AN EXPLORATORY STUDY INTO THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF A PROFESSIONAL

FOOTBALL ACADEMY IN RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

By

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A Thesis Submitted to the

University of Birmingham

For the Degree of

MPhil (B) SPORTS COACHING

School of Education

The University of Birmingham

May 2014

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<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>

ABSTRACT

Traditionally the independent school is seen as a great environment for the development of sporting excellence, with over representation shown in many sporting areas. Football being a sport with a working class culture is a sport that that conflicts with the ideals of upper middle class culture that is presented in independent schools. This along with Bourdieu's theories of habitus and Cultural Capital (1984) suggests a cultural conflict between football and independent schools which may act to discourage participation or produce discriminatory practise which limit participation opportunities. There is little to no research into the effect of educational background and social class culture on football participation. So this study aims to examine the educational breakdown of the academy environment, and the cultural environment of this academy to increase understanding in this area.

108 professional youth academy football players from 6 teams took part in the study. They aged from 11-18 and the teams ranged from u12's to u18's. These players answered one question about their schooling background while the academy director, senior scout and football development manager took part in semi structured interviews. The study took the form of an exploratory case study, employing a constructivist, interpretive stance to develop understanding and trends to drive future research.

The findings of the study shown examples of cultural stereotyping on the grounds of social class and educational background. With these stereotypes leading to institutionalised discriminatory provision in the sense where children from an independent school background were seen to not have the opportunities for talent identification schemes and scouting opportunities. While also finding that in this study there was an under representation of independent schools children.

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction to the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the focus for this present study and the rationale for choosing this research area. The area under investigation will be introduced as will the methodology for the study before giving a general overview of the thesis and its components.

1.2   Introduction to Research Area

Within professional football the aim to produce elite players is a constant driving force in almost everything they do. Professional football is a results based game and the production of players to help them get these results is of paramount importance. With the introduction of rules to ensure that clubs have a certain percentage of players from their academies in their squads and the financial benefits of producing your own players the importance given to the academy systems for these clubs is increasing all the time (BBC Sport, 2010).

With a look to this elite performance mentioned it has been shown in many sporting areas that children from independent schools are massively overly represented (ESC, 1998). From the large concentration of Olympic medallists from independent schools background (in a study by the British Olympic Association cited in The Telegraph, 2010), to large proportions of players in nationally representative rugby and hockey teams (English sport council, 1998), the ability of independent schools to fuel sporting excellence is demonstrated.

These independent schools historically are institutions represented by upper, middle class culture (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003). With the reproduction of this culture being a significant factor in parent's choice to send their children to these schools; with 'parents are hoping for training in the

habits of success they believe these schools uniquely offer' (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003:753). The effects of the culture of the upper middle class social structure of these schools acting to impose values, behaviours and tastes on the students of these schools; in line with Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1984). With this in mind studies have shown that the upper middle class culture has a tendency to steer away from sports with a working class culture, due to the cultural capital attached to the sport and the upper middle class culture (Bourdieu, 1984). This sets the tone for the underlying hypothesis of this study with the difference in the cultural capital attached to football and independent schools maybe acting to negate any positive sporting impact independent schools generally may have on participation in relation to football. Talent identification is a subjective process which is based heavily on the views and opinions of coaches in how they judge the ability of a player. Although the scouts often have predetermined criteria to look for like TIPS (Technique, Intelligence, Personality and Speed) (Williams and Reilly, 2000) the criteria varies massively between different teams and the skills are often abstract and difficult to quantify causing a reliance on scouts opinions to judge perceptual and cognitive skills (as noted in William's; 2000, study investigating how to measure these skills). While as noted by Williams (2013) football is a 'multifaceted' and 'multidisciplinary' sport which requires a 'multitude of skills and attributes' (pp. 294) again increasing the difficulty of applying quantifiable measurable pre-defined criteria in the typical scouting scenario of a observed game performance.

With any pre formed opinions through aspects like habitus or cultural capital attachments by this scouting network having the ability to severely reduce the ability of independent school players to receive equal opportunities the importance of these views and opinions to the talent identification process is demonstrated.

1.3   Outline of the Study

This study therefore proposes to use a qualitative methodological research design with an interpretive, constructivist framework in order to allow the depth of knowledge to develop understanding from an area that hasn't been investigated.

This study is an investigative exploratory study into the educational breakdown of youth football players from a professional football academy. To uncover this the educational background of these children from the academy system will be investigated. As this research is into a previously unexplored area this study takes an exploratory path to allow the development of ideas about possible trends to guide future investigations. As this research area is previously uninvestigated some contextual relevance is needed for the answers to allow a valid analysis of the results and a basis for comparison between different clubs if the study outline is used in different environments in the future. This is why only one club is used to allow a greater focus on these contextual factors.

Factors which will be investigated in this study include the talent identification structure, the educational background of the surrounding area, and the sporting provisions of local independent and state schools for example. This study hopes to make this initial contribution to this area to develop knowledge with enough contextual relevance to allow valid expansion of information into this field using this study as a basis.

1.4   Methodological Background

As previously mentioned the research into the effect of culture on sporting participation on the basis of educational background is very scarce. Due to this lack of previous research the study will take the form of an exploratory case study. To allow the development of theories and trends from the research the study will also run along a Grounded theory guidelines (Glazer and Strauss, 1967). A case study is being used due to the lack of previous research reducing the relevance of any results in a generalisable sense so they need to be understood in a specific context to make them reliable. As exploratory case studies have no clear set of outcomes (Yin, 2003), the fact that contextual

relevance needs to be understood in case studies and the answers need to be unrestricted to allow the development of themes from the research (Yin, 2003), a qualitative research design will be employed. Of the few other studies into social development of children in elite football academies there has been a lack of depth, appreciation of other socio-cultural factors and socio-cultural relevance due to the quantitative research methods employed in the questionnaires (Ford and Williams, 2012; Taylor and Bruner, 2012). Qualitative research allows the research to collect a diverse level of information with openness toward the study subjects, allowing them to be represented in their everyday context essential for case study research (Flick, 2009).

1.5   An Overview of the Thesis

The first chapter acts to give a brief overview of the studies objective and focus while highlighting the rationale for it. Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature in the area investigated key theoretical and empirical resources that have acted to drive the focus of the study, while acting to highlight the need and relevance of the research. Chapter 3 details the procedures used to within the study in relation to the data collection methods and the practical considerations of the research, helping to give rationale to the methods of research used and consideration to any ethical considerations. Chapter 4 discusses the finding from the study looking to find connections between the data gathered to look at the occurrence of trends in the research and then providing the link back to the theoretical information from chapter 2. The final chapter looks to identify any theory that may emerge from the data, looking at the considerations in the football environment that may be implicated from this. With the focus being how further focus in research can be given to any emergent themes and what the implications of trends found may be in the football environment.

1.6   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has acted to introduce the study highlighting the rationale behind it while introducing the research area. There data collection methods and methodology have been briefly explained along with an overview of the different components and structure of the thesis. The next chapter will act to give a more in depth review of relevant literature in the study area.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1   Introduction to the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature into sports participation and sporting culture with reference to independent schools and football. In particular cultural influence on participation, footballs 'cultural journey' and the socio-cultural history of independent schools, to develop an understanding of the socio cultural backgrounds of the institutions investigated in the study.

Previous studies are examined and critiqued as well as various theoretical concepts relating to the study area. As the theoretical concepts underlie all the other assumptions the chapter begins

with an explanation of these underlying theories of cultural capital and habitus. Presenting a theoretical basis for the historical socio-cultural development of football, the cultural status of the independent school as an upper middle class social institution, and the studies hypothesis which are all examined later in the chapter.

2.2   Theoretical frameworks to explain sporting participation

2.2.1   Cultural capital

Using the definition of Bourdieu (1978; and 1984) in his concept of cultural capital, sports participation as well as all other forms of cultural consumption requires the appropriate preferences and tastes as well as skills, ability and knowledge (a view also mirrored by Holt, 1997; and 1998). Cultural capital; and thus the preferences and tastes mentioned above, is gained from someone's upbringing and education (Wilson, 2002). The effect; as mentioned by Wilson (2002), of education on cultural capital demonstrates again the influence and importance of independent schools; as an educational institution, in the formation of class cultural ideals. Warde (2006) in a study of physical activity and sporting differentiation due to cultural capital and its components; especially class, gender and education, found differences with differing cultural capital. While Engstrom (2008) in a 38 year follow up study on sports participation also found a link in association with cultural capital demonstrating its association with participation.

