person may perceive the events that make up stages of a process he is going through without perceiving the overall process or any particular stages. These events may be perceived as idiosyncratic—events that are unique to his own experience—rather than as stages of a social process which many persons go through. A sociologist, however, can perceive the stages

because he studies large numbers of individual histories and sees as social what individuals may see as personal.

The development into stages prevents a BSP theory from being static—a condition ordinarily found in most types of theory. It allows one to follow changes over time, yet remain in grasp of a theoretically "whole" process—which has a beginning and an end. When the stages and their properties, conditions, consequences, and so forth are integrated into the "whole" process, when each stage's relationship to the process and to the other stages—how they affect it, shape it, and so forth—are integrated, then the process can be conceptually followed from stage to stage, the change over time being theoretically accounted for, without the imagery of the overall process being lost. This allows a reader to momentarily focus on the dense codes without losing grasp of the larger scope of the BSP theory.

Stages, then, function as an integrating scheme with which to tie together various sets of conditions, properties, etc. in a manner that allows for a high amount of densification and integration. At the same time, stages allow for conceptual grab and tractability as well as the theoretical tracing of and accounting for change over time.

Stages have a *time* dimension; that is, they have a perceivable beginning and end. The length of time between these points may or may not be fixed. In one instance, a stage may always be of fixed duration. In another, it may last several days or weeks. This will depend upon what brings about the transition from one stage to another. If the length of a stage is determined by institutional timing, for instance, it could always be of the same duration. The length of time a stage lasts could also be determined by events that do not occur according to a time schedule. A stage in a "residential career," for instance, could be determined by the move

from renting to buying a home. Thus, the renting stage (if such a stage were developed) could last several months or many years.

The transition from one stage to another is ordinarily contingent upon one or more things happening (e.g. the decision to purchase a house—as above). This contingency may be in the form of a *critical juncture* (Strauss, 1969) – a period of time between stages when the occurrence or non-occurrence of a particular critical event (or whatever) will determine whether a new stage is entered (a stage is skipped, one of several possible stages is entered, etc.) or the previous stage is maintained. For example, exploratory surgery in search of cancer could be such a critical juncture. If cancer is found, the beginning stage of a dying trajectory or a recovery trajectory (depending upon the severity of the cancer) may be entered. If cancer is not found, a diagnosing stage may be returned to.

The transition from one stage to another may not be as clear as it is when a contingency or a critical juncture marks it. It may, instead, be marked by a general set of indicators in such a way that the transition point is somewhat blurry. For example, an "acceptance" stage may be entered around the general time that insiders begin to allow a newcomer to joke about the group, let him attend insider affairs, disclose "secrets" to him, and so forth. An exact time of transition may be impossible (or arbitrary) to pin down, but the transition may be obvious later after a short period of time, through the gradual occurrence and clarity of a set of indicators.

We now turn to a discussion of further characteristics of BSPs. Much of what we shall say in the next section applies in general to all core categories, except when the property specifically refers to process.

More about the Basic Social Process

Stages, as we have just seen, are the prime property of BSPs, however there are several other defining properties: pervasiveness, full variability and change over-time. BSPs are pervasive since they are fundamental, patterned processes in the organization of social behaviors which occur over time and go on irrespective of the conditional variation of place.

The pervasiveness of such core processes gives rise to the word basic in BSP. BSPs, then, are more than just heuristic devices that allow sociologists to conceptually order the social world. BSPs are theoretical reflections and summarizations of the patterned, systematic uniformity flows of social life that people go through, and which can be conceptually "captured" and further understood through the construction of BSP theories.

No matter what the sociologist does, s/he cannot alter the basic substantive patterns of the process. S/he can only apply whichever theoretical codes best illuminate variations in what is going on. Not all persons go through a process in the same manner; that is to say, there is much variation. But, a BSP theory can uncover what condition or variables give rise to particular variation and can therefore theoretically account for them. For example, "becoming" is basic, occurs over time, and is still becoming no matter where it occurs, and irrespective of how it is varied by current conditions. So, for instance, there's a basic pattern or process to becoming a nurse, regardless of variation in individual experiences.

The pervasiveness of BSPs, due to their fundamentality to social organization makes them necessary, unavoidable processes, irrespective of variations. However, social organization itself being sets of infinitely variable conditions makes BSPs fully variable. By this, we mean that although BSPs are activated through the units of social organization, they are abstract of any specific unit's structure and can vary sufficiently to go on in other, very different

units. Thus, recruitment processes go on no matter what the social unit; people are continually brought into units or eventually the units disappear. As such, their full variability makes BSPs independent of structural units: that is, free of their time and place and the perspective of their participants and fully generalizable as abstract processes to be found anywhere they may emerge.

As an analytic unit, BSPs receive relative emphasis over the structural unit in which they are analyzed. The essential point is that, for example, we focus on becoming processes when talking of nursing education, not on the structured unit—the school—in which the study took place. The school is merely a set of varying conditions of a becoming process.

The full variability and generality of BSPs transcend the nature of any structural unit and hence, unit-focused theories. They transcend the boundaries of unit analyses as we understand the general, basic processes that shape people's lives instead of solely their particular units of participation. (We shall discuss these properties of BSPs in relation to unit analysis more fully in the next section of this paper).

BSPs are not only durable and stable over time but they can account for *change over time* with considerable ease of meaning, fit and workability. Since process connotes a temporal dimension, focus is on patterned lines of conduct as they occur over time under different conditions that generate change. Thus, change is fully as much an inherent feature of BSPs as their stability and variability. This characteristic contributes toward solving a perennial problem in sociology—accounting for change. The notion of change is not at all built into many other generic concepts in sociology such as social class, role, social structure, social system, functionalism and so forth. These categories can often be rejected when it comes to analyzing change since they become obsolete or clumsy in reflecting the realities of change.

When things change because of full variability, new conditions, stages, and transitions can be added to the BSP in order to handle the change. Take for example, locating "progress in a class" as a process. Students are able to locate themselves by comparing grades with one another. But, suppose a particular school eliminates grading. New methods of locating may be found, such as noting how often one is called upon in class, or other such subtle forms of "feedback." At any rate, the theory of locating can be modified to handle the change. Whatever changes and adjustments take place can simply be added as conditions or consequences of the process. The theory has not been "disproved" or made obsolete in any way. A process of locating still exists—it has merely been modified slightly in form, densified and made more general.

BSPs can also handle change over much longer spans of time by merely adjusting for the changes in conditions in the same general way that adjustments could be made for changes encountered in going from one substantive area to another. What would be accounted for theoretically would be the absence of some conditions and the presence of new or different conditions. The basic theory, however, would remain intact. The "size" of temporal scale is included.

Basic Social Psychological Process (BSPP) and Basic Social Structural Process (BSSP)

There are two types of BSPs—basic social psychological process (BSPP) and basic social structural process (BSSP). A BSPP refers to social psychological processes such as becoming, highlighting, personalizing, health optimizing, awe inspiring and so forth. A BSSP refers to social structure in process—usually growth or deterioration—such as bureaucratization or debureaucratization, routinization, centralization or decentralization, organizational growth, admitting or recruiting procedures, succession, and so forth. A *BSSP abets, facilitates*

or serves as the social structure within which the BSPP processes. Thus the growth of free clinics facilitates the prescribing process of birth control and family planning (Lindemann, 1974). The growth of spiritualizing of health food stores was necessary to "hippie" health optimizing (Hanson, 1976). Consolidating a revolution is accomplished by bureaucratization of charisma (Weber, 1947).

Most sociology these days focuses on social psychological process and assumes social structural process—or simply treats it as a changing set of structural conditions—without formulating it clearly as a process. The question remains is the latter all that necessary? Perhaps the BSPP is more prevalent and relevant to understanding behavior, since one does not need the BSSP to understand it, but usually one needs a BSPP to understand the focus on a BSSP. This question is, of course, to be answered empirically for any particular study. But given this prevalence, BSP implies a BSPP and when the analyst is generating a social structural process theory, he states it clearly as such and uses BSSP.

Society swings on the relevance of its interest, sometimes focusing on social psychological problems (getting poor people to upgrade) or sometimes focusing on social structural problems (providing opportunities for work, health distribution systems, government programs). Sociologists follow both foci. The most sophisticated sociological renditions include both processes, however; perhaps most will focus on the social psychological. It takes skill and clarity of purpose to mix both with full development, as opposed to focusing on one and using variables from the other.

