



Qualitative Research Methods in the Social Sciences  
Innovation, Integration and Impact

# Qualitative Researcher

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## A European dimension to qualitative research

Paul Atkinson

Qualitative research in the social sciences is global in its scope and impact. There are significant research groups, projects and publications worldwide. Like all aspects of global culture, however, there is a danger of it becoming dominated by Anglo-American, English-language interests. That danger is clearly apparent when one inspects the now voluminous literature on qualitative research methods. Partly because of the dominant market position of Sage publications, there is a huge emphasis on American and American-inspired methodological literature. The market position of major volumes like the successive editions of the Denzin and Lincoln Handbook and other volumes in a similar style means that a disproportionate amount of the published material follows a particular style of research and advocates a particular approach to research method.

In many ways of course this reflects the growing success of qualitative research. Despite some external criticisms of qualitative research in government and other quarters – most notably in the USA – and the repeated attempts to enhance the volume and quality of quantitative research, qualitative research now occupies a major position in many disciplines. From its roots in social anthropology and sociology, qualitative work has now spread to the great majority of social-science fields.

There is, however, a potential problem that accompanies these successes. The growth of qualitative research, taken together with the English-language position of dominance, means that other traditions do not get anything like the same attention. The international visibility of European traditions is much less than it could and should be. How many English-speaking social scientists are

properly informed about the Spanish tradition of oral history, the biographical work being done in Poland, the French approach to discourse analysis, or German hermeneutic perspectives? If we know about these things, it is often through very partial and fragmented glimpses, and equally often out of date.

That is why the European Science Foundation (ESF) has established EUROQUAL, a European-wide network of social scientists, from sixteen member-states, who will be promoting a European-wide appreciation of diverse traditions and strategies in Europe. The initiative is led by Paul Atkinson, and it is one of the major international collaborative ventures entered into by QUALITI. Over the next four years there will be a series of high-level workshops and capacity-building events, under the aegis of EUROQUAL.

QUALITI and EUROQUAL together are committed to generating constructive interdisciplinary and international collaboration, aimed at demonstrating the positive and practical contributions that qualitative research can make to social-science research. We shall continue to go beyond the self-referential style that marks too much contemporary methodological work, and to ground innovations in research method in major applications of research.

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# Stories as sorties

Tom Hall, Brett Lashua, Amanda Coffey

## Introduction

Over the past year we have been talking with young people in two areas of south Wales as part of a research project looking at the intersection of different sorts of transition or movement – the project is all about change and movement.<sup>1</sup> Two kinds of movement interest us in particular: we are interested in personal change and movement – young people’s biographical narratives of transition, of growing up and older – and also in the movements and changes that are a part of strategies for local regeneration – the transformation of places, communities and economies. Nothing very new in either of these perhaps (save that youth and ‘regeneration’ are always novel – constitutively so; being new is an important part of what they are all about). What is new though, or innovative as we see it, is movement, or rather the possibilities offered by movement; not as a concept, but as practice. As well as attending to movement – to personal transition, community transformation, shifts and changes and development – our research aims to make use of movement as a technique; as a way in which to bring different elements of our research agenda into a creative synthesis. We aim to do so, simply enough, by walking. In what follows we explain why and how, and discuss some of the benefits we see as following from conducting research on the move. We begin by setting out in a little more detail the links between youth transitions, community regeneration and place as lived, local geography.

## Metaphors of transition

The sociological literature on youth transitions is replete with metaphors of space and movement. Young people make the move from school to work, from dependence to majority and adult roles; they follow ‘routes’ and ‘pathways’; they are on this or that ‘trajectory’. Difficulties arise and young people find themselves delayed, diverted, stalled; familiar passage is obscured and ‘bridges’ broken; new skills of ‘navigation’ equip young people to cross an open field of possibility, a new ‘terrain’ of risk and opportunity. Shifts in preference for one or other of these terms reflect the development of theoretical perspectives on youth transitions over time (Evans and Furlong, 1997), but what remains constant is the underlying trope: the lan-

guage of geographical space and journeying standing in for movements in social space.<sup>2</sup> Modes of transport also feature; railway carriages, transporting cohorts of young people to known destinations are replaced by motor cars and individualised journeying (see Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Roberts, 1995). Again these are metaphors; not stories about travel but representations of (changes to the means and experience of) transition – to majority and adulthood.

Yet youth transitions, howsoever represented – as journeys, as pathways – also take material place; that is, they are actually experienced in physical locations and on lived terrains. This is too often overlooked. The language of space and movement is everywhere, but geography – lived place and local terrain, real routes and sites – is hard to find. It is as if this mode of representation conceals, as actuality, that which it conspicuously brings into play as idiom. Where place does figure in the sociology of youth transitions it tends to do so as a broad-brush contextual factor inflecting trajectories along with other determinants such as class and gender; this is place as region and labour market, not place as geography in the sense in which we are interested – the streets and corners and routes and micro-local sites against which young people’s daily lives are played out. We are interested in these lived geographies as sites of and for transition.

## Changing places

Place in this local, lived sense is something much more than landscape – the material topography of a piece of land (Cresswell, 2004: 11); it is a hybrid product of biography and location(s), the one informing the other in a constant round of influence and interpretation. It is an animate geography; and living things do not stand still, they move. This is as true of places as it is of persons. People move and grow – physically of course, but also socially, as persons; this process is continual, yet we recognise certain phases of the life course – youth, for example – as moments in which change can intensify and accelerate. Similarly place, as lived geography, moves and changes; the process is continual, but we recognise moments at which it intensifies and accelerates. Which brings us to regenera-

tion – the economic and physical renewal of communities and places.