This explains the emphasis given to rugby union and hockey in the independent schools, sports steeped in upper class tradition and culture (Collins, 1998). So independent schools; whose pupil intake is from a majority upper middle class background (Walford, 2004; Walford, 2012) with a focus on instilling upper middle class values on its pupils (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003), traditional association with sports like hockey, rugby and tennis could be seen to reflect that social class sporting culture and push its pupils towards certain sporting choices. Hence a sport like football with

a historically working class background would not be a sport where participation would be encouraged.

Often cultural capital and upper class affiliation with a game is enhanced by its exclusivity and when this ends the cultural capital is somewhat diminished (Bourdieu, 1984; Wilson, 2002; Stempl, 2005). This is often seen in sports where expensive equipment or membership to a club is required. Like rowing for example; where the majority of Olympic medallists are privately educated (The Guardian, 2012 and The Telegraph, 2012), or golf where golf club membership is economic and cultural restricted (DeChain, 2001). Here economic capital; I.e. the amount of disposable income available becomes another factor in differentiation of sporting opportunity. Economic capital on its own does not explain the differences in sporting participation between the classes, as it has been found that the upper class participation in many of the working class sports is proportionately very low (Bourdieu, 1984; Curry and Jiobu, 1984; Eitzen and Sage, 1991; Nixon and Frey, 1996; Thrane, 2001; Wilson, 2002; Stempel, 2005). Without the economic problems to participation and with a supposed economic advantage to those from the working class, here the difference must be down to cultural capital. A point shown in Wilson (2002) where factors of economic capital didn't have a significant effect on prole (proletarian, working class) sport spectatorship while cultural capital and education background did with people with a high cultural capital and the highest educational background least likely to be attracted to these working class orientated sports.

2.2.2   Habitus

Habitus as defined by Marshall (1994) refers to those patterns of behaviour, taste and thought which link social structures to social practise or social action. Showing how the social structure of class culture has as much an effect on participation as finances. A fact also noted by Sugden and Tomlinson (2000) who summarised James Micheners suggestion that the boxing ranking gave a

gauge of who was bottom of the social order, so when groups like the Italian or Irish began to appear less frequently it suggested that they had risen up the social ladder and these sports were no longer acceptable practises.

This concept of habitus introduced by Bourdieu has been critiqued by many scholars with differing views on the relevance of Bourdieu's interpretation and presentation of the subject. Critiques of Bourdieu's work highlight the fact that his habitus theory does not describe the internal structure of the habitus; namely how it is specifically acquired which gives it its specificity to changing and differing situations (Bernstein, 1996). Bourdieu's thought of habitus as durable and transferrable, reproducing and reflecting existing social structures does not acknowledge the possibility of change. Which is also brought into question with Calhoun (1993) and Munch (2003) arguing that the grasp of primary habitus falls with the growth of instrumental reasoning. Here the strength of Bourdieu's habitus theory in explaining transmission and reproduction is acknowledged as its weakness in explaining change (LiPuma, 1993).

In the theory of habitus; which is an important premise for this study, attitudes, values and beliefs are predetermined by socio-cultural background and in this sense social class. The investigation is based around whether these predetermined ideas attached to the cultural capital of football act to inform attitudes rather than an individual's personal experiences. There are however criticisms of this aspect of Bourdieu's work which need to be considered.

The formation of actions is seen as instrumental and mechanical based on past experiences, ignoring the ability of agents to be reflexive, creative and critical (Calhoun et al, 1993; and Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu's model negates the power of agency through interaction and communication with others in favour of action within 'fields' (Swingewood, 1984). The people are presented as passive with the development of links between field, habitus and practise (Mouzelis, 1995). This leaves very little room for explaining how people can ever go against these predetermined values to explain social change against dominant hegemonic beliefs over time or how people like him (the son of a

postman and housewife) overcome acquired habitus or capital to achieve. However habitus does not need to be seen as strictly deterministic it can be seen as both deterministic and having the ability to change (Calhoun et al, 1993; Swartz, 1997; and Perez, 2008). Bourdieu emphasises that his theory doesn't exclude the possibility of people acting reflexively but that these choices are limited by the environment they are in and their habitus (Perez, 2008).

Although there has been a lot of debate to the complexities of the Bourdieu's definition of habitus it is almost universally recognised as an important and valid consideration within sociology (Calhoun, 1993; LiPuma, 1993; Wenger, 1999; Wilson, 2002; Munch, 2003; Stempl, 2005; Rinaldo, 2008).

Every different sporting activity conveys a message about an individual's social standing (Horne et al, 1999), from the high social status attached to sports like golf (Vamplew, 2010) or sailing (Crawley, 1998), to the lower social standing of boxing , and due to its working class culture football (Giulianotti, 1999). It has even been said that the upper classes favour and choose sports because they are exclusive distinguishing them from the rest of society, acting as a badge of honour, with the upper classes moving away from certain sports like tennis as spectators when they become more popularised (Bourdieu, 1984; Wilson, 2002; Stempl, 2005).

A trait also common in the working class culture of football when various incidents have caused this working class football culture to be questioned which has then acted to influence the support and affiliations of various fan groups. The apparent recent increase in acts of simulation like diving into the British game has sought an angry reaction from the media and football majority with cries of how it is ruining football, and in the blaming of foreign imported players as the cause of this 'unbritish' phenomenon prevalent in the media (The Telegraph, 2006; The Times, 2006; The Observer, 2011). These grievances with changes to the game were also expressed with the fan base of the world's biggest supported club with the recent formation of FC United, fans of Manchester

United, reaction to the takeover of the Glazer family and the growing effect of the commercialisation of football (Beard, 2007).

From this we can theorise that one of the main factors in footballs supposed lack of participants from these upper and middle classes that inhabit the independent schools is the populist nature of football. A good example that gives weight to this claim is Zwick and Andrews (1999) study of football (which we will refer to as soccer in this example to avoid confusion) in America. Here in America soccer is anything but a populist activity and has now taken its place in the affluent suburban areas of America as a mechanism for promoting and enhancing the white middle class identity and suburban middle class cultural production, in much the same way that English *soccer* does for the working class. With the upper class sporting culture shown in the study acting as a symbolic value to distinguish them from the less fortunate. In this study from the sample league only 4.4% of the children came from the lower social class inner urban core, while all of the children in the team attended private school. Although the fact that the average cost of a child's yearly soccer participation in this was $3,500- $4,000 acted to place a very real economic barrier to the lower socioeconomic class communities. A barrier which acted to ensure the exclusivity that the upper class sporting cultures thrives upon and therefore probably having a strong contribution to the continued soccer suburban culture amongst this elite group. Although it must be noted that this is in an American context which is a different cultural situation, and therefore not generalisable to the British perspective of this study. However the view of a situation where the class cultural association with football is reversed and where there was a divide on the basis of educational background in participation is interesting. As one of very few studies on football participation in an educational background it provides an interesting insight in the impact class culture can have on participation.

2.3   Independent Schools

2.3.1   Characteristics and definition of independent schools

Within this study educational background will be investigated to look at the inclusiveness of the academy football environment to independent schools. With the actual participation in one clubs academy system of children from independent schools and the openness of this academies environment to the participation of children from independent school backgrounds examined.

Independent schools are schools that are independent from the state and self funded; these schools require payment of a fee for entry and are both highly selective academically and financially (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003; Walford, 2006). With a study by Halifax Financial Services (2007) showing an average price of £9,627 for day pupils and £20,970 for boarders per year. This high economic burden in regard to independent schools creates a financial barrier to people from a lower socio economic class in schooling, where access to this higher level of education is controlled by socioeconomic status for the majority. Although the scholarship system; which funds entry into independent schools, does offer entry for academically advanced children whatever their financial situation (Walford, 2013), which shows that entry is not limited only to those with high economic capital. However looking at the pupil background overall it is still demonstrated that the majority of children come from families from an upper middle class social background and the top occupational tiers of society (Halsey et al, 1984; Sullivan and Heath, 2003; Francis and Hutching, 2013).

2.3.2   History of independent schools

The earliest schools started as free charitable organisations which quickly developed into fee charging organisations to allow the improvements of facilities and provisions for the pupils and for the private profit of the schools trustees. This resulted in them drawing almost solely from the upper social classes combining the educational methods of grammar schools with the social training of the chivalric code (Knights code of chivalry) (Gillard, 2011). These schools developed significantly during the 18th and 19th century with the development of the Victorian social elite. With schooling not

becoming universal until the industrial revolution and the last quarter of the 18th century because it was recognised that industry 'required much more than limited reading skills acquired through moral catchism' (Benn and Chitty, 1996:1).