Two general kinds of mix occur. One is that a BSP includes both BSSP and BSPP. Examples are admitting, screening or recruitment processes to an organization. The recruitment to a fraternity in college is a clear mix of social psychological and structural in the

screening and initiation ceremonies. The other type is that the BSPP and BSSP are clearly separate. For example, building housing tracts with better homes and on better terrain is a process growing builders go through. At the same time people are upgrading their housing circumstances when they choose new neighborhoods with better homes, schools, roads, parks and so forth. The new neighborhood can easily include new homes or old homes or both. As another example, developing health food stores was clearly separate from spiritualized, health optimizing.

When the BSSP follows and facilitates the BSPP, it takes on properties of the latter. Thus, the growth in health food stores occurred by taking on properties of the health optimizing process that it services; e.g. they sold natural vitamins with rhetoric. And vice versa, when the BSSP comes first, the BSPP takes on properties of it. Thus, in the beginning, birth control prescriptions took on the rules of family planning agencies. Women had to be married at one time to get a prescription for birth control. When the disjunction is great, as in this case, the social psychological may either exert a change over the social structural or may be purged. Thus, BSPPs can become structural conditions that affect the nature of BSSPs, and vice versa. In this way, a theoretical link is made between the two general levels.

The theoretical links that relate the two are many and emergent. Being analytically clear about their separateness allows for a well formulated analytic mix of the two. Otherwise, an analysis tends to become confused or unclear as to the referent process. For example, how does one analyze job transfers in an occupational career as related to time for personalizing rental housing, without a notion of how to develop both processes? Or how does one analyze upgrading life styles in housing related to unavailability of new and better housing, without a clear picture on the disjuncture of the stages of each process?

An analysis can emphasize the BSPP or BSSP, or some mix of the two, depending on which process or which mix emerges as more relevant in the situation under study. In studying a process that optimizes change, fluidity, and unfreezing of behavioral patterns, it is likely that the emergent mix would emphasize the BSPP. In studying a structural phenomenon as it is growing, such as behavior in new communes or people engaging in a new health practice, one would also bring in the new BSSP that supports the BSPP. In studying a phenomenon that requires little change in existing support systems, structural process might not be as important, for instance, as a process occurring in a bureaucratic setting where the actors have little control over the structural support. Even in such a situation, however, there may be informal modifications of the formal support structure.

Beside the above defining properties, a BSP has other important characteristics. For instance, a BSP applies a theoretically useful approach to deviance. It is, as well, systematically tied to a methodology. Both characteristics are further elaborated below.

BSP and Deviance

It seems that most sociological theories are unable to explain with ease "negative or deviant cases" of whatever it is they are supposed to explain. So, they must resort to the use of additional theories—ordinarily some sort of deviance theory. Since deviant events could easily be explained as an integral part of a normal basic social process that takes place under certain conditions, there is no need to see the events as deviant or extraordinary. As the idea of basic social process becomes commonly used, the notion of "negative case" disappears. What were once considered negative cases merely highlight further conditions under which behavior varies according to the pertinent basic social process.

It is an error for sociologists to preconceive certain behaviors as fundamentally deviant, but even more an error for them to assume *from the start* that the most relevant thing about a particular behavior is its deviant dimension (regardless of how "deviant" is defined). Even if it is a behavior that is unquestionably far from general societal norms, values, etc., there is no reason, before it emerges, to take that as a starting point for analysis of the behavior. Such a consensual label may, in reality, have little to do with the motivation, organization, etc. of the behavior. Whether or not it does is a matter for empirical inquiry. The starting point is to discover the BSP.

If the analyst were to begin with the preconception that a particular behavior, organization, or whatever, was deviant and that was the most important thing about the study, the chance is very high that s/he would miss the core and relevance of what is actually happening. To use an example: If s/he were to study brothels (which one can safely say are generally considered deviant) from the point of view that the fact of their deviance is the most important thing about them sociologically, s/he would likely miss the more general relevant fact that sociologically—in terms of structure, function, organization, and process—they are similar to barber shops, beauty salons, garages, and so forth. All are *servicing operations*.

All of these organizations service persons or their belongings. All have steady as well as casual clients. All encourage their clients to remain on the premises only while they are being serviced. After servicing, they are "spent" and are no longer useful until they require servicing again, and so forth. These seemingly different organizations have much in common sociologically, regardless of how they are seen and defined in common sense terms, and regardless of whether or not they are defined as deviant. Servicing need not be seen as deviant or non-deviant sociologically *unless* it is discovered that the deviant label has consequences for

the servicing operation and those persons who are a part of it. In the case of the brothel, the deviant label would likely result in its being more isolated, less obtrusive, and so forth, than many other types of service operations.

In other words, from a BSP view, the deviant label (i.e. the fact that other persons see the activity and the organization as deviant) is merely one of many conditions that affect the servicing operations. Anyone who questioned the women would soon discover that their main concern is about servicing efficiently not about being "deviant." In this fashion, deviance is put in integrative perspective as part of a BSP, rather than being developed as a separate body of theory. As such, its part in the development of theory would be reduced in importance in terms of the amount of time and effort spent, but increased in terms of its contribution to an integrated theory of what makes a part of society work.

If the analyst is interested in accounting for how particular persons engage in an act or series of acts which happened to get labeled deviant or have great potential for such a thing happening, a BSP approach would look different from other approaches, primarily because the grounded explanation for the behavior would be *contextualized* and *multivariate*.

It would be contextualized in that it would not seek to explain too much (as most other theories do), but rather would seek to explain the sources (i.e. the conditions, properties, and so forth) of "deviance" within a particular context such as a servicing operation. Once enough grounded data has been gathered, presumably through several studies and through the use of theoretical sampling, it may be possible to lift the theory out of particular contexts and elevate it to a more formal level. This could be accomplished if a number of dimensions, properties, etc., were *discovered* which were cross-contextual enough to form a foundation for a formal theory. However, this would not be taken as the starting point (as it is in functionalist theory,

for instance) but rather as the advancing of a substantive theory to a formal one, abstract of time and place.

A BSP view would be multivariate in that it would seek to discover all of the many relevant variables (conditions, consequences, properties, etc.) that constitute the process leading up to a particular form of "deviant" behavior as *covariant* among other behaviors. In contrast to this, the ordinary approach is to preconceive several variables and then go out and try to verify their existence (overlooking all the other possible variables which come into play). In addition, a grounded BSP would pick up and integrate structural as well as social psycho-logical variables. The relationship between these various levels of variables could be shown; how they interact and affect one another in a systematic way. This has not been accomplished by the multivariate theories that exist presently. They have merely admitted that different levels of variables are involved in the explanation of deviant behavior.

BSP and Methodology

As BSPs are densified and integrated, they may become multivariate to the point of including variables from other disciplines, such as psychology, political science, medicine and so forth. They easily become stages in process, consequences or conditions. Thus, as an iso-lating BSP, mental depression can cause social isolation that can cause physical illness that results in hospitalization, with further isolating in an isolating BSP. One handles emergence with whatever categories (from whatever discipline) that fit and work and that the analyst is trained to understand.

Since basic social processes are fundamental patterns in the organization of social behavior as it occurs over time, the BSP *conception* is a generic theoretical construct of the same genre as Max Weber's "ideal type" and Alfred Schutz's "homunculus." However, unlike

these conceptions, the idea of BSP (and core variable) was developed within and

is *systematically tied to a specific methodology* for generating theory. The conception is not a

presupposition of the methodology, but rather is a product of its operations. The theoretical

construct—BSP—was conceived as a by-product emergent in the process of doing and de-

veloping the methodology of grounded theory research. In contrast to ideal types and ho-

munculi, BSPs are more than *post hoc* honorary labels. The BSP is fully "operational" at every

step of the grounded research process. This is not the case, so far as I know, with any other type

of theory construction. Weber and Schutz, for instance, leave the operationalization of their

theoretical type up to one's imagination. This may allow for flexibility, but it also allows for

deductive speculation and floundering before a research method and effort is applied.