Industrial transformation – economic change affecting places and people – has been the subject of a significant amount of social scientific research. A number of studies have considered the design and delivery of public policies in this context (see, for example, Beynon et al., 1994). Other studies have focussed more directly on local responses to community transformation, looking at the institutions mediating transformation and adjustment (see, for example, Morgan and Rees, 1999) and at the ways in which workers, families and communities live through and engage with the consequences of economic restructuring (see, for example, Fairbrother and Morgan, 2001). Young people have not always been so visible here, with much of the research attending to the experiences of (mostly male) adult workers, exploring family adjustment in the wake of redundancy and shifting opportunities for employment. Geography has been hardly visible at all, despite the fact that processes of economic and community transformation and regeneration are often most immediately apparent in changes to the physical environment. These changes could not be more marked in the settings in which we are currently working, in Cardiff and the borough of Blaenau Gwent in south Wales. Cardiff has been physically transformed in the course of recent development and regeneration activity. The city’s docks have been made over as a centre for commerce, leisure and tourism and renamed Cardiff Bay; the city centre has been similarly refashioned and is currently undergoing a further round of rebuilding and retail development. Cardiff is generally agreed to be thriving as a result, though the trickle-down effects of this regeneration have not reached everywhere; it is a city of ambition, growth and also inequality, and that inequality can be mapped and is physically apparent in the (new) geography of the place. To the north and east of the city is Blaenau Gwent, an area whose landscape and economy has been defined by the large scale production of iron and steel for close to 200 years. Blaenau Gwent has borne the brunt of considerable industrial transformation over the last two decades and could hardly be described as thriving today.

Significant cutbacks and closures in the steel industry have adversely affected the area, notably, and most recently, the closure of the Corus Steel works in Ebbw Vale, the borough's largest centre of population. This closure meant the loss of hundreds of jobs, bringing to an end an activity central, for generations, to the economic and social life of the town. Even so, Ebbw Vale is now looking ahead to positive change, with its younger generations very much in mind; economic and community regeneration is planned and hoped for, though yet to show through in the built form, layout and geography of the town.

These are changing places, and although the changes are primarily economic and social, they are also material. Cardiff's skyline bristles with scaffolding and construction; the Ebbw Vale steelworks are not only closed but entirely demolished, leaving a levelled space at the centre of the town 200 acres in size; these are physical transformations. And they matter, in themselves for what they are, irrespective of the economic transformations and policy decisions that may have determined them. Moreover, this significance – the significance of material change – must register sociologically, given the 'constitutive coingredience' of identity and place (Casey, 2001: 684; see also Anderson, 2004: 225); places have both (physical) form and meaning, and to change one is to change the other.

This brings us to the nub of our enquiry, and to movement as a means of effecting this. We have in view two developments to be understood as a (complex) totality: changing place(s) and changing lives, each of these in a moment of particular transition when changes accelerate and intensify. How then to get at this; how to find out what it is like to be moving, changing, in this way? What we are after is narratives of change. And these could be got, simply, enough, by asking young people in these locations to talk to us about the changes they are going through themselves and see around them? So why not just do interviews about lives and places? Well, yes, only there is something about interviews as a means of knowing that seems to us to be out of step with what we want to understand.

### Stories as journeys

Interviews, conventionally understood, are static occasions; the interview is an opportunity to stand still (to sit down, more often than not) and really get a fix on things. Of course interviews range in

other ways, they cover ground; but it is memory, imagination and narrative that move here, not the interviewer and interviewee – these two stay put. There are good, practical reasons for keeping the interview fixed in this way. Consider the following sensible advice offered the (novice) qualitative researcher looking to conduct an interview:

*Where the interview is to take place in the field, the researcher loses much control over the arrangement. This means there is an added danger that things can go wrong. Through whatever means, though, the researcher needs to try to get a location for the interview in which they will not be disturbed, which offers privacy ... the desirability of such a venue should be conveyed to the person arranging the interview room (Denscombe, 1998: 119-120).*

*You want a setting as free from interruption and as comfortable and non-distracting as possible. You want to avoid interruptions by phones, by noise from outside, by other people. Ideally, this usually would mean an 'interview room' in the home or workplace of neither party (Wengraf, 2001: 191).*

The message could not be clearer: movement puts the interview at risk; it shifts the balance of control away from the researcher; it exposes the interview to interruption; it ratchets up the ratio of noise to signal. And this is, to repeat, sensible advice. Nonetheless, it is advice on which we have turned our backs and from which we have walked away. The conversations we are engaged in with young people in south Wales have linked place and biography through movement; they have been conducted on the move, out and about, with respondents invited to walk us through their changing locales as they talk us through their changing lives. This is a small methodological departure, but one we feel has considerable potential to both 'ground' and open up the questions of biography, transition and locality that are central to our study. The key, as we see it, is the affinity between personal narratives and movements through place. Each is a sort of journeying. As de Certeau notes 'every story is a travel story—a spatial practice'; stories, at some level, 'traverse and organise places; they select and link them together, they make sentences and itineraries out of them' (1984:115). This affinity – stories as sorties, movement as narrative – is neglected when the interview takes place only here, or there; but when conversation and movement combine, when the interview takes place on the way from here to there, all sorts of synergies – reverberations – are set in mo-

tion. Having conducted a good number of these 'touring' interviews in this way, we are very taken with the possibilities. At their best we have felt these walks to be three-way conversations, with interviewee, interviewer and locality engaged in an exchange of ideas; place has been under discussion but, more than this, and crucially, underfoot and all around and as such much more of an active, present participant in the conversation, able to prompt and interject. Routes and circuits have given structure to narrative; sites have triggered memory and association; physical change has cued comment and crossed tracks with accounts of biographical movement. This is the nub of our project. If place is constitutively coingredient with identity, then kicking the interview out of doors and into motion must be a good thing. Doing so brings locality – lived geography – into the conversation, not (only) as something to be talked about, but as a place to be walked through.

Beyond this, we have come to see movement as opening up the interview in other ways, two of which we will briefly mention here. Inviting respondents to walk us around their town as they talk us through the changes they are growing up with has, we feel, the considerable potential to even out some of the power differentials which even the most informal of interviews can struggle to throw off. The 'interview room' favoured by Wengraf (above) could be the most comfortable and familiar of settings, but for the duration of the interview it is a space set aside; somewhere out of the ordinary, and unsettling as such. Qualitative researchers will be familiar with the sudden self-consciousness (all the more significant if barely perceptible) that can come over the most open and chatty of respondents as the door closes and the interview begins. But talk comes easier when walking, and is much less troubled by pauses and the sometime awkwardness of question and answer. Crossing the road, walking uphill, turning a corner – these movements punctuate in ways which return the interview to(wards) ordinary conversation. Leading the way, interviewees can shift the discussion from description to personal commentary and back, as it suits them; if the talk takes a wrong turn, diversions are at hand. The young people we have been talking with have responded positively to this approach. The second opening up takes us back to de Certeau:

*'It is true that the operations of walking can be traced ... in such a way as to transcribe their*

paths ... and their trajectories (going this way and not that). But these ... lines only refer, like words, to the absence of what has passed by. Surveys of routes miss what was: the act itself of passing by (1984: 97).