2.3.3   Influence of independent schools on education and society

In 2011 the percentage of children in England educated in independent schools was 7.07% which makes up 576,200 pupils with the remaining attending state maintained schools; although it must be noted that this is also inclusive of primary school aged children who are not analysed as part of this study (Department of Education, 2011). Within this private sector the schools are highly diverse varying greatly on aspects like size and religious affiliation (Walford, 2006), with many new independent religious schools developing thanks to growing ethnic diversity in England bringing with it a increasing religiously diverse population.

Although these schools only occupy a small proportion of society their influence is far greater than this proportion suggests. Government policy is influenced by the widely held belief that these schools provide a better standard of education (Walford, 2006), with the disproportionate number of people from this educational background in high status occupations acting to demonstrate their importance to society (Reid et al, 1991; Butler and Kavanagh, 2001; Marsh, 2002). A trend also shown in a series of more recent studies with almost 70% of barristers, 54% of the leading news journalists (Sutton Trust, 2006), 62% of Cabinet ministers, 35% of all MPs (Sutton Trust, 2010), 70% of judges, 54% of leading Medics and 55% of partners at leading law firms (Sutton Trust, 2009) from an independent school background.

Demonstrating that even though only a small percentage of the population are educated in independent schools they are over represented in almost all high status areas in society and the ruling classes controlling cultural hegemony in the country. Highlighting the power of these schools to produce excellence in areas that run concordant with their cultural capital, which is also shown in

their over representation in the sporting arena in these sports with high cultural capital attachment (The Guardian, 2012 and The Telegraph, 2012).

2.3.4   Influence of independent school participation on sporting performance

A study by the English sport council (1998) acted to highlight the disproportionate success of people coming from the private independent school education system, where 49% of the national elite hockey squad attended private school. While the elite rowing squad for men and women have rates of 58% and 49% respectively. A trend still prevalent today where in the Beijing Olympics 37% of the British medal winners were privately educated (The Guardian, 2012 and The Telegraph, 2012). While in cricket all but 4 of the 2013 ashes winning squad were educated either in private schools or abroad (The Independent, 2013a). The support given by these independent schools was found to be more beneficial to the elite athletes from these separate educational pathways of state and private education; with 39% of independent school athletes saying their school support had helped get where they are, as opposed to 20% of elite athletes from state school backgrounds (ESC, 1998).

Although here it is shown that the independent schools are an excellent environment for the development of sporting excellence, it has to be understood that this over representation is only in these sports with a strong cultural attachment with independent schools and historically given high status like rugby, cricket and hockey (Tozer, 2012). Rugby League which has a strong working class culture (Collins, 1998) has only had 2 english privately educated players since 2000 according to Tozer (2012). Showing the extreme difference in vastly over represented participation rates in sports like rugby union compared to rugby league acting to strongly suggest the power of cultural capital on sporting participation in a social class context is quite extreme.

Football which doesn't have these associations, and which has a cultural capital that goes against this participation, may also have participation patterns similar to that of rugby league due to

the cultural capital attached to the sport. This study will offer some evidence into this area in this particular contextual situation.

2.3.5   Independent school link with middle class culture

Due to economic restrictions on the majority of entrants to independent schools and the strong upper middle class cultural values that are promoted at independent schools these schools become upper middle class social institutions (points noted in Witkin, 1974; Halsey et al, 1984; Walford, 1989; Tovey, 1993; Sullivan and Heath, 2003; Finn, 2012 in an American context and Walford, 2012). Although due to the fact that a growing number of children that attend these schools are from working class backgrounds on scholarships and with financial aid (Cookson and Persell, 1985; Nowers and Bell, 1993), and the fact that many upper middle class children don't attend private schools you cannot make generalisations for social class. However studies have shown that these children have been found to then absorb these upper middle class cultural traits and thus gain the same upper middle class cultural capital from the social class institutions of the independent schools (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003). With the study finding that one of the prime reasons parents send their children to these schools is to adopt this upper middle class cultural capital and habitus; saying 'consciously or unconsciously parents are hoping for training in the habits of success they believe these schools uniquely offer' and the dominant class hegemonic cultural capital (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003:753). So although the generalisation to social class; due to the lack of research in the area and social class differentiation in independent and state schools, cannot be reliably made. The presence of these schools as upper middle class socio-cultural institutions and education as a component of social class means the link with social class shouldn't be ignored (Wilson, 2002). While the fact that these working class children enter these institutions and adopt this 'dominant class hegemonic cultural capital' (Kuriloff and Reinchert, 2003:753) means it could be generalised to the upper middle class culture of independent school if not upper middle social class itself.

2.3.6   Development of physical education in independent schools

To understand the influence of independent schools as cultural indicators of sporting participation an understanding of the development of physical education and sport in independent schools is needed. As it can help indentify different cultural aspects relating to sport in these institutions.

It was around 1850 that sports like cricket, football, rowing and other racket games became much more common. A development owing to the most famous value to impact on independent school sport in this era, muscular Christianity. A principle introduced by Thomas Arnold the headmaster at Rugby for the moral education of the public school populace with the central use of sport and physical activities for character building, to teach principles of leadership, loyalty and discipline (Giulianotti, 1999).

Towards the end of the 19th century driven by a new mantra of esprit de corps the motive of sports at independent schools was adapted from that of muscular Christianity (Tozer, 2012). There was more of a focus on individual sports rather than team games and the innovation of the cadet corps. The playing style in these games also changed to reflect this philosophy with team passing in the invasion games of hockey and football replaced with solo charges upfield. Thus leading to games like rugby becoming the ideal game as 'success could depend on the weakest player and much of the work was done out of sight, and thus unsung, in the scrum' (Tozer, 2012:34); reflecting the positive character building principles promoted. Along with the nature of rugby as a game categorised by solo charges down the field.

The initial style of football of this era, promoted by the upper class cultural association with the game at the time, also followed this style. The style being a dribbling game where passing the ball was seen as 'unmanly' and it seemed 'just an elementary form of Rugby union without the handling' (Wilson, 2008:2-3).

Further changes to the physical education curriculum were enforced in reaction to the challenge the independent schools were beginning to face academically from the state run grammar

schools. Leading to reforms which put more emphasis on academic achievement and less time for games. There was also the view that games were not sufficient for the development of health and whole body well being with a move towards a Roperian view of physical education. This resulted in the expansion of the physical education syllabus to include more individual sports, remedial and rehabilitation gymnastics and circuit training (Tozer, 2012). Although the compulsory rugby and cricket three times a week was still maintained (Roach, 1991; Tozer, 2012). The importance of developing sports facilities then took off usually in the traditional sports of cricket, rugby, swimming or tennis, with football already being forgotten by this time as a traditional sport in many schools (Tozer, 2012). It was at this stage that the independent schools association with the game of football was significantly reduced. With the professionalization of the game, and the greater working class participation in the game due to the changing working regulations acting to put football in conflict with upper class Corinthian amateur values, and reducing the elitism of the game which attracts upper middle class association (Bourdieu, 1984; Wilson, 2002; Stempl, 2005)..

The development of scholarships for outstanding performers in the sporting field (Walford, 2003) and development of facilities and the sporting curriculum in independent schools has continued up until today with team games remaining popular, but the biggest interest coming in individual sports. Which goes someway to explaining the reason over half of the medals won by former independent school pupils at the Olympics from 2000-2012 came in individual sports (Tozer, 2012).

The team sports traditionally and most strongly supported by independent schools still follow those trends mentioned earlier with a cultural prevalence towards rugby and cricket. Although there is some evidence to say football is now enjoying much more acceptance in independent schools with some of the attitudes toward it changing and it gaining more general cultural acceptance:

'Many schools that once banned football completely are now finding that pupils and parents demand that they provide the sport at a good level. The snobbery factor carries less weight, particularly now that many other sports are professional at the top level. In addition in contrast to the professional game, behaviour in school football matches is excellent, with little dissent and the risk of injury is small' (Tozer, 2012:42; quoting Mark Dickson chief executive of the Independent schools football association (ISFA)). Although the schools do act as charity in the sense of the need to attract pupils to the school in many ways they act as a commercial enterprise as well. So the need to listen to parents and pupils views is very important so an increase in demand leads to an increase in importance and emphasis given to football. The increase in desire from the pupils and parents for girls to be afforded an opportunity to participate in traditionally male sports like football also increases this pressure to promote football to a good level (Tozer, 2012). The growth of the premier league as a commercial entity aiming to attract the wealthier and upper middle class supporter acts to increase the exposure for these social groups and the interest shown in football. This increase in interest offers a commercial opportunity for independent schools which has been taken up by some schools like Charterhouse which uses its reputation for excellence in football to attract people to the school (Tozer, 2012).