Grounded theory methodology does not rely solely on "cleverness," "ingenuity," "in-

sight," and so forth, yet it is not so rigid and specific that it can be learned and carried out by

mere "technicians." It requires theoretical sensitivity as well as technical skills, and some

persons will, of course, be better at it than others. It also requires a specific course of training

(by teaching or reading) because it is a system that must be used in whole. If it is used in part, or

if parts are used incorrectly, it will work less than properly. We have learned that analysts who

use it only partially are not likely to realize this, because many of its advantages are not evident

until it is used as a whole (e.g. the advantages of writing memos, coding, sorting and so

forth—both individually and combined—become evident primarily through experience in

doing these things). This is not to say, however, that one should use it as a whole or not at all.

Every step used will improve one's ability to construct theory, regardless of what kind. The

methodology provides a perpetual development of skill as one uses each part.

BSPs can be developed by this methodology at various levels of conceptual abstraction ranging from substantive theory (theory about a specific substantive area—e.g. Karate) (BEESON, 1973) through general substantive theory (theories about several similar substantive areas—e.g. kinds of physical self-defense) to formal theory (theory abstract of specific, substantive times and places areas—e.g. self-defending). Thus BSPs can be conceptually ordered according to abstraction, but each level is always theoretically and methodologically linked with a less abstract level and with systematically collected data of the empirical world. They never become operationally distant or remote from reality. We might add that BSPs are not theories of the middle range.

Finding a BSP

There are two basic models for finding a BSP; by discovery and by emergent fit. By discovery, the analyst goes to a fairly contained social unit attempting by observation and interviewing to see as much as possible and find out the most salient social problem of the people there. Then s/he discovers the core variable—hopefully a BSP—that accounts for most of the variation in the behavior about the problem. S/he then switches focus from studying the unit to studying the process and proceeds to generate a substantive theory of the process by constant comparisons of incidents within different comparative groups in the same substantive class.

By emergent fit, the analyst has a BSP—discovered elsewhere—and wishes to extend it or to do a grounded formal theory of it. S/he then proceeds to find groups within which to study the BSP and, as in the first model, starts comparing incidents and groups within or between classes of units to achieve a level of generality, whether general substantive or formal.

Of course, we favor the first model, but since many BSPs are known already, some analysts may prefer the second model. It has, however, various pitfalls. In discovering the

emergent fit, the analyst should be cautious about assuming that if the BSP fits, it is the core variable of that unit. *It very likely is not*; the BSP is being imposed for the purpose of generating a theory of it, not of explaining the variation of behavior in the unit studied. Thus one can study temporal pacing in just about any social unit, but it is seldom, if ever, the core variable of the unit. Since it is not the core variable, the BSP will usually be less than densely developed in the study unit. It will very likely become overshadowed by a more salient core variable or BSP. Thus using the second model, the analyst skips between many chosen units looking for grounded densifications of properties and does not overwork any one group and incidents in a unit for what is not their BSP as it would be for a discovered BSP.

Furthermore, the second model is somewhat contradictory to the first and to the main theme of this paper, but it has a place in grounded theory if done carefully—since there are many grounded BSPs already discovered that need further development within and between substantive areas. The second model looks a bit like deductive, logical elaboration, but it is not, providing the analyst follows the grounded approach. S/he does not start "empty" or "non-preconceived" as in the first model. S/he engages in pre-emergent analytic thinking, and sampling before approaching the field. But once in the field, s/he starts correcting early thoughts and follows the grounding in subsequent theoretical sampling. And s/he ends up as s/he would in the first model, searching for comparison groups, as it becomes clearer and clearer where to go for fit as the theory develops.

There seems to have arisen a tacit rule in naming BSPs. It is turning a substantive noun or verb into a gerund. Thus we have "friending" and "becoming" respectively. While most BSPs are labeled with a gerund, not all are; thus, career, alarm system or recruitment system. As we said above, caution should be applied in over-use of gerunds. They may mask a basic

social structural condition, such as "security system" or "shift" (as in our earlier example). As in all grounded theory work, there is an area for theoretical creativity in labeling and rendering the BSP or core variable.

As the analyst becomes practiced in spotting and conceptualizing BSPs, s/he should avoid a probable occurrence. In reading others' works, a BSP may become evident, which the author did not know s/he had in the data. The analyst should say as much in his/her own work, and not attribute the idea to the author. The analyst should distinguish his/her good idea from the author's "good data but conceptual miss". In fact, most BSPs are implicit and taken for granted in data, both by sociologists and participants alike. Only with training does the analyst see the strong contribution of a BSP to the on-going activity in the area under study, and only then can a theory be consciously generated for a BSP.

BSPs Compared to Units

Most sociology is focused on a rendition of a social structural unit. That is, no matter what the substantive issues or concepts, or whether the study is description, verification or theory building, we *read about properties of a unit*; persons, groups, organizations, aggregates, statuses, nations, and so forth. In contrast, in this paper we have placed a relative emphasis on social process as the focus of analysis. *We generate properties of process*. It is important and useful to develop here the distinction between unit analysis and process analysis, so that their relative use and merits for sociology can begin to be clearly understood and used accordingly.

In itself, the focus on either unit or process sociology is not intrinsically meritorious. The test of relative worth lies in how well each may contribute to the knowledge of sociology and the purpose at hand. We, of course, are biased toward process, as we see many comparative advantages in the transcending nature of BSPs. The reader must make his/her own calculations

for each project. These distinctions listed below are opening ideas, not final dicta. Some items

do not have to occur, but empirically, they do.

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 behavior 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. These properties of unit are only varying conditions. Another unit varies process differently.
3. Generalizing Finite to unit; analyst can only generalize a study to a similar, usually larger unit. Generalizing is difficult and slow as must study large unit to analyze differences or use random sampling of smaller unit. Number of units to generalize to is limited.	Fully generalizable quite easily, as a BSP transcends the boundaries on any one unit by just varying it for another unit's properties. Thus, the analyst generalizes 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 BSPs to run.	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

Units are where BSSPs and BSPPs intersect. Units themselves may be a BSSP that processes very slowly, compared to BSPP, and is actuated by BSPP. A static unit is a frozen BSPP.	action process is a BSPP.
5. *Freedom from Perspective* Study of unit is always from perspective of analyst and/or participants. Bias is part of analysis as it is built (the establishment view of a corporation, for example).	BSPs are a separate perspective, irrespective of the perspective of participant or analyst. BSPs go on irrespective of bias of analyst. "Purging"is always purging, becoming is always becoming, no matter how perspectived the rendition. Bias is just one more variable in a multivariate analysis.
6. *Durability* Time and place change so studies of a unit becomes obsolete, whether unit description, unit theory, or unit formulations of change	BSPs are quite durable. They transcend the fallibility of units and, while keeping up with unit changes, as units change, BSPs get modified.
7. *Transferability* Once out of generalizing range, it is difficult and	Since BSPs are fully general, they transfer easily with modification. Becoming applies to both a nursing school and an air force acad-

hazardous to transfer ideas or findings of one unit to another unit. Transferring ideas about a nursing school to an Air Force academy probably does not apply.	emy.
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 neutralize 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. For example, it is accurate to say that women in karate use one mode of neutralization 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 in-	BSPs have much "grab"(they catch interest quickly), because they have high impact in meaning, are easily understandable, and have general ideas that are easiest to remember.

trinsic scope of meaning, because of low generality.	
11. Research Sampling Random sampling of unit itself is used so the analyst can generalize to a large unit.	Theoretical sampling of properties is used to generate to the theoretical completeness of process.
12. Research Coverage Full range of representative factual coverage needed to describe the unit accurately, whether for description or verification.	Theoretical coverage requires only theoretical sampling of that segment of all behavior needed to generate an explanatory theory of a process. The analyst does not need representative coverage of all behavior.
13. Research Accuracy Units tend to require accuracy so the 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 generalizations.
15. Historiocity Unit studies are fixed in time. They are static.	A BSP, since it deals with on-going movement, implies both a past and a future that can

They are cross-sectional; picking up a moment in time, as if forever, but it becomes outdated, thus temporal scope is severely limited.	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 theorizing 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 extension and densification.
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 to which it may be generalized. Thus unit studies are non-integrative to social organization, they make units, which are similar on under-	BSPs, 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 clientele, is a way of relating milkmen to lawyers. Thus BSPs tie social organization together. They are integrating. BSPs also relate to each other within units.

lying 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.	