Walks – like stories, like biographies – link places; they move between coordinates. These latter are the sites and moments at which something happens – here, now, back then, over there. Route maps and told biographies alike are strung across such coordinates and events, and as such, they distract attention from whatever it is that has happened along the way; or rather, they distract from what it is like to pass along the way (nothing may have so distinctly ‘happened’ at all). Passage is not the same as milestone, turning point or destination – the markers of transition; it is an ordinary, in-between business. In this way, movement – walking – has been taking us to places, to perspectives on biography, transition and local change, that are altogether different from those with which we first set out.

#### Notes

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<sup>1</sup>The project, titled Locality, Biography and Youth in a Transforming Community, runs for a further twelve months. Details are available online at <http://schools.cf.ac.uk/socsi/youthscapes/index.htm>

<sup>2</sup>Itself a metaphor, the terminology of the spatial is deeply ingrained in the social scientific imagination (see Massey, 2005).

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Tom Hall, Brett Lashua and Amanda Coffey are moving along their own spatial, biographic and disciplinary trajectories. For now, these converge at the Cardiff School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University. All three share an interest in place, identity and transformation and in qualitative methods as a way in which to engage with these.

## Making order out of a contested disorder: the utilisation of online support groups in social science research

Jamie Lewis

### Introduction

The following article is a description and analysis of the online methodology used in a study undertaken in 2003 (Lewis 2003). The paper focuses on the benefits of using online research as a tool for researching health disorders. Initially the article considers the benefits of this approach in acquiring participants for a health study. Secondly, it considers how the methodology I used allowed patients to feel at ease in discussing their health disorders in a perceived setting of privacy.

### Online groups for health disorders

Denzin (1999: 113) states that many people use Internet support groups in the search for 'hope, help and healing' on a number of health problems. A poll

by Harris & Associates (1995) found that 70% of all online users had researched information on the Internet for some sort of health problem. One type of health information, specifically that of experiential health information, is concentrated in online support groups. Consequently, Walther and Boyd (2001) believe that online support groups are a rich tool for social scientists collecting data on health topics. This particular study is research conducted using an online Irritable Bowel Syndrome (IBS) support group with an active worldwide membership of over 17,000.<sup>1</sup>

The particular site discussed here is a patient-run support group that encourages communication and interaction amongst members on issues that revolve

around 'IBS' and similar contributory disorders such as fibromyalgia. For those suffering from a chronic disorder that is not understood particularly well by the western medical profession it can be a useful dissemination network for gathering information as well as a source of social therapy. As such, topics on the message boards<sup>2</sup> varied widely, from the effects of the disorder, to foods to avoid, to ideas that might help people fulfil their social commitments.

According to Slevin (2000: 47), the Internet "opens up new opportunities for dialogue and deliberation and empowers people to make things happen rather than have things happen to them". Fittingly this study supports the view that the Internet is increasingly being used as

a tool to help manage chronic illnesses by supplying empathetic support, tacit knowledge from those who live with the symptoms, and receptive and novel ideas to help manage the disorder. For my research, the message boards were used as a place to gather information on the disorder and also as a network of support and hope. As such the support group was a setting that encouraged postings that were a rich source of discursive health material.

### **Stabilising a membership**

My first encounter with the support group was to use the bulletin boards to discuss my own health problems. This initial grounding benefited my research in two ways; firstly, it allowed me to become a competent familiar user of the message boards, and secondly, it gave me the opportunity to advertise my proposed study as an authentic and trusted member and not just another researcher.

The access to information from the bulletin boards enabled me to become immersed in the rhetoric of the group. It also gave me a platform and an opportunity to exchange my own ideas. As such I became recognised by a number of members as a regular user of the boards<sup>3</sup> and so felt part of their community.

### **The cohesive online community**

Grohol (1998: 127) argues that the “online world may be a coping mechanism for some people” and also a “place to feel more freedom to express the symptoms of disorders”. In my study it was clearly evident that the bulletin boards acted as domains where members were able to reveal personal information about their experiences of the disorder that are not often represented in medical journals. The support group facilitated the development of real relationships that were composed in a virtual community, somewhere in cyberspace. As someone who had spent time in the forums building a rapport with fellow members, I became trusted as one of these dependable online friends, with a genuine interest in the subject of ‘IBS’.

### **Publicising the study**

In the support group, the message board followed a cyclical process. One person would make an initial posting on a topic, another one would comment on it and then another. In observing the resulting narrative, I began to realise that members of this community desperately wanted to articulate to the world the symptoms they were experiencing. So five months after my initial posting as a

regular visitor to the forum, I posted an article illustrating my predicament as a fellow sufferer and introduced the study and invited people to participate. I was very aware that I needed to contextualise myself as a researcher but also as a fellow member and sufferer. I posted this message in three separate discussion groups<sup>4</sup> in the forum at three different periods between October 2002 and March 2003.

Over fifty members responded expressing an interest in the sociological study. Many stated that their ability to participate would depend on various responsibilities, time constraints and their overall health<sup>5</sup> but in principle they were very interested in the project.

I believe it was the honesty<sup>6</sup> and frankness I showed to members that meant I had a favourable response from them. I then asked for an e-mail contact address or their private message address<sup>7</sup> so that I could send them an online qualitative questionnaire made up of open-ended questions, based on the aide-memoire often used in face-to-face qualitative interviews.

### **The problem of tools**

Social science researchers have used real-time synchronous chat and/or chat groups (see Kendall 1999, Markham 1998) as ‘agoras’<sup>8</sup> to set up computer mediated interviews/focus groups to elicit information. However, when I suggested this technique to individuals, many felt that such open, public domains were too overwhelming and too exposed. This was most keenly felt in relation to focus groups since they would involve some sort of multi-party chat.

Scott (2004) in her online work about shyness argues that it is vital to negotiate the correct methodology to fit the needs of those being studied. Consequently, it seemed quite important that there needed to be some sort of discrete direct person-to-person and not group-on-group communication to perform the research. E-mail involves a private communication between two individuals and so remains relatively unexposed. Having already stored all the potential respondents’ e-mail addresses in a database, I suggested the idea of using e-mail<sup>9</sup> as the ‘CMC’<sup>10</sup> domain in which I would send them an open-ended, in-depth, descriptive questionnaire to complete. This questionnaire would encourage respondents to write as much as they wished<sup>11</sup> in a chat-style format, whilst at the same

time holding the structure of questions constant. I hoped this would make the results easier to compare.