The quality of coaching at these schools has greatly improved with many now boasting ex professionals or current academy coaches. Repton (who have just had an ex pupil, Johnny Gorman, recently represent Northern Ireland) have a current Manchester United Academy coach and a highly structured two year development plan (Repton, 2015). These schools are also starting to develop more links with professional clubs, Hornsbury house and Whitgift both have a link with Crystal Palace and they have an ambassador at the school to help develop football there (Independent school parent, 2015). With Crystal Palace even placing a player at Whitgift themselves to help encourage his talent demonstrating the trust they have in the football development systems in place at the school (The Independent, 2013b). Thus demonstrating that although there are historical class

assimilations in football and independent schools which may have acted to produce barriers to participation there is evidence that this culture could be changing.

2.4   An Overview of the socio-cultural history of Football

The history of football is heavily entwined with society and the social class system, and in order to properly explore and understand the social bases of the game, we must explore its history and origins. Although the roots of modern football can be seen in the folk variants of football that stretch back many hundreds of years (the Chinese game of cuju played during the han dynasty being possible the most significant example; Walvin, 1994) we start our revision of its history from a British perspective as this is the focus of the research, and it is in Britain that the modern game was first developed and popularised (Horne et al, 1999; Giulianotti, 1999).

2.4.1   Origin of the game

Folk football took on many forms and was very popular through the British isles, stretching back over a thousand years ago with the game of cad among the Celtic populace in places like Ireland (Sugden & Bairner, 1993), to the more recent mob football games throughout England and Scotland from the 13th century onwards (Giulianotti, 1999). Most of these games were treated with distrust and disgust by the ruling classes even leading to the banning of football by two monarchs; Edward II banned football in 1314 to allow more time for archery practise (Brasch, 1970) a ban later upheld and further imposed by James the first (Birley, 1993). This football was notably violent and uncivilised (Elias & Dunning, 1986), with hacking, punching and fighting commonplace (Elias & Dunning, 1970).

There was a fear that the violent unruly activities associated with the early form of the game could lead to social unrest or even treason (Saxena, 2011). The fear of the mob and new urban working class continued during the early nineteenth century. Where they were 'accommodated within a system of criminal labelling not only to express the social fear of the respectable, but to justify a broader strategy of control to cope with that fear' (Gatrell, 1980:270). This was aimed at controlling the cultural hegemony of the ruling class from the fear of the breakdown of this dominance to more working class rules or ideals.

Hegemony is the social dominance of a certain group where one group has the power to manipulate various social factors to control the majority of that society (Giddens, 1989). With the next stage of footballs history showing the influence of hegemony as a method to help maintain the cultural hegemonic value of those ruling classes.

2.4.2   Footballs public*/independent school origins

*public schools is the historical name for independent schools at a time when they were noted as public schools to show they were available to any paying member of the public as opposed to the church schools at the time. The terms are interchangeable although some of the older independent schools still tend to call themselves public schools. The term public school will be used for its historical relevance in this section but referred to as independent schools elsewhere (Gillard, 2011).

Although football had been a working class populist phenomenon it was also keenly and regularly played by Oxbridge undergraduates from at least the 16th century (Walvin, 1994). In the early 19th century due to the incipient rioting and revolting that plagued the public school system (Mason, 1980) a need was recognised to enforce order and rebuild character within the public school population. And sport was seen by many as the ideal vehicle for this. In 1828 for example Thomas Arnold the headmaster at Rugby looked to revolutionise the moral education of the public school populace with the central use of sport and physical activities for character building, to teach principles of leadership, loyalty and discipline (Giulianotti, 1999:3) among other virtues that would also be later labelled muscular Christianity.

The public schools each had their own interpretation of the game rules, so matches between schools were very difficult and often led to disagreement however identifying the need to create a unified set of rules (Wagg, 1995; Nauright, and Parrish, 2012). The development of a codified and unified set of rules for football and the development of the FA (established in 1863; Horne et al, 1999) allowed sporting exchanges which was at the heart of football growth and expansion throughout the country. It was only when football was codified and the rules regulated by public schools and middle classes did it become acceptable to the upper middle classes. Anything organised solely by the working classes was feared as a threat to the ruling classes (Russell, 1999). The development of the game in public schools for the first time changed the game of football from a working class sport into an acceptable upper class activity, with football generally remaining a preserve of the public schools until the formation of the FA in 1963 (Russell, 1999). However a common theme that would continue throughout the history for the game emerged of challenges to the balance of power from different social classes in society. With the development of more working class factory based clubs in the north and even another set of rules (the 'Sheffield rules) to directly challenge the authority of the game which led to the development of the FA and a struggle for control over the governance of the game which would continue to this present day (Harvey, 2005). The formation of the FA being seen as an attempt to claw back control of the game with the FA formed and rules agreed at a meeting of only London based public school or upper middle class affiliated clubs trying to maintain this upper middle class control of the game (Russell, 1999).

2.4.3   Working class takeover of the game

The graduates of the public schools recognised the perceived benefits of football, to develop moral character, maintain social order, to integrate individuals and create social solidarity (Giulianotti, 1999), all of which were very welcome characteristics of the industrial workplace that many of these graduates found themselves in. Football and sport was then introduced to the industrial workforce

by these graduates; who were now owners and managers of the factories, for these very means, leading to the rise of many factories based teams (Sleap, 1998). Teams like Arsenal FC, which was formed from a munitions factory, and Sheffield United; founded at a cutlery firm (Wagg, 1995). The church also saw the power of football and in its strive for muscular Christianity also created many football teams (Cunningham, 1980; and Holt, 1989), like Aston Villa, Bolton Wanderers, Everton and Southampton (Wagg, 1995). This all leading to the expansion of the game of football from a solely upper class preserve to a game that now reached all tiers of society. This coupled with a rise in wages and a significant increase in the amount of workers allowed a Saturday half holiday cut the financial and time restrictions that had previously stopped the involvement of the industrial working class (Russell, 1999).

2.4.4   Social Class conflict with 'ownership' of the game

This expansion acted to uncover conflict along class and regional boundaries over the questions of professionalism. The new middle class industrialists that ran the most successful clubs in northern England, the midlands and industrial Scotland made financial investments that created trophy hungry clubs who used undercover payments to lure the best players to their clubs. Thus flouting Olympian values (Tranter, 1998). This was in direct conflict with the game in the south where the amateur ethos and general elitism prevailed, where payment of players was strongly opposed. The lack of professionalism also became a major issue within these northern more socially open clubs as the working classes were limited by their finances, meaning that although many were allowed Saturday half days, participation in away fixtures, ability to train etc were therefore limited, thus reducing the opportunities of the lower classes to participate and succeed (Tranter, 1998; Giulianotti, 1999).

This resulted in the FA being forced to recognise professional players in 1885 by the threat of 36 leading northern football to secede from the FA (Wagg, 1995:3), and its failure to limit reimbursement payments. This was marked also by the formation of the professional football league

in 1888 (Horne et al, 1999). Here the FA had to abandon certain key beliefs central to the upper middle class sporting ethos to maintain control of the game. Giving in to the working class representative clubs of the north and demonstrating the influence of people from the lower social tiers of society over the game of football.

2.4.5   Growth of spectatorism and its influence on footballs socio-cultural development

Although this change in the social class composition of players did act to change the culture of the game, it was the spectatorism of football which really forced these changes upon football. The working class populace thanks to the mass urbanisation brought on by the industrial revolution, and the moralising instruction of the controlling classes, were forced to abandon old popular leisure activities of the rural countryside like bear baiting, cock fighting and mob football. So the recent codification and growth of football provided the opportunity to fill that gap and offered the large sporting culture they thrived to immerse themselves in once again (Giulianotti, 1999).

The mass migration of people from all ethnic backgrounds to cities like Manchester and Middlesborough due to the industrial revolution meant football acted to provide united social activity within a community, which helped create a culture that was truly expressive of these new cosmopolitan communities and their emerging identities (Dunphy, 1991). With football as the catalyst for this development and through these social changes to its spectatorship also absorbing this working class cultural identification to build a new cultural identity of its own.

This led to the mass growth of interest and participation in football, but even more so in the growth of spectatorism in football. This spectatorism offered the opportunity for profits to be made from football through gate receipts, which thus acted to increase the competitive element of football as it turned into a commercial enterprise (Tischler, 1981) that killed the amateur ideas of the southern public school old boy teams (Russell, 1999; and Giulianotti, 1999). Demonstrating how working class cultures acted to force out the more elitist based ideas of amateurism, showing the

first stage of the imposition of working class cultures onto what essential began; in this organised modern form, as a public school game.