Sociology along Process Lines

The above comparisons clearly indicate the quite different appearance and import that sociological renderings of the world will take in generating grounded BSPs. Our effort is to show that focusing on process, as well as on units, will facilitate theoretical development in sociology. Process analysis will partly alter the conceptual appearance of sociology by cutting across the transcending traditional concerns, topics and boundaries, such as check forgers, political parties, adolescents, homosexuality, prisons, patient care and so forth.

Much of unit sociology is delineated along lines that are not theoretically contiguous, although they are treated as such. As we indicated above, if a unit sociologist were to begin a study of brothels, s/he would probably place the study in the traditional category of "deviant behavior" or possibly "social problem." In doing so, the presumption is that the essence or at least a primary property of the behavior to be studied is deviant or socially problematic. Concomitant results will explain the motivations, attitudes, or other social characteristics of persons who engage in such practices as distinct from non-practitioners; i.e., "normals". However, in categorizing brothel activities as merely another instance of deviant behavior,

other—perhaps more central characteristics of the phenomenon—are denied serious consideration by the researcher.

If we hold in abeyance the deviance assumption, we note that the area to be studied is an organized activity, established for the expressed purpose of exchanging a "service" for remuneration. Viewed in terms of process, it would be found that the structural properties of the brothel are akin to servicing operations in general—a basic social process in American society. Quite simply, the brothel exists to provide a service(s), which happens to be sex. *One property* of a servicing process in this particular context is that the service being provided is generally considered deviant in the everyday world. The "fact" that it is so conceived may have some consequences for the organization of some of its publicly visible activities, such as making it necessary to maintain a low profile, putting limits on public advertising, necessitating payoffs to the police, etc.

However, the deviant conception of brothel activities is only one among many conditions and properties in this and other servicing contexts. Compared to other possible characteristics of the general process of "servicing" such as power symmetry, role of expertise, specialized knowledge, right of grievance, duration on premises, malpractice problems, waiting properties, etc., the primacy afforded the role of deviance in a unit analysis seems more reflective of common-sense considerations than theoretical fit. Conceptualized from a process orientation, the behavior of prostitutes and their customers has more in common theoretically with behavior found in garages and beauty parlors than it does with check forgery, alcoholism, and the vast array of other instances ordinarily conceptualized as deviant behavior.

One further observation seems warranted. From our example of brothel activities, it might be concluded that we have merely transposed a hypothetical social psychological study

into one focusing on organization. We would answer that this is again a priority characterization that is not reflected in the empirical world. Instead, in our ongoing work with BSPs we have found one of its strengths to be an ability to *conjointly* render both structural and social psychological variables in terms of social process. It may be the case that either structural or social psychological variation has primacy in a given area, but that is a data-related question.

Regardless of the usual sociological interests, whether it be deviance, religion, collective behavior, etc.; and, regardless of the usual primary focus as either organizational or social psychological, the referent for BSP theory is always the process itself and not the particular substantive or conceptual unit involved. This does not mean that the analyst will be unable to explain how the particular substantive unit functions. Quite the contrary! BSP accounts of the world contribute substantial insight into the practical realities of the day-to-day world by explaining its variation (Glaser, 1969). However, as mentioned earlier, the analytic focus seeks theoretical coverage and not descriptive completeness, which is seen as impossible. As such, no claim is being made that "servicing" is the only aspect of brothels of theoretical importance. The only claim being advanced is that "servicing" explains much of the variation to be found in the actions, interactions, and perceptions found in the collected data from that research site. The process illuminates organizational features about the brothel, interactional patterns between prostitute and customer, prostitutes' conceptions of their roles, and a wide variety of less obvious variables. As such, "servicing" is not to be taken as a "theory" about brothels (or deviance), but rather as a theoretical statement about processes that occur therein, which occurs in other areas of social life as well.

This illustrates the consequences BSP sociology would have for the manner in which sociology theoretically divides the empirical world. BSPs as basic uniformities of social life,

cut across the boundaries by which sociology has traditionally been sub-divided. Thus, one of

the major ways in which we render the world sociologically should reflect this basic uni-

formity.

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GROUNDED THEORY REVIEW
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Choosing Your Words Carefully

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Abstract

The words we use to communicate are important. Words have meanings that extend beyond

their dictionary definitions. As grounded theorists, we need to be aware of these meanings and

select the words that best fit the data so as not to unground the theory. Words also have

grammatical meanings that often have different meanings depending on how they are used.

Some of the smallest words in the English language, articles and conjunctions, can greatly

change the meaning of what is being communicated and must be used with care. As grounded

theory researchers, it is important to choose our words carefully so that the theory accurately

reflects what was discovered in the data.

Keywords: grounded theory, word meaning, communication, articles, conjunctions

When communicating, whether in speech or writing, we must be careful about the

words we use. When writing grounded theories, it is important to choose our words carefully

so that we do not unground our theories. This article is going to focus on three areas to con-

sider when writing up your theory. First, you should consider the connotation of the words

that you use, especially when selecting the names of the concepts. Picking the wrong word to

name a concept in the data can affect the meaning readers may read into the theory. Second,

words not only have connotations, but similarly, words may also have baggage. This baggage can include additional meaning or ideas associated with the word. Finally, some of the littlest words in the English language can greatly influence the meaning of what we are communicating. The misuse of conjunctions and articles can alter the meaning of what is being said or written. When writing up a grounded theory, it is important to choose your words carefully so that the theory accurately reflects what was discovered in the data.

Connotations

Words have meaning. They have both denotations and connotations. Denotation is the dictionary definition of a word that expresses its primary or literal meaning (Dictionary.com, 2022). Denotation is the basic, fundamental meaning of a word that is agreed upon by most users of the word. Connotations are ideas or feelings that a word invokes in addition to its denotations. Connotation refers to the additional, secondary meanings and associations that a word carries beyond its dictionary or common use meaning. Connotations can be positive, negative, or neutral.

Looking at some examples helps clarify the difference between denotation and connotation. Consider the words *outcome* and *consequence*. While these words have similar meanings, they have different connotations. The word *consequence* has a more negative connotation than the word *outcome*. The word *consequence* implies a negative *outcome*. Thus, the connotations of words can greatly affect their tone and their emotional impact. Simmons (2022) provided an exercise in his book, *Experiencing Grounded Theory: A Comprehensive Guide to Learning, Doing, Mentoring and Applying Grounded Theory*, "designed to provide practice at differentiating subtleties of meaning between words of similar meaning" (p. 72). The reader is instructed to consider "the subtleties and nuances of meaning between seem-

ingly synonymous words" (p 72). Some of the pairs of words Simmons includes are excuse-justification, safety-security, and motive-rationale.

Connotations may also be influenced by the context, personal experience, and cultural background of the writer/speaker and reader/listener (Dictionary.com, 2022). For example, when I lived in the Southern United States, I learned to use ma'am and sir as titles of respect, but when I lived on the West Coast of the United States, I was told that these titles were considered ageist. The associated meaning of words can be influenced culturally, emotionally, or experientially. Thus, connotations can vary from person to person and from one cultural or social context to another.

It is important to be aware of the connotations of words when coding and when writing up a grounded theory, as they can greatly influence how the theory is perceived, understood, and applied. When you code, you should try to come up with the word that best fits that data. Think about how the connotations of the word may impact a reader's interpretation of your theory. If you are not careful, it can result in the reader deducing ideas about your theory that you did not intend and are not grounded in the data.

At times, grounded theorists use in vivo codes, which are the words used by a participant. Sometimes, in vivo codes best capture what the participant is trying to communicate. However, this is not always the case. At first, just code the data with the best word you can think of, but as the concept develops, try to identify the best word to fit the concept. A thesaurus is often a useful tool when searching for a word to fit a concept. Finding a word with a good fit is an important step in establishing the fit of a grounded theory, which is one of the criteria by which a grounded theory is evaluated.

Baggage

Words have meaning, but they also have baggage. In this context, baggage means additional meaning or information associated with the word. For example, Karen, which was just a name, is now being used as a pejorative slang term to describe middle-class women who are perceived as acting entitled or demanding to get their own way. Due to this, it is unlikely that parents will select this name for their children in the future. The word, or name, in this case, has too much baggage. Similarly, when selecting the names for concepts, we need to be aware of additional baggage, in terms of meaning that they may carry with their use. For example, terms such as *ego* and *self-image* have a lot written about them written about that word, and all that is written is probably not grounded in the researcher's data. Thus, a researcher can unground their grounded theory research by using a word with a lot of baggage.