The respondents agreed that this type of format was less embarrassing. I believe that such inclusive interaction with members in negotiating what platform and tool to use, not only gave them an increased sense of ownership, but also acted as a further stepping stone in developing a strong rapport between them and myself.

### **Benefits of e-mail as a platform of dissemination**

One of the major benefits of e-mails and e-mail research is that it allows the respondent more time to compose and formulate answers when comparing it to the more instantaneous reactions needed in chat rooms. It allows participants greater scope to think about any questions asked and, as such, often encourages more descriptive and well-thought out replies than those given in chat rooms (Grohol 1998, Mann & Stewart 2000). Although e-mail is considered to be a less instantaneous procedure for collecting data when compared to chat rooms, it still generates very swift responses when compared to postal questionnaires. In terms of ‘time of delivery’ the questionnaire will be sent and delivered by e-mail in a matter of seconds.

Another benefit of e-mail when compared to ‘snail mail’<sup>12</sup> is that it allows for the participation of a wider spectrum of individuals from numerous countries. This then makes communication possible with fellow sufferers living on the other side of the world. Yet any increased distance of respondents’ location has no significant effect on the time of the delivery. By using e-mail, the space-time paradigm has been transformed (Castells, 2000) so that communication can be instant in terms of access irrelevant of location. Herein lays another reason why I chose email over chat rooms because there would have been ‘timing’ problems in trying to perform a study in ‘real time’ with members in different time zones (see Stephens forthcoming on telephone interviews abroad). Attempting to interact with participants in Australia and Canada at the same time would have meant a major disruption in at least one of the members’ daily time schedules. E-mail research resolves any such timing issues because it allows participants to receive, deliberate and to respond to the questions in their own time. It is this flexibility and user-friendliness that has led researchers such

as O'Dochartaigh (2002) and Selwyn & Robson (2003) to state that it is the most useful and effective Internet application of its time.

### The benefits of an online qualitative questionnaire compared to other methods

Hodkinson (2000), Smith-Stoner & Weber (2000) have discovered that participants who have volunteered to participate in a study that involved a number of online interviews over an extended time period tended to get bored and dropped out before completion. Thus, it would seem likely that respondents would be more inclined to complete a single qualitative questionnaire rather than a series of ongoing interviews. This disclosure added further credence to my choice of an extended qualitative questionnaire. The scope of the research was such that it demanded that respondents give up quite a bit of their free time to participate and yet I felt it was paramount that they did not drop out half-way through the investigation.<sup>13</sup>

I then gave the respondents the opportunity to supply any additional information for the study if they wished. The number of interactions I had with respondents depended on the individual's situation. A single interaction would consist of just delivering and receiving the, hopefully completed, questionnaire whereas a series of interactions would involve follow up questions and/or clarification and explanation questions. These subsidiary questions would attempt to take advantage of the benefits often found in interviewing; namely interaction and rapport-building and also help to obtain more detail on certain subjects.

### The results and success of using this type of methodology

From the fifty members expressing an initial interest, the qualitative questionnaire was sent to thirty-four email addresses (including six pilot emails). Of these thirty-four e-mail addresses, three e-mail addresses were invalid. Out of the thirty-one potential respondents, twenty-six members completed the questionnaire: four males and twenty-two females.<sup>14</sup> Of these twenty-six questionnaire replies, one of them had a section missing and another had not been completed fully, with an apology explaining that the respondent was too unwell to complete the full questionnaire. There was a time-gap of about five weeks between the first questionnaire being returned and the last. Even though we can

flash up an e-mail to a respondent<sup>15</sup> in seconds we can then wait days, even months for a response. The 'chronoscopic time' (see Hassan, 2003) of delivering the questionnaire does not always equate well to the time of actually reading and getting a return on the questionnaire. However to counteract this time-lag, I kept conversation flowing with the participants, by sending continuous e-mails asking about their health and reminding them of the deadline for the completed questionnaire. Continued interaction with participants allowed me to keep in contact with the respondents and also helped in building a further rapport. I also found this to be a source of useful additional background information about respondents.

### Conclusion

Even though the sample for the study I used had all volunteered to complete the questionnaire from the original bulletin board population, the length of time between individuals volunteering to participate in the study and the delivery of the questionnaire left a lot of scope for people to change their minds. Thus I was delighted with an 84% response rate. This I believe was helped in no small measure by the platform of dissemination chosen and the cohesive community I was studying. Electronic mail communication not only permits individuals to "respond when and how they feel comfortable" (Selwyn & Robson, 2002: 87) but also enabled me to keep in touch with how things were developing. The digital nature and set-up of the study, utilising electronic mail, meant many of the respondents felt a genuine part of an interactive, inclusive and innovative study.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>The number of members on at any one time differs dramatically depending on the time of day. As I write this there are 84 people browsing the boards; 15 members and 69 Guests. Guests are people who have not registered with the site so can not post anything, but they are free to read any of the posts.

<sup>2</sup>A message board is an online space that acts as a general forum where members can ask questions or discuss symptoms under the general message board heading. For example the heading may be Irritable Bowel Syndrome and so members may ask questions on how to cope with Irritable Bowel Syndrome.

<sup>3</sup>I became registered on the board as a senior member. A junior member of the group is elevated to the status of a senior member of the group after a certain length of time and a certain number of message postings.

<sup>4</sup>In this particular support group, there were a number of discussion groups such as Young Adults, The Meeting Place, Studies and Research.

<sup>5</sup>Such disclosures could in fact be seen as evidence of the trust members had that I could empathise

and understand their symptoms.

<sup>6</sup>Unlike many respondents, I logged in under my own name and did not use pseudonyms.

<sup>7</sup>A private message address is a way of contacting online group members from inside the web site.

<sup>8</sup>An agora is a virtual place in cyberspace.

<sup>9</sup>Grohol (1998) believes email has the major benefit over other formats in giving a sense of anonymity to the respondents.

<sup>10</sup>Computer Mediated Communication

<sup>11</sup>I felt it was very important to make this last point explicit to participants.