Here in lies a strange irony in the development of the game of football. The development of the game within the working class populace was controlled by the upper middle class graduates of the public schools. Football was encouraged as an alternative to the old popular leisure activities of the rural countryside like bear baiting, cock fighting and mob football. With the heralded character building properties of the game being used to reform the new working class urban population game like these may have encouraged (Horne et al, 2005). There was an underlying fear of the organised mobilisation and political activism of the working class in the second half of the nineteenth century fuelled by European revolution, the second reform bill, high unemployment, urban overcrowding and ethnic migration to the cities (Horne et al, 2005). Leading to the creation of a project involving the promotion of football to create a new moral code for the working classes and protect the ruling classes (Stedman Jones, 1983). The irony being created in the fact that the growth in popularity and adoption of working class aspects like professionalism in the game again generating this fear, with the public schools withdrawing their support for the game of football and acting to promote sports like Rugby Union, Rowing and Hockey which better promote their Corinthian ideals (Beck, 2008) to protect themselves from this risk. With Abel (1903, quoted in Beck, 2008) stating that the 'football had been devalued by the infection of the working class…… and the part played in it by money').

The game retained this working class focus and continued to rapidly grow, as this new working class football culture continued to encapsulate different areas of the country; shown in the rapid grow over this period in the average attendance. In 1888 it was 4,600, to 7,900 in 1895, 13,200 in 1905, and up to 23,100 on the eve of the first world war (Vamplew, 1988:63). This was also due to new freedoms afforded to these fans with the rapidly developing transport systems to allow them to travel to games. And the growth of media outlets like television and tabloids helping to fuel the increased recognition and power of sport throughout the country (Horne et al, 1999).

This mass attraction of the male working class to the football terraces acted to squeeze the middle class fans out (Russell, 1999), making this spectatorship almost an entirely working class preserve again acting to further imbed this working class culture in football, and further attract more and more fans from this social tier of society. This change in cultural capital and thus habitus associations result in this activity no longer being deemed suitable causing the change in the class dynamic of sporting spectatorship at this time.

The transfer of cultural hegemony from the upper classes to working class rule within the culture of football really outlines the early history of the game. The protection of this hegemony; with its encouragement to conform at an early age acting to restrict and discouragement participation from people who don't comply with these cultural values is still seen today. This is seen in the participation of women in football with production of hegemonic masculinity (Clark and Paechter, 2007) and may have act to impose similar views on children from independent school backgrounds due to the upper middle class cultural leanings of those institutions..

Although in recent years there has been changes to spectatorship at a premier league level due to the increase in cost increasing the economic capital needed. This is shown in the growing size of middle and upper class support with 42% of season ticket holders and spectators at games being from a upper middle class occupation and only 25% from a working class occupation in the 2007/8 season (Premier league fan survey, 2008; which surveyed the social background of fans). This demonstrates that football environment has become a lot more class inclusive although the football culture is still maintained with cultural assimilation needed to obtain acceptance (King, 2004). Although the economic capital to gain entry into the game at the highest level has become a barrier to participation to those people from a working class background the cultural capital of the game is still working class. As shown in King's study (2004) the adoption of the cultural aspects and behaviours is needed for acceptance into this environment, where black players have had to adopt traditional white values and play 'the white man' (pp. 20) to gain acceptance. It should also be noted

this inclusiveness is shown at the top level of the professional game in spectatorship where there are severe financial restrictions whereas in the lower level of the game where there isn't the economic barriers this may not be apparent. Although it does show the influx of middle and upper class spectators into the game which could create a more inclusive cultural environment.

In fact the whole landscape of the game in its present form could be shown to have shifted away from the working class ideology generally associated with the game. The rise of professionalism and gate receipts has turned the game into more of a business, attracting middle class business men into the game more intent on making a profit than a love for the game (Taylor, 2013). There was an increasingly powerful commercial ethic at the clubs led by an FA rules change in 1982 to change the shareholders 7.5% dividend limit which invited businessmen into the game who 'rejected the traditional view of football as a peculiar business in which the club was run as a public unity rather than a profit making venture. Football for these people was primarily a business.' (Taylor 2013:342).

The change and the search for profit again led to severe pressure being placed on the FA with several clubs threatening to break away as part of a power battle between the football league and the FA. The development of the premier league reaffirmed the FAs status as the highest parliament in football and the development of a document the Blueprint for the future of football to be signed by the other clubs (Taylor, 2013). However the formation of the premier league acted to further isolate the game from its working class supporters. With the premier league aiming to transform the cultural profile and fans of football into more upmarket consumers with a key emphasis of the formation of the premier league ensuring that fans are treated like customers in any other industry (Taylor, 2013). These changes in footballs culture, that of the players changing from 'located' working class heroes to dislocated superstars, the sports attempt to appeal to a more affluent audience, and the massive increase in ticket prices (Polley, 2002) act to change the cultural associations of the game. Thus moving away from the associations of working class habitus of football as a game for the masses played for competition, into the business ethos more associated with middle class capitalist instincts. While the spectatorship especially in grounds with corporate

boxes offering the kind of economic exclusivity that grants the cultural capital to attract the more affluent classes (Bourdieu, 1984).

The fight within the governance of the game and the introduction of new measures which appease the capitalist natures of the modern game demonstrate again the battle for power over the organisational structure with different class centred ideals. While also highlighting the complex nature and continual shifts throughout the history of the game from the amateur Corinthian upper class ethos, to the professionalism and working class competitive ideals, to the middle class capitalist ideals which control the organisation structure of the game today. They all form part of the socio-cultural dynamic of the game which demonstrated by the targeted marketing of lower social groups in football still has a underlying working class cultural attachment (Polley, 2002). The class dynamic is however multifaceted and has many different dimensions to it.

2.5   Sociological influences on participation in Sport

Throughout this history of the game we have seen the effect society has had in shaping the culture of football and how the game has come to reflect the society it represents. Leading some academics to suggest it may be the one of the most important influences on participation in sport; due to it being the determining factor, above psychological and physiological factors, whether sport participation is maintained and the quality of this participation (Bailey, 2007). A point also echoed by some successful sportsman as the most important influence on their success being the social environment that they luckily found themselves in (Syed, 2010). The importance of these sociological aspects demonstrates the importance of understanding the effects of aspects like schooling to ensure that discrepancies in opportunity can be understood and adapted to allow equality of opportunity.

Essential participation factors like access to transport, parental support, close facilities, support structures, community clubs or leagues, are affected by the socio-cultural environment people find themselves which is often down to 'luck' (Perleth et al, 2000; Bailey et al, 2012). In today's modern society where inequalities in legal practise have been virtually wiped out due to years and years of constant striving and campaigning for civil liberties, it is the institutionalised discrimination with the social institutions of society (MacPherson, 1999; and supported by Griffith et al, 2007; Pilkington, 2008) that still acts as a barrier to participation. Shown in the sporting arena where Bradbury and William's (2006) study into football discovered the presence of this institutionalised discrimination with reference to race, while discrimination on gender was also found (Giampetro-Meyer, 2000; Hippolite, 2008; Moore, 2008) in the sporting arena. Institutional discrimination often has been found to create a differentiation in sporting provision along socio economic and class (Crawley, 1998; McGinnis et al, 2005) guidelines with the negative effect mainly on those from a lower socio economic background due to aspects like a lack of provision (Hargreaves et al, 2000; Pelak, 2005). Within this study these factors will be looked at to understand whether there is a presence of institutionalised discrimination against independent school children. Who have habitus and cultural capital from their educational background being associated with upper middle class, which is contradictory to the cultural hegemony within football (King, 2004). So may not be provided with same support mechanisms through the educational aspect of their social environment as children from independent school due to the cultural capital conflict with the upper middle class social institutions of the independent schools. Therefore as education acts as the main social institution to promote sport and physical activity (Sallis et al, 1997; NASPE, 2005) it could severely impact on their chances of participation. However with the supposed superior economic capital of those children upper middle class background they should have a favourable social situation to allow access to the favourable sociological aspects needed to aid sporting development highlighted above.

Research into inequalities in sporting provision for those of a lower socioeconomic status or class, is common (Seabra et al, 2007; Kampuis et al, 2008; Dollman and Lewis, 2009). However there is very little research into the socio-cultural aspect of class stratification in sport. With no research into the influence of different school types on football participation or excellence, or even just the influence of social class on football participation.