Words, especially those that name existing concepts within our academic fields, often carry a lot of baggage. Consider the word *burnout* or *self-esteem*. Are these terms simple to define and understand, or are they complex topics upon which much has been written? If a researcher were to use these words, would everything that has been written about the words be grounded in the data collected for the present study? Probably not. As grounded theorists, it is important to select words to name concepts that do not have as much baggage. After writing up the theory, the researcher can explain how the word selected relates to other concepts without ungrounding your theory with poor word choice. This may be done in the discussion section of a research article manuscript.

Little words

Words have meaning, even the little ones. The English language is complex and nuanced, and often, some of the smallest words can be tricky to use accurately. How conjunctions and articles are used affects the meaning of what is said or written, so they must be used with care. When misused, they can greatly change the meaning of what is being communicated.

Conjunctions

Within the English language, a conjunction is a part of speech that is used to connect words, phrases, clauses, or sentences (Grammarly, 2021). Conjunctions are often referred to as "joining words" because they serve to link or join different elements within a sentence or between sentences. Conjunctions are essential for creating coherent and complex sentences, as they help establish relationships and connections between ideas. Since grounded theories explain the relationships between concepts (ideas), the accurate use of conjunctions is essential for creating sentences that clearly and appropriately communicate those relationships.

There are three primary types of conjunctions: coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, and correlative conjunctions (Grammarly, 2021). Each type of conjunction expresses a different type of relationship between words, phrases, clauses, or sentences. Coordinating conjunctions join words, phrases, or clauses of equal grammatical importance. The most common coordinating conjunctions are sometimes remembered using the acronym FANBOYS, which stands for: *for*, *and*, *nor*, *but*, *or*, *yet*, and *so* (Grammarly, 2021). For example, consider this sentence that was part of a grounded theory study on grandparents who care for their grandchildren. "There are three types of rescuing: helping out, stepping in, and taking on" (Vander Linden & Tompkins, 2020, p. 63-64). In this sentence helping out, step-

ping in, and taking on are of equal grammatical importance. If these two concepts are not of similar importance in a grounded theory, then the researcher needs to consider if these ideas are best linked using a coordinating conjunction.

Subordinating conjunctions connect an independent clause (a complete thought/sentence) with a dependent clause (an incomplete thought/phrase that cannot stand alone). Some common subordinating conjunctions include *because*, *if*, *since*, *while*, and *after*. Subordinating conjunctions introduce a subordinating clause and indicate a relationship of time, cause-and-effect, contrast, or other relationships (Grammarly, 2021). Consider this sentence from the same grounded theory study on grandparents who care for their grandchildren.

> While the change in the caregiver role may lessen the complexity of the situation for the previous caregiver, it frequently increases the complexity in the life of the new caregiver and may also increase the complexity in the life of the care receiver. (Vander Linden & Tompkins, 2020, p. 63)

The use of a subordinating conjunction helps indicate a cause-and-effect relationship in this sentence.

The third type of conjunction, correlative conjunctions, comes in pairs and works together to join similar sentence elements (Grammarly, 2021). Either . . . or, neither . . . nor, both . . . and, not only . . . but also, and whether . . . or are common correlative conjunctions. For example, "The alternative of not carrying-on, abdicating, is often not a choice because of the unconditional love the caregiver has for *both* their children *and* grandchildren" (Vander Linden & Tompkins, 2020, p. 67). The use of both/and illustrates the relationship between the caregiver, children, and grandchildren.

Since conjunctions play a crucial role in structuring sentences and helping readers or listeners understand the relationships between different parts of a sentence, it is important that grounded theorists be cognizant of their usage. They are fundamental to the formation of clear and coherent sentences that express the relationships between concepts within a grounded theory.

Articles

Articles are another group of small words within the English language that can change the meaning of what is being communicated. Articles are one specific type of determiner in grammar. Determiners are words or phrases that come before a noun to provide more information about the noun, specifically if the noun is specific or non-specific (Grammarly, 2022). According to Grammarly (2022), there are two main types of articles in English: *the* (definite article) and *a* or *an* (indefinite articles). The definite article *the* is used before a noun to indicate that the speaker or writer is referring to a specific or particular singular, plural, or uncountable noun. In contrast, *a* and *an* are indefinite articles. They are used before a noun to indicate that the speaker or writer is referring to any one of a non-specific group of things or a thing in a non-specific manner. For example, *a* grandchild would refer to any grandchild, whereas *the* grandchild refers to a specific grandchild. The choice between *a* and *an* depends on the sound that follows the article. *A* is used before words that begin with a consonant sound and *an* is used before words that begin with a vowel sound. Articles are an important part of English grammar because they help convey the specificity and nuance of nouns in sentences. However, context and the information already shared can influence the appropriate article to use. Using correct articles can significantly affect the meaning and clarity of a sentence.

Conclusion

Words have meanings that extend beyond their dictionary definitions. As researchers, we need to be aware of these meanings and select the words that best fit the data so as not to unground the theory. Words also have grammatical meanings and can have different meanings depending on how they are used. Some of the smallest words in the English language can greatly change the meaning of what is being communicated and must be used with care. As grounded theorists, it is important that we choose our words carefully so that our theories accurately communicate the concepts and their relationships that are grounded in the data.

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GROUNDED THEORY REVIEW
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The Constant Comparison Method of Classic Grounded Theory and

the *Explication de Texte*: Connections and Differences

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Abstract

A historical connection between classic grounded theory and the French literary analysis called *explication de texte* has been well established in the literature. However, for non-French students and scholars residing outside of France, an *explication de texte* is not well-understood. Additionally, how the analytic method relates to the constant comparison method and, by extension, classic grounded theory is not well-understood and is not documented. The objective of this article, then, is multifold. First, the goal is to explain an *explication de texte*. The next step is to present a sample *explication de texte* based on a common American nursery rhyme to understand the nuances of such an analysis. Finally, several connections and differences between an *explication de texte* and the constant comparison method and classic grounded theory are presented.

Keywords: classic grounded theory, close reading, *explication de texte*, literary analysis, constant comparison

A basic dictum in classic grounded theory is that preconceptions (Glaser, 2001, 2002, 2010, 2013) and researcher biases are not allowed. The reason for this belief is that preconceptions, along with biases—along with any description—would result in data bastardization

(Chametzky, 2022). With such modification of the data, the researcher cannot uncover the true main concern of the participants and how that concern was addressed—the primary purpose of doing a classic grounded theory study.

In an *explication de texte*, a popular method of literary analysis started in the 19th century (Perret, 2020) and is used in present-day French high schools (*lycées*); however, the infusion of personal ideas, description, as well as external information are acceptable as long as they are supported and help further the understanding of the text to be analyzed.

Based solely on these few ideas, then, it would seem that the research design and analytic method are diametrically opposed one from the other. Though the ways that information is dissected are different, connections between the method of analysis and research design exist. Given that an analysis like an *explication de texte* is not common knowledge outside of France, two rather broad goals of this article exist; the first goal is to explain what an *explication de texte* is. Then, an equally important second goal is to elucidate any heretofore unknown connections with the constant comparison method (Glaser, 1965) used in classic grounded theory.

What is an *Explication de Texte*?

The term *explication de texte* often leads many young French high school students perhaps to feel a sense of panic as they are required to do such an analysis, among other tests, to pass the French high school exit examination, known as the bac (baccalaureate). It is not surprising, therefore, that students would dread the thought of doing such a detailed, nuanced textual analysis. But, as common as the *explication de texte* is in France, students and scholars elsewhere in the world may not be familiar with such an analysis. Certainly, such an analytic presentation is not required by American high school students to graduate. Therefore, a

discussion of when an *explication de texte* is done and what the analysis is would be highly valuable.

In the French educational system, the subject of an *explication de texte* is based on the type of diploma the student will earn: philosophy, literature, etc. Thus, one student might be given an extract of Sartre or Foucault to analyze, while another might be given a poem by Valéry or Verlaine to analyze. In either situation, the type of information presented will be the same.

A broad goal of an *explication de texte* is to understand the complete extract more closely and in a more nuanced manner. By "complete" I mean not only the ideas used, but also the language and imagery presented. According to Lyraud (2018), "le commentateur se distancie du texte pour en démonter les effets, pour en comprendre le fonctionnement interne, pour en déceler les principes d'organisation" (p. 9) (translation: The commentator distances him or herself from the text to disassemble the effects of the text, to understand its internal function, to detect the organizational principles). With this close reading, the objective of an *explication de texte* is to present a "slow and careful examination of the aesthetic properties of a text" (Jarvie, 2021, p. 2).