<sup>12</sup>Snail Mail is a slang term coined for postal deliveries.

<sup>13</sup>In a study consisting of a number of ongoing interviews, I felt respondents may feel less guilt in dropping out after the first round of interviews because they could feel at least they had completed one part of the data collection and had supplied some information.

<sup>14</sup>The bias in females only mirrors the bias of females over males on the bulletin board.

<sup>15</sup>That may include an attached questionnaire.

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## Developing interactive vignettes in a study of young people's injury-risking behaviour

Nick Jenkins

### Introduction

This brief report discusses the creation of an interactive form of vignette, which was employed as part of a three-year PhD project into young people's injury-risking behaviour in leisure settings. Finch (1987: 105) defines vignettes as, 'short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond.' Whilst historically a technique employed by the cognitive and behavioural sciences, the use of vignettes in qualitative research is becoming increasingly popular.

As the use of vignettes in qualitative research has increased, they have tended to adopt a distinctively qualitative form. These have become known as developmental or 'continuous narrative' vignettes (Hughes, 1998). Unlike 'snapshot' scenarios (see Bloor, 1991 for example) developmental vignettes follow a scenario through a series of stages with participants usually being invited to comment at each development in the story's progression. Whilst these have proved an effective tool in qualitative research, scenarios have tended to be presented to participants in relatively uninspiring mediums – usually on paper and read out by the interviewer – and leave little or no room for the story to adapt in order to accommodate the participant's response. As a result, Hughes (1998) argues that interviewees can be left feeling that they have given the 'wrong' answer if the scenario develops contrary to their expectations, which can culminate in their becoming upset, confused, and disinter-

ested in the research. With an increasing emphasis on participatory research techniques (Qvortrup, 1994) vignettes which are presented to children in exciting and accessible formats, and where young people themselves are 'at the helm' of the story's progression, offer rich rewards for researchers, especially those from the new social studies of childhood perspective (James and Prout, 1997).

### Constructing interactive vignettes

By hyper-linking Microsoft PowerPoint slides, gender specific vignettes were created involving hypothetical young people being faced with decisions over whether or not to engage in risky forms of leisure activities. In the initial stages of the vignettes participants were presented with a deliberately vague scenario and a choice of usually two diametrically opposed courses of action - the 'safe' and the 'risky' option. These options were hyper-linked to subsequent slides relevant to those options. If participants selected the 'risky' course of action they would be presented with further and potentially more dangerous risk decisions. If they elected the safer option, the character in the scenario would usually face pressure from peers to reverse this decision. The intention behind this was to explore the ways in which risk behaviour can escalate from mundane interactions to potentially dangerous situations, via a series of gradual and seemingly unconnected events.

After piloting, these vignettes were used in semi-structured interviews with 15 young people and their parents in South Wales. Participants were purposefully

selected from a survey of three hundred parents presenting their children (aged 11-15) to a local A&E ward with injuries sustained in non-domestic, non-road traffic settings in the spring of 2004. The purpose of the interviews was to explore parents' and young people's lived experiences of accidental injury. In order to ensure that the vignettes were as salient as possible to participants, the extent to which the child's accident resembled those events represented in the vignettes was a key criterion for sampling. The majority of participants were from 'managerial and professional backgrounds' (National Statistics, 2000) and with one exception all young people were described by their parents as 'White'. Parents and their children were, whenever possible, interviewed separately. Listed below, are some of the key advantages which making the vignettes interactive brought to the interviews.

### Character construction

As mentioned above, one of the principal arguments for making vignettes interactive is that it is the participant who determines how the scenario unfolds. Not only does this reduce the possibility of making participants feel that they have given the wrong answers but actively includes them in the generation of the character's identity. This then allows the researcher to explore the role of the protagonist's past actions in the interviewee's construction of that identity. At the analysis stage the researcher was able to observe how participants attributed a character and personality to Jack - the principal protagonist of the boys' vi-

nette - as a result of the options they chose for him. Consider the following example:

**Interviewer:** 'No, well there's no kind of right or wrong answer.'

**Mother:** 'Yeah I know what you mean, yeah I know. But it's being bad .... Really what I'm doing to Jack is ... I'm making him out a naughty little boy (laughs). And I dunno if I should be doing that. I reckon he's gonna join in. He will join in because he's at the car park now and he's doing wrong anyway, by just being there.'

*Mother of child aged 14*

Here the mother is unsure, in the later stages of the vignette, as to whether the character she has created is in fact a plausible representation. The fact that she has taken responsibility for the development of the character's personality and behaviour - and questions herself as to whether she has done so correctly - is fascinating in itself as it provides new avenues for analysis and theory building. However, the mother also frames Jack's decision as to whether or not to join in a dangerous skating game in the context of the character she has constructed. By making him perform acts of parental defiance, such as electing not to wear protective clothing and to engage in risky tricks, Jack has been constructed by this mother as a naughty and mischievous character. Thus, the view that Jack would engage in a highly dangerous skating game is based on the identity that she has made for him.

### Route comparability

When analysing the data, the routes of the different participants through the vignettes were mapped in the form of a flow chart. This enabled key areas of agreement and divergence between parents' and children's responses to be identified quickly and encouraged the researcher to return to the qualitative data in order to understand them. As routes through the scenario can be compared, interactive vignettes also offer strong potential as a longitudinal qualitative instrument capable of rigorously identifying changes in the same participants' responses to the materials over time. Methodological innovation in relation to qualitative longitudinal research is much needed (see Holland et al., 2004 for example) and interactive vignettes have the potential to contribute substantially in this area. However, given the short time period of the PhD, it was not possible to explore this capacity further.

### Medium accessibility

As well as Microsoft PowerPoint being a familiar and accessible tool for researchers it also proved to be a programme which young people, especially teenage boys, were highly proficient in. A number of young people for example, reported that they were currently using the software in school-based IT projects and when asked whether they would have preferred the stories to have been presented on paper, all the young people interviewed said no. Indeed, some felt that presenting the stories on the computer made the scenarios appear more 'real' as the layout of the screen helped them to picture the situations unfold.

**Young Person:** '... it was good on the computer cos the pictures were good and it was good just clicking on them ... you can actually see pictures so you can actually picture it in your head.'