A defining characteristic of this class stratification is educational background demonstrated in the theoretical concepts heavily used throughout this study of cultural capital and Habitus Boudieu (1984) where education is consistently highlighted as a definitive contributory factor in social class reproduction and class statisification. With schools being the main societal institution for promoting sport and physical education (Sallis et al, 1997; NASPE, 2005), and with the independent school providing double the weekly provision of physical activity that state schools do (Roberts, 1996; Tozer, 2012) understanding the influence of different school types is important from a football development viewpoint in promoting increased participation in the game.

2.6   Previous research into football academies

There have been previous studies that have investigated football academies with children of the same or similar age as those in this study (Hill et al, 2008; Jonker et al, 2010; Taylor and Bruner, 2012). While others have also investigated academy players of age groups in the study but looked at mainly older children from 16-18 (Parker, 2000; Ford and William, 2012), 14-18 (Kannekens et al, 2009), and 14-16 (Le Gall et al, 2010). Few studies in this area look at the social background of the players and even fewer assess the surrounding culture of the social environment of these football academies. Those that have like Parker (2006) focus on the development of masculine identity and the impact of this on participation is not investigated. Although interestingly with this study the fact that the institutional norms acted to develop and promote individual masculine identities in line with the masculine culture shown in that environment demonstrates the strength of the academy as a social institution in developing cultural ideals within the players; in line with Bourdieu's (1984)

theory of habitus. However the fact that the study uses data gathered from the 1993/4 season should be noted as the socio-cultural environment may not be the same as today. While Taylor and Bruner (2012) does look at aspects of developmental experiences of the players it doesn't go into any depth to allow the development of some recognition to how players came into the academy system, it uses the Youth Experiences Survey (Hansen & Larson, 2005) which just focuses on aspects on goal setting and whether they feel socially excluded at this time with no detail or any historical reference. While Ford and Williams (2012) does look at developmental activities through childhood; in the sense of early playing experiences and previous sporting experiences, but there is no social context given to these responses meaning a lack of understanding of the socio-cultural variables which may have influenced these results. With the quantitative questionnaire approach in Ford and Williams (2012) and Taylor & Bruner (2012) limiting the depth of responses needed to allow understanding of actual experiences, quality of experience, types and the influence of social factors.

The study has been adapted to try to overcome the methodological issues seen in these studies. A major issue found is the lack of reference to the social context and the variables which may have influenced the results. Within this study the variables are considered in relation to the results found to provide the contextual relevance missing from a number of these studies. Also the link will be made between the cultural influences and participation with the information all linked back to the education breakdown information discovered.

2.7   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has given background information on the socio cultural history of football to allow understanding of the environment under investigation. Highlighting previous studies into

discrimination in football along socio cultural aspects and the areas needing further examinations that shape the aims of this study.

In summary this chapter has indentified the underlying theoretical concepts of cultural discrimination to understand the need for an investigation into this area and relevant associated research to which this study can be compared and contrasted.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1   Introduction to the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the chosen methodology and provide a rationale for the research methods used. The participant will then be introduced as will a step by step guide to the procedures employed in the study. The various ethical issues to be considered for a study of this

type will then be examined, with special consideration to working with young children. It also introduces the researcher and their background, considerations for reliability and validity, rationale of the research instruments used and the guiding principles from the pilot study.

3.2   Research approach and methodological paradigm

Research into the field of participation in sport (Allender et al, 2006; Smith et al, 2007; Kamphuis et al, 2008; Casey et al, 2009), and the socio cultural differences in participation (Seabra et al, 2008; Bradbury, 2011; Wheeler, 2011) is extensive. However research looking into the influence of the values of upper middle class social institutions on a conflicting socio cultural sporting environment is very scarce. With no research really highlighting how people from upper middle class cultural institutions may also feel the negative effects of cultural capital in a working class cultural environment. Therefore there is a need to use research methods that allow a more detailed analysis of a particular environmental context to identify trends for possible future research, and allow effective analysis of the results to increase the ability to generalise the study to different populations reliably. The method of conducting exploratory research and developing the theories from data is grounded theory (Glazer and Strauss, 1967) of which a similar structure is employed in this study.

Due to the fact there isn't any previous research in this area it would be impossible to make any reliable or valid generalisation from the data, so the contextual relevance of the results needs to be understood to understand the results in relation to the variables presented and allow the comparison with future research. The need for the understanding of the contextual relevance of these results is the reason one club has been chosen as a case study for this research. This will allow a greater focus on the contextual factors of this situation and the information presented to be understood in the particular context of this situation rather than clouded by too many examples from different contexts. Case studies and grounded theory are both qualitative research methods with qualitative research able to produce the level and depth of information needed.

Qualitative research 'is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive material practises that make the world visible' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:3). Research is typically undertaken in a natural setting, to help interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning that they have to the people being studied. This approach is best in reference to the complexity of the subject of a study. The 'objects are not reduced to single variables, but represented in their entirety in their everyday context' (Flick, 2009:15). To allow the research to able collect the diverse level of information research methods are chosen for their openness toward the study subjects (Flick, 2009), which is why interviews are a commonly used research method in qualitative studies(Wheaton, 2000; Elling et al, 2003; Burdsey, 2008). Demonstrating the relevance of qualitative research for this study to allow development of meaning in this area for any trends found as there isn't any previous research directly in this area to already allow that. With the use of semi structured interviews particularly useful as it allows theme exploration important in an unresearched area where the themes uncovered will be difficult to predict.

The interpretive or relativist nature of qualitative research is important to understand as it draws important considerations regarding the reliability and validity of the results (Patton, 2002). The interpretation of the researcher and the control the researcher has over theme exploration can have an influence on the results found in a qualitative design such as this, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

3.3   Research Area

3.3.1   Case studies in socio-cultural studies

The case study as defined by Yin (1994) investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident. Qualitative case study research is commonly used in sports studies (used in Skelton, 2000; Elling et al 2003; Burdsey, 2008; Burrows and Mccormack, 2011) and is an important research method in

sports research as 'sport research often focuses on applied (practitioner based) research, which makes case study research particularly useful' (Andrew et al, 2011:130). Case study research allows the advantage of being able to gain understanding through a variety of perspectives to increase the evidence available (Velde et al, 2004), and to allow the opportunity to study a phenomenon in depth with great attention to detail (Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2005). Which allows the researcher to identify relationships and trends between different groups, individuals or aspects (Zikmund, 1991). This is important and useful for sports cultural studies such as this one which are open to many variable environmental, cultural and social factors. Which along with this being the first research into this particular area means that a research method needs to be used which encorporates and considers all these variables in a particular context, such as in case study research. Demonstrated in Burdsey (2008) in his case study investigating concepts of identity, community and multiculturalism at an amateur sports event, where he uses observational fieldwork to allow a more detailed and open method of data collection to try to capture as information about the different environmental, cultural and social factors as possible. While in this study where attitudes and opinions are measured through semi structured qualitative interviews with three different members of the academy set up to help identify the relationships and trends between different groups, individuals or aspects (Zikmund, 1991).

One of the key approaches that guides case study methodology is Yin (2003), where the approach is based on a constructivist paradigm of a social construction of reality (Searle, 1995; Miller & Crabtree, 1999). This case study approach according to Yin (2003) should be used when the study focus is on how and why questions, when the contextual conditions need to be uncovered to understand the phenomenon under investigation and when there are not clear boundaries between phenomenon and context as in this study.

In developing case studies the unit of analysis needs to be understood and needs to be 'a phenomenon in a bounded context' (Miles and Huberman, 1994:25). This then needs to be narrowed to ensure the objectives don't become too broad (Yin, 2003). The type of case study

employed in this study is an exploratory study as the intervention being evaluated has no clear set of outcomes (Yin, 2003; Baxter and Jack, 2008). Although the specific context of the research is narrow enough to ensure although unexpected themes are likely to develop that the objectives don't become too broad.

There are weaknesses to case study research that need to be considered in the understanding and analysis of the results. Due to the fact the case studies investigates phenomenon in a particular context the answers are not generalisable. Although single case studies can be used for broader analysis and clusters of studies can be looked at together to ascertain whether the results can be generalised (Jensen and Rodgers, 2001). Also due to the close contact between the researcher and the group, the subjective nature of analysis and data collection, and the lack of controlled setting for the environment to be able to minimise variables the validity and reliability of the responses can be affected (Yin, 2003). Although with the understanding of the researcher as a research instrument and careful consideration of these variables contextual relevance can be developed and possible bias controlled and recognised. There will be significant background research into the contextual nature of the club so that answers can be understood in their context aiding the ability to generalise this study to new areas. While the environmental conditions (i.e. the room and time) used for the interviews and questioning will be the same for all the participants reducing the impact of these negative aspects of case study research.