The analysis is detailed with an important goal of explaining "le sens que le vocabulaire a dans le text et non réciter le dictionnaire" (L'étudiant, 2022, Section 2) (translation: the sense that the vocabulary has in the text and not to recite the dictionary). Presenting what is hidden by the author and how the ideas are presented (L'étudiant, 2022) are what is needed in such an analysis. To accomplish such a goal—depending on the subject area—an understanding of cultural milieu may be needed.

Additionally, the student or scholar will need to explain how one idea in the text connects to the next, as well as how ideas build upon one another (L'étudiant, 2022). Why did the author write such-and-such here? What did the author mean? How does the text demonstrate the given idea? To address these questions and to understand the internal function (Lyraud, 2018) of the words and sounds, a metalinguistic discussion involving phonology, word choice, syntax, and sound is necessary. The information presented thus far may seem rather abstract and sterile. To present these points further, there is value in presenting a short sample *explication de texte* based on an extract from an American nursery rhyme.

Doing an *Explication de Texte*

On perhaps a more myopic level, an *explication de texte* "is studying a work line by line to see exactly what is being said" (Glaser, 2008, p. 3). Though a linear textual analysis is fundamentally accurate, I view an *explication de texte* more as a type of auto-stereograph, a 2-dimensional image into which a viewer could see a heretofore hidden 3-dimensional picture (Koning & Steffen, 2022). Through analysis, a deeper "hidden 3-dimensional picture" of the text becomes evident. The goal of the *explication de texte*, then, is to create such a 3-dimensional picture of a 2-dimensional text. And to develop a 3-dimensionality of an *explication de texte* requires analysis on more than just a linear level.

To demonstrate the (almost) autostereographic perspective of what an *explication de texte* is, I will briefly look at one strophe of an American nursery rhyme, Hickory dickory dock:

Hickory, dickory, dock,

The mouse ran up the clock.

The clock struck one,

The mouse ran down,

Hickory, dickory, dock

From a broad perspective, this text is about a mouse running up and down a clock. One might wonder why a mouse would be running up and down a clock. To address this concern, there is value in examining the historical perspective of the nursery rhyme.

There is a belief, though not fully substantiated, that this nursery rhyme is based on the clock in Exeter Cathedral (Surman, 2004). Further, the hole that existed in the clock was for the mouse to use while the cat, who was employed by the cathedral, chased the rodent (Surman, 2004). This information would explain how a mouse might run up and down a clock as well as where the creature might hide from a territorial predator (Abbate, 2020). Given that cats are accustomed to routine (King, 2022), a reasonable explanation for why the mouse runs up and down the clock would be that the cat shows up regularly at one o'clock when the clock strikes one.

From a textual perspective, the five lines in this strophe can be viewed as complete since lines 1 and 5 ("Hickory, dickory, dock") surround the complete idea that the mouse ran up and then down the clock. The first and fifth lines use high and low vowels (/i/ and /ä/ respectively) to create a balanced "tick" tock" sound. Lines two, three, and four use more open and central sounds like /o/ and the schwa. Based on these sounds, too, one might view the strophe as complete.

From an onomatopoeic perspective, the clock ticking can be present with "hickory, dickory dock" since these words rhyme with tick and tock. Similarly, the rhythm of tick-tock can also be thought of as a yin-yang where one element is balanced and completed with the

other one. The plosives (/d/ and /k/) make the onomatopoeic nature ticking of the clock more intense.

The rhyme scheme can be described as A A B C, where dock and clock rhyme. But "one" and "down" do not rhyme with each other. Thus, there is an open-endedness to this text, which causes a bit of tension that could parallel the fighting between the cat and mouse. From this simple yet detailed example, the reader should gain a clear understanding of an *explication de texte* and see how the fuller understanding of the text is presented. Likewise, in looking back at an initial reading of the five lines of the nursery rhyme compared to the more refined, "autostereographic" perspective one has now, one can hopefully easily see how the analysis is more than "studying a work line by line to see exactly what is being said" (Glaser, 2008, p. 3). From a simple five-line strophe, I have written more than a page of analysis, and more would be possible. There is value, now, to examine what the constant comparison method (Glaser, 1965) is and what connections exist between it and the *explication de texte*.

Constant Comparison Method: What is it?

On its most basic and broadest level, the constant comparison method (CCM) is an inductive way—no more and no less—to codify the qualitative analysis process (Glaser, 1965) and develop a theory. However, as a scholar studies the 1965 seminal article on the CCM by Glaser, especially in light of extensive later classic grounded theory research, a greater and deeper realization is made: CCM is a direct precursor to the classic grounded theory research design. The term "constant comparison method" serves two roles. First, the term shows what a researcher would need to do in his or her analysis; second, the term presents classic grounded theory in a bare-bones, skeletal manner. In the ensuing paragraphs, a brief overview

of the CCM will be presented before a discussion of connections and differences with the *explication de texte* can take place.

Because they are so fundamental to the CCM and to classic grounded theory, codes, and memos must be briefly defined. Codes are the one-or-two-word terms used to explain what is happening in the data. Memos are text about the codes and show any connections that may exist between codes (Chametzky, 2023; Glaser, 1998, 2011). According to Glaser (1965), four stages of the CCM exist: (a) comparing incidents, (b) integrating categories and their properties, (c) delimiting the theory, and (d) writing the theory. Each of the four stages will be discussed briefly in turn.

In the first stage, similar incidents are compared with each other. Once codes are created, memos are written on those codes and then compared one with another to help find potential connections. Such comparisons will yield more memos requiring additional comparisons (Glaser, 1965) to be made. The goal of writing these memos and comparing one with another is to enrich the various incidents (Glaser, 1965).

In the second stage, categories and their properties continue to be integrated and enriched. As memos are written and compared one with another, the codes will become decreasingly descriptive and increasingly conceptual as the categories and properties become theoretically saturated (Glaser, 2001). Indeed, as memos are compared and saturated, an interchangeability of indicators (Glaser, 1998) starts to occur—a requirement to develop a rich, multivariate theory. Additionally, during this stage, the analyst will discover that some memos will collapse (Glaser, 1978) and become integrated into other memos.

In the third stage, the developing and resulting theory is taking shape and its categories are becoming theoretically saturated. Memo comparison is still taking place, and the re-

searcher is still delimiting the theory so there is a "parsimony of variables" (Glaser, 1965, p. 441) used.

In the fourth and final stage, all the written memos and all the comparisons done up to this point have helped the researcher discover the theory. Now, the memos are properly arranged and put together to "provide the content behind the categories, which are the major themes of the theory" (Glaser, 1965, p. 443).

With brief explanations of the *explication de texte* and the CCM (Glaser, 1965) accomplished, there is value now in comparing the CCM with the *explication de texte*. In the following section, four more subtle connections and differences will be presented in an attempt to shed light on previously undiscussed ideas.

CCM and the *Explication de Texte*: Connections and Differences

The way something new is created is with an idea. A person thinks, "What would the result be if things were done this new way instead of that old way?" Such a question is applicable whether one is talking about trying something new in a recipe, a new way to exercise, or a new type of analysis. The question shows a willingness to explore a new way of thinking as well as a new aspect to explore. And the beginning of classic grounded theory is no exception.

From a historical perspective, the connection between an *explication de texte* and the CCM (and, by extension, classic grounded theory) is easy. Glaser studied at Columbia for his PhD in Sociology. While there, one of his professors was Paul Lazarsfeld, who suggested the explication de texte as a way to see, in a linear manner, what is going on in the text (Glaser, 2008). Fortuitously, Glaser later studied literature at the Sorbonne, where he learned about and used the *explication de texte* (Simmons, 2022). According to Simmons (2022), the "*ex-*

plication de texte . . . led to the unique systematic analytical method of grounded theory, constant comparative analysis" (p. 32). While a linear analysis in an *explication de texte* is not directly related to the CCM (Glaser, 1965), if one applies the "what-would-the-result-be-if . . ." question, then one could understand and see how the CCM might have developed in both instances, the goal is to uncover heretofore unknown connections in the text or data and considering the idea of linearity was something that was novel at that time.