*Boy aged 11*

The validity of qualitative data is often heavily dependent on the interviewee's level of mental engagement and computer-based interactive vignettes proved a useful tool in ensuring young people's participation. Neither the parents nor the young people who took part in this research displayed any difficulty in using the laptop computer. However, this may well have been influenced by the fact that the majority of participants were located at the top end of the socio-economic spectrum.

### A note of caution: factors to consider when creating and using interactive vignettes

In order to be effective, interactive vignettes must be both well planned and well piloted. If they are not, they have the potential to suffer from two main drawbacks, which are a lack of internal continuity (Barter and Renold, 2000) and the problem of option restriction. Internal continuity refers to the extent to which the interactive scenario develops in accordance with the options that the participant selects. Hyper-linking each option to their relevant slide can be a rather time consuming and logistically challenging process depending on both the number of options and the number of slides being used. In hyper-linking to the wrong slide the internal continuity of the vignette is compromised as the participant is presented with a situation that is not consistent with the option they have selected. This can be a rather embarrassing experience, especially if it bears absolutely no relation to the option the participant has chosen. This did in

fact happen during the piloting phase of the research, the outcome of which was a confused participant and a rather red-faced researcher.

Careful planning, story boarding, and piloting are essential in obtaining a high degree of internal continuity. However, the format in which packages such as PowerPoint present slides is not one that is particularly conducive to such a task. As such, the planning and numbering of slides for the purposes of hyper-linking is best done on paper initially where they can be mapped out in a pyramid structure - packing paper and Post-It notes are useful tools for this. Once all the options and slides have been designed and numbered they can be transferred to the computer.

In relation to restriction, hyper-linking options to subsequent slides automatically creates a fixed number of responses from which the participant must choose. This does not mirror 'real' social situations where a multitude of options and possibilities are available to actors. For the PhD, it was found that scenarios that presented participants with two possible courses of action were most easy to storyboard. Presenting participants with a wide range of options risks creating a logistical nightmare as each option has to be linked to its own relevant slide and thus the number of slides can grow exponentially as does the potential for damaging the internal continuity of the vignette.

With a choice of only two courses of action however, the issue of restricting answers becomes highly salient as situations can arise where the option the participant believes the character would choose is not available for them to select. Indeed, in a latter stage of the Jack scenario more than one young person felt that the character, rather than return home or skate in a supermarket car park illicitly, would instead phone his parents explaining the situation and ask for permission. Whilst this provided a useful insight into parental sanctioning of young people's risk behaviour, this option was not available for selection.

If the most likely course of action is consistently available to the participant then the impact of restriction should be minimal. Conversely, if the most favoured option is consistently unavailable then restriction is likely to be a problem, as the potential for participants to become disinterested or disengage with the activity is high. Careful piloting is the most

effective means of identifying likely courses of action but this cannot remove the potential for restriction completely. As such, when restrictions do occur the researcher should both note them and assess their significance. This assessment should be factored into any final evaluation of data quality.

### Summary

Developmental vignettes are valuable tools for qualitative researchers interested in exploring sensitive topics in a situated yet non-direct, non-confrontational manner. For this PhD study, making developmental vignettes interactive proved an effective way of engaging young people in the research process and removing barriers to participation associated with more conventional approaches. Furthermore, the interactive component of the scenarios provided a number of methodological innovations, which - through their further application and refinement - have the potential to contribute to developing

a uniquely qualitative approach to vignette methodology.

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## Transparency in the derivation and construction of fictionalised narratives

Tony Rea

In this paper I describe a research project I am currently undertaking (Rea, in progress) and explain my use of fictionalised narratives to communicate my interpretation of observations. I consider what criteria might be employed in place of validity, reliability and generalisability when considering the value of such writing, and how these can best be made transparent to the reader through models of schematisation or narrative approaches.

### Background

Hallwell Lodge is the pseudonym for an outdoor education centre in the south west of England, the site for my doctoral research project investigating the experiences of children aged eight to eleven. The Lodge is owned and administered by a Local Education Authority in the English midlands. Children reside there for five days in groups of up to 34, accompanied by teachers, but taught by centre staff.

Research that has focussed on outdoor learning and children of this age tends to be experimental in approach, gathering quantitative data to try to demonstrate the efficacy of outdoor programmes (Nundy, 1999; Dismore and Bailey,

2005). Rickinson et al. (2004) have identified 'blind spots' in the current literature on outdoor learning: the nature of learning in the outdoor classroom, the relationship between indoor and outdoor learning and politico-historical aspects of outdoor education policy and curricula. Adding to these, I would draw attention to the absence of research that seeks to investigate and understand the nature of the children's experiences in outdoor programmes from their perspectives rather than the perspectives of adults. To address this there is a need for more qualitative research in outdoor learning (Allison, 2000).

I have gathered qualitative data through direct observations and conversations with children, visiting staff and centre based staff during four visits to the centre from April 2004 to May 2005. Each visit lasted one week. The data collection is to continue through 2006.

The participants I observe change during each activity and during each day. Each week I visit there is a different cohort of participants. Consequently I am accumulating data relating to a growing number of participants. Sometimes I have only a small amount on each one, though the

data is very rich. I am faced with the issue of representing this data in a way that is both honest in respect to participant's voice, and can be seen by readers to be rigorous in method. In considering this issue of authenticity in narrative and textual portrayal, verisimilitude (Bruner, 1986; Denzin, 1989; Schwandt, 1997; Sparkes, 2002) seems to be a more appropriate concept than validity. Clough (2002, and in Goodley et al. 2004) argues the importance of making transparent to the reader from where data is derived and how this data has been fictionalised. This I develop below.

### Fiction or creative non-fiction?

When I merge or amalgamate my observations of participants I find I have far richer data. I represent this in narrative form through a number of 'characters'. In doing this I am following the example set by Clough (2002) when he amalgamates data from a number of derivations into one or more fictional characters. Sparkes (2002) maintains that writing is not fiction when data comes from observations of real participants and researcher imagination does not play a part. Instead, he introduces the concept of creative non-fiction as a way of writing research. I recognise that ideas sur-

rounding this issue continue to vary. The use of fiction in academic writing is new, experimental and may be unsettling to some; many may find the concept of creative non-fiction more comfortable. My own definition of fiction in my work (Rea, in progress) is something I have 'made' in order to faithfully communicate my interpretation of what I have observed, rather than something 'made up'. To progress this idea, I will first explain the derivations of three characters in my narratives: - Josh, Johnny and Kirsty - before considering how the process of fictionalisation from data can be made transparent.