It must also be understood that unlike most case studies observation will not be used in this study as it will add little to a study of the influence of educational background into a players chances of entry into the academy system. Instead the different viewpoints of various levels of the academy hierarchy, the understanding of the educational background of the players and field research into the environmental aspects like the independent school numbers and sporting provision in the local area for example will provide the depth of knowledge needed to answer the research question.

3.4   Participants

3.4.1   Participant club

The case study club is a large professional football club situated in a large industrial town in the south east of England. The club at the time of writing are in League one the third level of the professional football pyramid. Like the club used in Parker's (2006) study this club is well renowned for its youth system and has produced or nurtured many players now playing professionally.

Convenience sampling was used in this sample of a club that was close to the researcher but due to the fact that the researcher has had no prior involvement or contact with anyone from the club, and that as a case study in which the contextual cultural influences will be analysed fully, the negative effect of convenience sampling shouldn't be apparent in this study (Neuman, 2006). It was also chosen due to the fact it is relatively isolated from other clubs, although catchments do overlap with some nearby clubs with regard to league clubs it generally is one of the only clubs in the area. This means that studying this club should give a relatively accurate view of the situation for all the young players in this area. Contact was made with the club through email and it was chosen due to the positive response to the emailed research request, location and the history of its youth system.

3.2.2   Participant players

The participants include the members of a professional football team's academy set up and the academy director of the club, a senior club scout and the football development manager. The academy director is in charge of the academy, decides how it is run, the talent identification procedures in place and is the gate keeper into the academy as they hold the final decision on all new entry into the academy system (a definition also shown in Holt and Dunn's (2004) study with academy directors). The senior scout controls a team of scouts over a certain area and acts to identify talented players. While the football development manager liaises with the local community

and builds and controls several stages of the talent identification pyramid. These three all control certain aspects of entry into the academy system with the results together aiming to build knowledge of the talent identification procedures and the attitudes present in the academy set up towards children from different educational backgrounds. The academy director, senior scout and football development manager will all undertake interviews while the academy teams will just be asked what school they attend to ascertain their educational background. Along with this field research will also be conducted by the researcher into different contextual relevant aspects over the internet or by phone to understand aspects like school sport provision and the educational breakdown of the area for example.

A team's academy is their youth development programme and their representative teams from a younger age group. These players are selected through the teams scouting network and other talent identification avenues from the areas around the club; an hour's travelling distance or 90 minutes for 13-16 year olds (as noted by BBC Sport, 2012). The professional nature of the academy means entry is very selective in terms of ability so the players could be termed as elite and must be recognised of being of a significantly high level relative to the population (as seen in Hill et al, 2008; Kannekens et al, 2009; Le Gall et al, 2010; Ford and Williams, 2012; Taylor and Bruner, 2012).

The participants in this study are children from eleven to eighteen, following the teams from the under 12's to under 18's age groups. This is similar to Taylor and Bruner's (2012) study with elite youth players from professional football clubs academies and from the same age range. These age groups were chosen to centre the focus on secondary schools; by focussing on children of secondary school age. Due to the age of the participants there are many ethical issues which need to be considered within the design of the study.

3.5   Procedure and Ethical considerations

The clubs consent will be gained before the start of the research with the academy director required to sign a consent form detailing what they will be required to do as a club during the research, how the data will be used, a brief generic analysis of the study and again informing them of their right to withdraw from the research at any time.

An information sheet will be given to the participants to take home to their parents; a week before hand with a parental consent from, again informing them of the research its aims, implications and their right to withdraw their child from the research. This again is to ensure in line with these guidelines that the researcher has taken 'the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported' (BERA, 2004:6). The coaching staff act as guardians; in 'loco parentis', to the participants when they are training and playing for the club and members of coaching staff. There can be issues with decision making of others 'in loco parentis' where decisions may be made they would go against those of the parents. To ensure against this a parental consent form will need to be signed and returned before they can take part along with an information sheet for the parents; also used in Maitland and Gervis (2010) study on elite youth players. This will ensure the parents have a complete knowledge of the study and what is going to happen so can make a fully informed decision. Therefore the decision making rests with the parents, with the coaching staff only acting in 'loco parentis' to ensure that the children are comfortable and to deal with any issues that may arise. They will present in the room at all times without engaging in the data collection process in accordance with the procedure also undertaken in Taylor and Bruner's (2012) study with youth academy football players of the same age.

The questions were asked of all the available playing members of each squad on a training day. The data collection process; based on the time taken in the pilot study, took approximately five minutes for each team to complete as they complete the study together. The club were informed of the estimated length; prepared from the pilot study results, beforehand allowing them to prepare to

allow the players the amount of free time to again not act to pressurise the players into answering quicker which could have negative ethical considerations on the players mental wellbeing.

The players will be given an information sheet detailing the research being undertaken and how their information will be used. Also informing them of their right not to participate and have their information withdrawn at any time from the study. This is defined in BERA's ethical guidelines regarding voluntary informed consent that they 'must recognise the right of any participant to withdraw from the research for any or no reason' (BERA, 2004:6). This information will also be read out to them before they complete the questionnaire by the researcher.

The information collected as part of the research project, will be entered into a secured database only assessable to the authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and only used for research, statistical and audit purposes. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data protection Act (1998). No identifiable personal data will be published within the final thesis.

In any form of social research there are many ethical issues and it is important these are considered (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). A number of aspects to take into account are informed consent, ensuring anonymity, and ensuring the information given by the participants is represented accurately (Flick, 2009). Anonymity was used to conceal the identities of participants in the study which ensured that no one except the researcher would be able to link the responses to a participant (Babbie, 2007). Any identifiable information presented in the study would be exchanged for pseudonyms which the participants and parents were made aware on information sheet with their consent forms before the study. This is consistent with the guidelines of the SRA (2003), although as noted by the BSA (2004) this can have an effect on the integrity of the data through the need to change information to be analysed to protect identity. During the research process it became clear that a number of words would need to be disguised to keep the players and club unidentifiable but also that some references to location did not release any information about the

players and may be important for understanding of the responses; for example information about previous professional clubs. Although there was a large amount of names regarding local clubs, contacts in the sample club, schools, county side etc that would have to be exchanged for a pseudonym to ensure anonymity is maintained.

3.5.3   Ethical considerations for children

As the study will be conducted with participants below the age of 18, additional ethical considerations are given to the participants in line with the ethical guidelines of the British ethical research association (BERA, 2004). Where the best interests of the child must be the primary consideration, the children should be given the right to express their views freely in all matters concerning them, and facilitated to give fully informed consent (UNCRC, 1989).

The children will be fully informed about the study throughout, the aims of the study, and their right to withdraw or not participate at any time. They will be sent a letter to take home before the study and read the letter by the researcher before the study starts to ensure that they understand it fully and can therefore make an informed judgement on whether to take part; consistent with these considerations and those laid out by Corti et al (2000) regarding informed consent. Although the legal consent of parents or guardians is enough for the research 'obtaining children's informed assent; which is gathered just before the study takes place, is vital to adapt a child centred research approach' (Lambert and Glacken, 2011:782).

The children will be of primary concern throughout the research; the questionnaire is short to ensure minimum disruption to their time, the study will take place in a comfortable open area and if needed they will be supplied with refreshments; also shown in Maitland and Gervis (2010) study of elite youth players. If they are any issues that occur with any child their issues will take primary importance above the study completion (Morrow & Richards, 1996; BERA, 2004). With the need to neutralise the environment and any notion of pressure to reduce the build up of any negative

emotions to participation like self esteem conflicts, guilt or embarrassment (Kirk, 2006). This consideration of the setting of the study and the length of time taken to reduce discomfort and level of intrusion was also shown in Munroe-Chandler et al (2006) in the questionnaire used with players of a similar age; from 11-14.

Also consent will be consistently checked in line with recommendations for informed consent without pressure noted by Corti et al (2000) and Lambert and Glacken (2011); with the need in social research for informed consent as a process to continually check if the child wishes to continue participating (Mahon et al, 1996). If they choose to withdraw from the study their data will be removed from the study and destroyed.

3.6   Pilot Study

Pilot studies help to maximise the validity of the study by helping to identify any problems with the design that can be corrected before the main study (Hall, 2007; Monsen and Van Horn, 2008). The main roles of a pilot study as identified by Hall (2007) are to identify unanticipated problems like gaining access to participants, checking the validity and reliability of data collection methods, and checking the timing of these interventions and methods is consistent with the time allowed for. As noted by Bryman et al (1996:353) the 'empirical leverage it offers on the point of view of those being studied and the sensitivity to context' makes pilot studies invaluable to qualitative research.