But other more subtle connections and differences exist between the *explication de texte* and the CCM (Glaser, 1965) used in classic grounded theory. In this section, I hope to discuss four specific elements: (a) opinions, description, and analogies; (b) linearity; (c) "3-dimensional/autostereographic" analysis; and (d) emic and etic perspectives.

Opinions, Descriptions, and Analogies

In an *explication de texte*, as in classic grounded theory, the goal is to understand what is happening in the specific literary "environment," whether it is a poem, prose, or data from an interview. Thus, solely from this perspective, there is a similarity between the textual analysis and research design. However, there are important differences, too.

In an *explication de texte*, to make supported and supportable statements such as the repeated sounds in "hickory dickory dock" remind the reader of a clock ticking is acceptable. On the other hand, unsupported opinions, along with analogies and descriptions, are not valuable as such conjecture may not help explain what is going on in a suitable manner. For example, in the *explication de texte* presented earlier in this article, to describe those sounds as a heartbeat would not be acceptable as there is no connection between the sounds in the nursery rhyme and the "lub-dub" sounds of a beating heart.

Similarly, with the CCM and, by extension, classic grounded theory, when an analyst talks about an aspect of a given theory or a code in a memo, analogies, opinions, and descriptions are not permitted (Glaser, 1998, 2011, 2012) as they are not generalizable, regardless of their appeal. In classic grounded theory, the objective is not to be descriptive; the goal is to present an idea that is conceptual and not tied to a person, place, or time (Glaser, 2012).

In these two situations, the analogy, opinion, or description serves two different purposes. One may be forgiven for providing an analogy or description in an *explication de texte* as "description runs the world" (jillrhine [sic], 2010, 0:00-0:05); it is a "natural way of seeing life" (Glaser, 2011, p. 91) and is used to help explain a given element in the analysis. But such explanations are not permitted in classic grounded theory beyond perhaps an initial memo.

Linearity

In classic grounded theory, as in an explication de texte, a line of data can vary in size depending on many different factors (i.e., poem or prose, typed notes versus handwritten, etc.). In the research design as well as in the analysis, the idea, not the length, is what matters. Thus, a similarity exists between the research design (and the CCM) with the analysis.

Here are two examples. If I were conducting an interview using classic grounded theory and were simultaneously typing notes on a computer in Microsoft Word, a line might be approximately 6 inches long. If I were hand-writing notes during an interview, then the line lengths would be considerably shorter. There would be little value if an idea spanned two or more lines to each line with the same code. Though Glaser (2002, 2008) wrote that line-by-line analyses are done in classic grounded theory, what he meant was that an idea-by-idea analysis is done.

Similarly, in an *explication de texte*, a line from a poem could be approximately 3-5 words, whereas a line from an extract of prose would most probably be longer. In a poem, as in prose, an idea might last several lines, not just one. Unless there were a clear reason and objective, there would be little value in analyzing each line individually. Thus, a connection exists between the *explication de texte* and the CCM (Glaser, 1965).

"3-Dimensional/Auto-stereographic" Analysis

In an *explication de texte* as with the CCM and classic grounded theory, the objective is to offer a detailed analysis to uncover hidden elements of the text. To accomplish such an endeavor, in an *explication de texte*, the analyst would generally discuss the historical or cultural elements, present themes, explain unclear meanings, and provide various metalinguistic elements pertinent to the textual extract. Then, the analyst would relate the ideas back to the text. Inter-elemental connections, for example a relationship between the rhyme scheme and historical or cultural content and context, would generally not be made. A visual representation of an *explication de texte* is presented in the following figure (see Figure 1) showing how the various elements are unidirectional relating back to the text not to each other.

Figure 1

Explication de Texte Connections
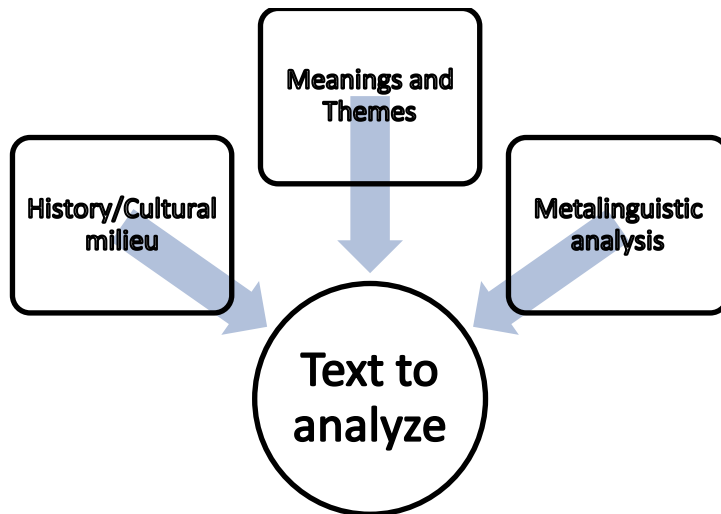
Like an *explication de texte*, the goal of the CCM (Glaser, 1865) is to uncover hidden

connections. However, the heretofore undiscovered connections are made between memos

(and their associated codes) (Chametzky, 2013; Glaser, 1998). Additionally, in uncovering

any connections between and among memos, the analyst will compare each memo with an-

other to create a more "3-dimensional" depth to the analysis. Such depth is understandable as

the broader goal is to produce categories that are rich and saturated. Thus, because of the re-

peated comparison of ideas found in the method by Glaser (1965), the researcher is able to

get a more "3-dimensional almost auto-stereographic" perspective of the data than with an

explication de texte. To demonstrate this point, for the sake of simplicity, I will present four

codes—A, B, C, and D. In the following figure (See Figure 2), the reader can see how the

four codes would be compared with each other in the CCM by Glaser (1965) to create a rich-

er analysis than in an explication de texte.

Figure 2

CCM and "Auto-stereographic" Analysis
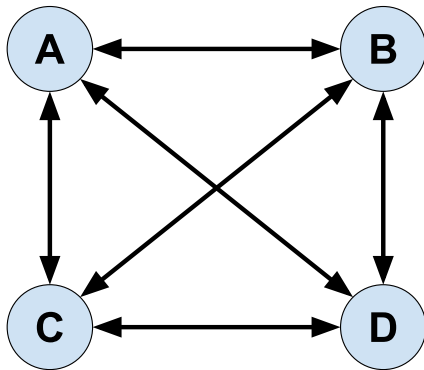
Thus, in so far as a "3-dimensional, auto-stereographic" perspective of the text is concerned, there is a connection between the CCM (and classic grounded theory) and an *explication de texte*. Yet, the extent of that 3-dimensionality is more evident in the CCM than in an *explication de texte*.

Emic and Etic Perspectives

The terms emic and etic, originally linguistic terms, are borrowed from the field of ethnography to refer to two perspectives (Mostowlansky, 2020). Emic refers to the perspective of an insider (Fetterman, 2010), while etic refers to that of an outsider; in this discussion, the outsider is the analyst or researcher. While both perspectives are valuable and important in qualitative research, each perspective requires a different perspective.

For the *explication de texte*, the analyst needs to distance him- or herself from the text (Lyraud, 2018). To take the perspective of an outsider, a researcher needs an etic perspective. Even if hypotheses are offered in the *explication de texte*, the analysis is not from the perspective of an insider.

To explain this idea further, in Hickory, Dickory, Dock, the aforementioned nursery rhyme, the reader follows the nursery rhyme unfolding from the perspective of an observer, and the analysis is presented in this same etic manner. However, if the analysis were presented from the perspective of the mouse (i.e., what the mouse heard and how and why the mouse ran up and down the clock), then an emic perspective and analysis would exist.

On the other hand, in the CCM (Glaser, 1965) and, by extension, classic grounded theory, an emic perspective (Glaser, 1998) is required and, indeed, mandatory. During a classic grounded theory study, a researcher will need to ask, "What is actually happening in the data" (Glaser, 1978, p. 57). Such a question requires an emic perspective where no opinions or external information from the researcher are offered. To incorporate any external thoughts, preconceptions, opinions, or preconceptions into the data analysis would corrupt the data (Chametzky, 2022) and result in a study that was not a classic grounded theory research design. When a researcher has external thoughts, because a tabula rasa is not possible (Glaser, 1967), they must be set aside.