Josh is very closely based on a boy who stayed at the centre in February 2005. Younger than most participants, he found himself struggling many times. To a large extent 'Josh' is a pseudonym for an actual participant and so my writing about him departs little from traditional academic writing where pseudonyms are used to preserve participant anonymity and confidentiality.

Likewise the character named Johnny began by being closely based on real characters, this time two boys who visited Hallwell Lodge with the same school in 2005. However, I choose to express facets of other children through Johnny when his character fit their personality and behaviour. In this way Johnny is unlike Josh. He is an amalgamation of data from a number of participants, and has become something of a stereotype of observed behaviour.

Kirsty is more of a fictitious character. There are strong elements of two girls who I observed at the centre, one in November 2004 the other in February 2005, and on visits to their respective schools. Kirsty also has elements of other participants influencing her, and in the narratives she is often the conduit of Johnny's taunts (which neither of her major alter egos suffered). I place Kirsty in situations her alter egos did not encounter and my imagination decides how she will react. For Kirsty, I feel 'fictionalised' character becomes an appropriate term.

### Transparency

Sparkes asks what measures might be applied in place of the "more traditional criteria – like validity, reliability [and] generalisability" (2002, p.189) when deciding the virtues of creative fiction and other experimental genres. I see transparency as a key part of this, and see that writers of these genres need to consider how they will make transparent the ways they have used the words and actions of their participants. Transparency is also important when writers move from describing the situations they have been observing, to communicating their interpretations of what they have observed.

Clough (2002) offers a technique for giving transparency to the process of narrative composition by offering a model for a schematisation similar to those often used in literary criticism. In this, units of meaning, data sources and data methods are outlined for characters, environments and events. I have experimented with a similar approach:

#### Example 1: Schematisation of the data sources and collection methods

<i>Unit of Meaning</i>	<i>Data Source</i>	<i>Data Collection Method</i>
Character: Kirsty	Amalgamation of F1 & F2 <sup>1</sup>	Observation/imagination/ reading scribble sheets
Environment: Hallwell Lodge	The Centre	Personal experience/ photographs/ reading centre documents
Environment: In the sea	Direct experience	Observation/memory/ experience/ imagination/
Event: Kirsty's confessional	F1	Reading scribble sheets/talking to F1's teachers/ observation

This approach is valuable in making transparent to the reader where data comes from and how this data has been collected, but it is very thin on detail. I

have experimented with a second scheme based on Clough in Goodley (2004, pp.92-3) in which I included extracts from the narrative alongside notes

on both the derivation of the data and how this data has been constructed and fictionalised by me.

#### Example 2: Schematisation of the derivation and construction of data sources

<i>Extract from the narrative</i>	<i>The derivation</i>	<i>The construction</i>
Johnny is happy as he walks along the beach; although he is constantly falling over on the slippery rocks. At one point he falls into a rock pool and comes out soaking wet from the shoulders down. It doesn't matter when you are enjoying yourself this much.	Johnny is partly based on M3, a boy from a suburban primary school. M3 behaved just as Johnny does here.	In my first draft 'Johnny seems happy...' now he is happy. When I construct Johnny as being happy I move away from a reliance upon my observations and become more reflexive. The 'other' at work here is myself in 1970.
"This is great!"	Observation of M3.	The sense of fun experienced by M3 was evident from my observations of him on the beach. Yet I have experienced fun in situations like this.
Rod focuses the group's attention onto the wildlife on the beach and rocks. Anemone, shrimps, limpets, tiny mussels, whelks, numerous seaweeds abound. Rod warns the group from damaging the limpets by disturbing them.	Rod is derived from all of the instructors at the centre. There were a total of seven instructors at the centre in the period of my visits.	In making Rod neutral throughout the narrative I of course run the risk of devaluing the importance and impact of individual instructors. Instructor behaviour is by no means consistent. I choose to construct Rod almost without personality.

If we accept Sparkes (2002) view that all writing is rhetoric, then we might ask why researchers choose to employ schematic approaches. Is it to convey a sense of honesty and transparency about the research process? Or to persuade the reader that the research process is rigorous? Of course, it may be both. Yet the detail such schemes contain can be thin and they can detract from the narrative approach which has presumably previously emerged as being important to the researcher, and may be a preference of the reader. My motivation in developing my own method of showing transparency in the ways in which I represent the children in my research has been driven by a desire to write about narratives using a narrative form and to present to the reader rich detail of how I have derived and processed data in order to construct these narratives.

I have searched for a narrative approach to communicate rigour and transparency that has resulted in the construction of dual narratives, which I now exemplify.

#### The first narrative: 'Kirsty the skedy cat'

*At once Kirsty breaks into a clapping, dancing, chanting routine learnt, she tells Rod, at Girl Guides.*

*"So, what's been the best part of Hallwell Lodge, Kirsty?"*

*"Staying away from my mum and dad," she replied.*

*"Did you like that?"*

*"No. But I know I can do it. I'm not scared of the sea now, either. I just smiled when I swallowed a bit of the water."*

*"Anything else?", Rod asked.*

*She thought for a while. She glanced at Johnny and Josh.*

*"I put my hand up more, I've not been such a scaredy cat!"*

#### The second narrative: the derivation and construction of 'Kirsty, the skedy cat'

Each day at the centre the children are encouraged to use 'scribble sheets' to record aspects of their reflections upon the day's activities. One of Kirsty's alter egos was keen to contribute to the sheet and gave me permission to take away

and use her words. This is what she wrote:

*Not sked of the sea. I smiyal when I swalld a bit of the whter. Staying away from my mum and dad. I put my hand up more and not being a skedy cat.*

I use this data in the first narrative, combining it with other data from my field notes. These record observations and a conversation I had with one particular participant in the queue to hand back gear on the last morning of her visit. Although written as though Kirsty is talking to Rod (the character I use to represent the instructors) a participant was talking to me in the queue. As I merge the data I also extend and elaborate the narrative. Bochner and Ellis (1996) argue that researchers invent and construct the cultures they write about, and here I certainly give some coherence to 'Kirsty's' position which she may not. How far this process might reduce the value of my findings in the eyes of some readers I leave them to judge for themselves.

#### Discussion

The dual narrative approach has both advantages and disadvantages. It is less easy to see the derivation and process at a glance, thus requiring the reader to carefully consider both narratives. I believe it gives the reader a fuller, richer account of how the narrative is derived and constructed, in a readable way. The two narratives could be presented side by side, allowing readers to exercise some degree of choice in how they read them: consecutively or simultaneously. In the second narrative I try to be honest about giving coherence to Kirsty's position, inviting readers to make their own judgements about the significance of this. Another advantage lies in making the findings accessible and relevant to practitioners, some of whom tell me they prefer a narrative construction of findings. The extent to which my research is honest to participant's voice and experience, and displays transparency in showing how data is derived, and characters and events constructed, is important to my work being accepted as serious and rigorous. My preference is for a narrative approach rather than schematisation, and the use of dual narratives facilitates this transparency.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>F and M refer to female and male child participants, further identified by number 1, 2 etc.

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# News and Forthcoming Events

## New Seminar Series

### Centre for Anthropology, British Museum

The series has been organised around current debates in anthropology, broadly focusing on ideas of the visual and the material. Forthcoming speakers:

Prof. Roy Wagner (University of Virginia),  
Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> October, time tbc

Dr. Angela Hobart (Goldsmiths College),  
Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 10:15 am

For further information please contact [ethnography@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk](mailto:ethnography@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk)

## Showcasing Qualitative Psychology

### Aston University

Thursday, October 12<sup>th</sup>

An event organised by the Qualitative Methods in Psychology Section of the British Psychological Society with presentations by Dr John Rowan (Psychotherapist, London) and Dr Karen Henwood (University of Cardiff). For details click on <http://www.psyc.leeds.ac.uk/research/qual/showcase/>

## Neglected Narratives and Untold Stories

### University of Edinburgh

Friday 20<sup>th</sup> October

In order to celebrate the launch of Edinburgh's new Centre for Narrative & Autobiographical Studies (NABS) this one day conference has been organised in association with OurStory Scotland. To register please contact Prof Liz Stanley at [liz.stanley@ed.ac.uk](mailto:liz.stanley@ed.ac.uk)

## Society for the Social Study of Science (4S) 2006 Annual Meeting

### The Empire Landmark, Vancouver, BC, Canada

1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> November

This year's theme is "Silence, Suffering and Survival". It is designed to explore the overlooked spaces, boundaries, actors, networks, and artefacts of science and technology. Go to <http://www.4sonline.org/meeting.htm>

## Text, image and sound

### Narrative in all its forms: new technologies, new questions

### Institute of Ethnology, University of Neuchâtel, CH

16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> November

This international conference organised by online journal [ethnographiques.org](http://ethnographiques.org) aims to promote forms of ethnographic 'writing' that draw on a variety of media. Details can be found on: <http://www.ethnographiques.org>

## 105<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association

### San Jose Convention Center, San Jose, CA, United States

15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> November 2006

More information available at <http://www.aaanet.org/>

## Using Qualitative Longitudinal Research in Policy and Practice

### London (venue tbc)

Friday 6<sup>th</sup> October

This seminar will explore the distinctive contributions that Qualitative Longitudinal research can make to policy and professional practice and facilitate a productive exchange between researchers and key research users. Speakers include: Prof Jane

Millar (University of Bath), Prof Kathryn Backett Milburn (Edinburgh) and Dr Nick Emmel (Leeds), and Sue Duncan (Chief Government Researcher, Cabinet Office). To book a place and for papers presented please contact Marie Ross at [m.b.ross@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:m.b.ross@leeds.ac.uk)

## Introduction to Visual Methods

### Beech Grove House, University of Leeds

Tuesday 17<sup>th</sup> October

This workshop is lead by Jon Prosser with David Gauntlett and organised by the ESRC National Centre for Research Methods. Details can be accessed on: <http://www.ncrm.ac.uk/events/2006/20060622/index.php>

## Real Life Methods Workshops

### Harold Hankins Building, University of Manchester

Thursday 19<sup>th</sup> October, 3-5pm, Localities

Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2-4pm, Social Networks

These workshops aim to stimulate debate and to share experiences of methodological issues. Sessions will explore how different ways of seeing and conceptualising research questions and topics lead to distinctive methodological possibilities and challenges. Further details can be found on: <http://www.reallifemethods.ac.uk/events/workshops/>

## Training Researchers to Engage with Public Policy (TREPP)

TREPP is a major new programme of training supported by the ESRC Researcher Development Initiative (RDI). Over the next three years TREPP will offer a range of courses for researchers to support their engagement with public policy. Upcoming TREPP event are listed below. For more information go to: <http://evidencenetwork.org/Training01.html>

## Policy transfer: learning from overseas experience

### King's College, London

Monday 16<sup>th</sup> October

Researchers are often commissioned to identify, compare and evaluate what other governments and agencies have done in tackling problems shared with the UK. This course focuses on ways of maximising the benefits of learning from others while recognising and minimising the risks arising from imperfect information, differences in context and partial understanding.

## Realist synthesis: a new evaluation approach

### University of Leeds, Leeds

Monday 13<sup>th</sup> November

This master class will provide an overview of 'realist synthesis', a new method for producing policy advice based on extensive reviews of the existing evidence. The session is introductory and intended for all researchers and policy makers.

## Information retrieval: databases and other sources

### University of Surrey, Guildford

Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> November

The workshop aims to give delegates an appreciation of the variety and complexity of social science bibliographic databases. Participants will be able to explore a wide variety of general and specialist databases, using their own search enquiries if desired, and build their knowledge and understanding of how to search more effectively.

## Qualitative Researcher

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*Qualitative Researcher* provides an interdisciplinary forum for social scientists to share their research and discuss questions arising from the application, innovation and dissemination of qualitative research. *Qualitative Researcher* invites contributions in the form of opinion pieces and polemics that stimulate debate; brief articles presenting current empirical research projects; and reports of instances of methodological innovation. Submissions should be between 1500 and 2000 words and as a reflection of *Qualitative Researcher's* pragmatic and inclusive orientation endnotes and references should be kept to a minimum.

*Qualitative Researcher* is edited and published by Qualiti, a node of the UK ESRC National Centre for Research Methods.

For enquiries and submissions, please contact [qualiti@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:qualiti@cardiff.ac.uk)

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