Conclusion

The idea of connecting an *explication de texte* with classic grounded theory is not new; a historical connection between the two analyses is well documented (Glaser, 2008; Simmons, 2022). Yet, a deeper understanding of what an *explication de texte* is, as well as their commonalities and differences, has not been made apparent until now. Aside from the various theoretical and perhaps somewhat abstract connections presented in this article, the two analyses are clearly different one from another. Yet, the analyses are perhaps not as vastly different as one might have previously imagined. The goal of this research—to help the reader develop a more nuanced understanding of the connections and differences between the *explica-*

tion de texte and the CCM—has been attained. Such an achievement should not be minimized

because new ideas can and should be created from this study. New perspectives may be con-

sidered and hypothesized. Perhaps because of these new perspectives which were stimulated

by this research, the reader might ask the "what-would-the-result-be-if . . ." question and dis-

cover something else new.

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GROUNDED THEORY REVIEW
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***Grounded Theory Review*: A Brief History and A Bright Future**

Lisa Goldberg, President of the Board, Institute for Research and Theory Methodologies

Abstract

The *Grounded Theory Review* is an open-access, peer-reviewed journal dedicated to the publication of works that advance classic grounded theory. The journal was created in 1999 by Dr. Barney Glaser, one of the co-developers of grounded theory. During the past the last 24 years, the *Grounded Theory Review* has published more than 100 articles in 22 volumes under the leadership of its four previous editors-in-chief, Drs. Barney Glaser, Judith Holton, Astrid Gynnild, and Alvita Nathaniel. In 2023, there have been several changes to the journal. Dr. Barry Chametzky became the fifth editor-in-chief, and the Institute for Research and Theory Methodologies became the new publisher of the journal.

Keywords: *Grounded Theory Review*, classic grounded theory, purpose, history, editors

The Institute for Research and Theory Methodologies (RTM) is honored to be the new publisher of the *Grounded Theory Review*. During the last 24 years, the *Grounded Theory Review* has published many grounded theories and methodological papers to support the growth of classic grounded theory worldwide. This tradition will continue under the guidance of RTM, and as the President of RTM, one of my goals this year is to bring the *Grounded Theory Review* to more people with increased awareness of classic grounded theory. One of

the ways I am promoting the *Grounded Theory Review* is by promoting two conferences this coming year. The first is the Classic Grounded Theory International Virtual Conference, which is specifically for those interested in learning more about classic grounded theory and participating in an academic forum about classic grounded theory. The second is the International Congress for Qualitative Research and Theory Methodologies, which will include sessions about various qualitative research methods and classic grounded theory. The *Grounded Theory Review* is an integral part of the future of classic grounded theory, and because of this, I thought it would be a good time to share a brief history of this journal and reiterate the purpose of the *Grounded Theory Review*.

Grounded theory was developed by sociologists Dr. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the early 1960s during their research on death and dying at the University of California, San Francisco. Following the acclaim of that research, they published their seminal work *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (1967), where they explained the basic principles of grounded theory. During the subsequent years, Glaser continued to write and publish more than 30 books and articles on grounded theory. He also started the Grounded Theory Institute (https://groundedtheory.com/), Sociology Press (www.sociologypress.com), where his books can be purchased, and the *Grounded Theory Review*.

The *Grounded Theory Review* was established by Dr. Barney Glaser in 1999 and published by Sociology Press. Dr. Glaser served as the first editor-in-chief. Drs. Andy Lowe, Evert Gummesson, and John Klinkert served as associate editors for the first three volumes, with Steve Hedenskoog joining the team for the second (2000) and third (2001) volumes. Glaser (2001) introduced the inaugural editions by writing,

The purpose of this journal is to publish reprints and original grounded theory papers for the study and assimilation by its readers. This journal will endeavor to capture the current state of generating grounded theory throughout the world and what it is being used for in health, education, business and other fields. In bringing these papers into print, I trust this journal will serve to generate a worldwide community of grounded theorists. It will be a forum for minus mentorees to have others review, share and discuss their "emerging generating", hence to call upon each other for advice, counsel, and stimulation by e-mail and other telecommunications. (p. 1)

After a noted absence of volumes between 2001 and 2004, Dr. Judith Holton took the reins as editor-in-chief in 2004. She established an international panel of eight peer-review editors who were all experienced grounded theorists to review articles and contribute their own work to the journal. In a Publisher's Note in Volume 4, Glaser (2004) noted

Sociology Press is pleased to publish The Grounded Theory Review. Our primary goal in publishing this journal is to provide a forum for classic grounded theory scholarship. To this end, we will focus our efforts on:

publishing good examples of the grounded theories being developed in a wide range of disciplines

publishing papers on classic grounded theory methodology

creating a worldwide network of grounded theory researchers and scholars

providing a forum for sharing perspectives and enabling novice grounded theorists to publish their work

promoting dialogue between authors and readers of the journal. (p. iv)

Dr. Holton served as the editor-in-chief for the next 8 years, overseeing the publication of 19 issues of the journal and doubling the number of peer reviewers to sixteen, two of whom also served as associate editors. Dr. Judith Holton co-authored many articles with Dr. Barney Glaser and independently.

In 2012, Dr. Astrid Gynnild became editor-in-chief of the *Grounded Theory Review*. Under her leadership, the *Grounded Theory Review* became an open-access journal. Dr. Gynnild (2012) wrote

> I am delighted to introduce the first issue of the *Grounded Theory Review* as an open access journal. This means that from now on, all academic articles provided by the journal are freely accessible online, including the archives. As an interdisciplinary, peer reviewed methodological journal, the *Grounded Theory Review* serves a broad academic community across continents. We are committed to the worldwide dissemination and advancement of classic grounded theory methodology, and similar to an increasing number of academic journals, we support a free exchange of scholarly knowledge, independent of access to scholarly funding or library facilities. (p. 1)

Dr. Gynnild also oversaw the indexing efforts and helped the *Grounded Theory Review* receive acceptance into Google Scholar and the Directory of Open Access Journals. She served as editor-in-chief for 6 years, publishing 11 issues of the journal, including a special edition celebrating the 50th anniversary of *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*.

In 2018, Dr. Alvita Nathaniel became editor-in-chief of the *Grounded Theory Review*. In the first issue published under her oversight, she wrote,

> I am humbled by the opportunity to work with the classic grounded theory community and to follow in the footsteps of the previous two editors, Judith Holton and Astrid

Gynnild. I am excited to work closely with Barney Glaser, the editorial board, and

peer reviewers. One of the most exciting aspects of the Review is the engagement of a

global community of classic grounded theorists. Internationally diverse researchers

from many disciplines collectively engage in this important research method. (p. 1)

For four years, she worked closely with Dr. Barney Glaser until his death in January 2022.

Following his death, she coordinated the June edition as a special tribute to his life and work.

She continued as editor-in-chief until 2023.

In 2023, the *Grounded Theory Review* went through several changes. Dr. Barry Cha-

metzky became the fifth editor-in-chief. Following Dr. Barney Glaser's death in 2022, the

Glaser family also decided to entrust the continued publication of the journal to the Institute

for Research and Theory Methodologies (RTM). RTM is a non-profit organization that trains,

mentors, supports, and connects students, faculty, and researchers worldwide in qualitative,

multi-method, mixed-method, and grounded theory research across disciplines in order to

develop methodological expertise. The journal is housed within the Glaser Center for

Grounded Theory at RTM. The Glaser Center for Grounded Theory trains, mentors, supports,

and connects students, faculty, and researchers worldwide who are learning and using

grounded theory.

Historically, when there have been transitions in the journal leadership, the journal

has reiterated the purpose of the *Grounded Theory Review*. Building on the original purpose

stated by Dr. Barney Glaser, RTM is pleased to support the following purpose of the journal.

The *Grounded Theory Review* is an interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed, open-access journal for

advancing classic grounded theory and scholarship. We do this by

- publishing examples of grounded theories being developed in a wide range of disciplines and papers about the classic grounded theory methodology,

- building a worldwide community of grounded theory researchers and scholars,

- offering a forum for sharing perspectives, and

- providing opportunities for novice grounded theorists to publish their work.

As the *Grounded Theory Review* enters its 25th year, RTM is excited to support the work of the journal under the direction of its newest editor-in-chief, Dr. Barry Chametzky. We are pleased to bring you this latest edition on our new open-access journal platform and website at https://groundedtheoryreview.org/. Indeed, the future looks bright.

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