In the pilot study questionnaires were conducted with the under 18s academy team, to ensure use of the sample group and therefore greater reliability of the pilot study (Van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001; Peat et al, 2002), with an interview conducted with the academy director.

After the completion of the pilot study a number of factors were highlighted with the research design and the procedure before the main study. Firstly the interview highlighted many gaps in the information produced where the interview questions did not produce the answers anticipated. But this allowed a second set of research questions to be produced to further develop

themes from the first interview; discovered with inductive data analysis, and explore new areas identified from the pilot study to increase the level of knowledge produced, using a cyclical process (as seen in Sparkes, 2000 and shown in Peat et al, 2002). There were also some issues with the questionnaire design that produced confusing responses. The critical demographic questions at the beginning were not answered by every participant, so in the main study the participants will be informed to try to ensure they answer that questions as although not demanded in a way that may act to pressurise the participants and the rights of the participates not to take respected at all times. There was some confusion over the terminology used, with some participants questioning the terms used. With some of the responses also indicating that the participants either didn't clearly understand the question or didn't see the need to offer sufficient detail. So it was highlighted to the players that the researcher was available at any time to help resolve any issues with understanding, terms used were simplified and expanded (for example secondary school was expanded to include upper school and high school in the definition) to increase the level of understanding of what the question was asking and provide more accurate responses.

The main problem found with the questionnaire was that the results gathered produced information not relevant to the study aim. With the majority of the information being unnecessary to answer the research question therefore the questionnaire was reduced to just one question regarding the educational background of the participant. As the other information gathered just acted to move the study in another direction away from the focus on educational background and provide information that didn't help to answer the research question.

Also the use of a conference club in the pilot study did bring into question the validity of making any association with the professional game therefore it was necessary to find a club from the professional structure to increase the validity of the research.

3.7   Research Methods

Within the study the data collection methods used were interviews and questioning of the players, with some field research conducted by the interviewer from internet sources to help analyse the information and provide more contextually relevant information. The questioning of the teams was undertaken before the interviews.

3.7.1   Instrument 1 – Player Questionning

The questioning looked to uncover general demographic information about the child's educational background, and consisted of only one questions asking the player's secondary school so the player's educational background could be determined from that.

For this educational demographic question the researcher is looking for a fixed single response; just the names of the schools they have attended. To allow us to understand the actual educational background of the players in the academy system and the presence of children from independent school backgrounds to judge whether the representation of independent school children is representative of the population. Thus although the responses aren't fixed the question is closed to a certain type of response, which allows the information to be easily interpreted and to gather only the specific information needed (Berman and Shopland, 2004). Engstrom (2008) and Eitle and Eitle (2002) both used closed demographic questions to measures personal educational aspects like educational level and parental educational background.

Conducting questionnaires in a group environment like this though does produce some challenges for consideration. The possible discussion of answers between participants therefore maybe influencing the participants to produce face saving answers or socially acceptable responses (Elliot and Bull, 1996; Fielding and Thomas, 2001). Also the presence of coaching staff and the researcher during the questioning process to ensure the players well being could also act to

influence the players answers as they may feel they need to give answers the club would like or that would impress the authority figures (Singer et al, 1983). Meaning more care would need to be taken with the researchers entry into the field and to outline the independent and anonymous nature of the study. Although as it is only one question from a limited set of answers personal to each player the chance of this occurring should be significantly reduced.

3.7.2   Instrument 2 - Interview

Qualitative interviews are argued to be a valuable, important method for gaining data emphasising depth, nuance, complexity and intricacy (Yin, 1994; Fontana and Frey, 2003; Denscombe, 2007). The interview schedule begins with general demographic questions to discover the respondent's background and educational background. After these opening questions all the other questions were open questions designed to elucidate cultural, contextual and organisational information and how this effects the clubs talent identification and coaching provision. The interviews were broadly semi structured in nature in that although there was an interview schedule of the questions to be asked and investigated, probes were used to further investigate and explore any new topics that arose during the interview. The semi structured interviews asks the questions the same way but can be adapted to the respondent's level of comprehension (Fielding and Thomas, 2001). The model used in the sense of questioning will be Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) Collaborative Model (also supported by Clark and Schafer, 1987; Clark and Schafer, 1989; Schober and Clark, 1989; Clark and Brennan, 1991; Clark, 1992; Clark, 1996) where as people speak they carefully monitor and adjust the question wording to ensure there is no misunderstanding and totally comprehension, with the respondents therefore helping to mould the utterances of the interviewer, by indicating their understanding. These non standardised interviews are more suitable when investigating new areas, with these interviews looking to find all the things that are happening with elicit rich detail, and the deeper and hidden meaning rather than the frequency of predetermined things that are already

known to the researcher (Lofland, 1971; McNeil and Chapman, 1985; Fielding and Thomas, 2001). It can act to put the respondent and participants as co equals through the nature of the interviewing interactional research process reducing ethical concerns (Yin, 1994). Although this may influence the responses so the researcher sentry into this environment will need to closely controlled and reflexive to reduce any probability of face saving and adjusted responses (points mentioned in Toms and Kirk, 2006).

It also enables the capture of raw data, of new themes and areas allowing the recording of information through unsolicited data also that may again aid the data collections depth of information (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Bryman, 2004). This approach allowed full unrestricted responses from the respondent and freedom in the time and attention given to topics and sequencing of the topics (Patton, 1980; Robson, 1995). This flexibility and response freedom was needed during this interview process as the interviews purpose was to gather information on the organisational aspects of the clubs talent identification and coaching provision, and the possible presence of cultural discriminatory aspects within the clubs structure. The restriction of responses in closed questions would have narrowed the scope of the interviews and reduced the amount of information gathered (Schuman and Presser, 1979; Reitman-Olsen and Biolsi, 1991; Foddy, 1993; Ary et al, 2010) which in a exploratory study aimed at identifying new trends and themes would have greater reduced the quality of the study.

It is important to ensure the probes are kept neutral and that the researcher although trying to draw out as much information as possible also ensures they remain neutral (Belson, 1981; Belson, 1986; Fowler and Magione, 1990; Schober and Conrad, 1997; Fielding and Thomas, 2001), to reduce the possible impact of the researchers background and presumptions leading the answers towards certain responses. Therefore in this study the interviewer will use probes from Fowler and Magione's (1990) prescriptions for neutral probing looking to increase the information gathered while reducing the negative impact of the probing on the validity of the responses.

When conducting the interview the researcher took a number of factors; highlighted by Fontana and Frey (2005) in their investigation on interviews, into consideration. First to assess the setting; the negotiation techniques and tactics the researcher as an outsider needs to use (Lofland et al, 2006). Understanding the language and culture of the respondents; where the researcher understands the interviewee's language in the specific cultural context of the research setting (Minichiello et al, 1990; Fife, 2005). Deciding how to present themselves; which is dependent on the cultural context. Locating an informant to guide entry into the cultural environment; who must be knowledgeable enough to guide and interpret the research settings, language and culture. Gaining trust and establishing rapport; to encourage the respondent to share his or her experiences with the researcher, and collecting empirical materials; (also shown in Punch, 1998; and Fontana and Frey, 2003).

These considerations were key, as these factors can influence the information collected in the research. The way the interviewer presents himself for example has a big effect on the respondents ease at communicating information and concepts of what they feel they can say, so it is generally preferable for the interviewer to present themselves as a learner, a friend and/or a member of the interviewee's group; showing a willingness to understand and a sympathetic interest in the information they are looking to gather about the respondents life, adopting this role can make building rapport a lot easier (Burgess, 1984; Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). The language and culture of the respondents was understood by the researcher due to his substantial experience in the coaching and football environment; similarly demonstrated in Wheaton (2000) acceptance in her study due to her extensive windsurfing background.

The researcher presented themselves as a researcher in correspondence with the club, but in appearance chose to present himself in the attire and appearance of a coach, although without the official uniform of the club. An image in keeping with the atmosphere of the cultural environment and not presenting themselves as an outsider, that dressing in a suit and tie may do. It was hoped this would relax the participants to ensure a reduction in face saving responses and to

elicit more reliable answers. There are possible problems with this approach that also need to be considered. For example by presenting themselves as a coach there is also the possibility of face saving answers due to the familiarity with their own coaches and they may choose to give responses they feel fit the socio-cultural context of the football environment as they may view the researcher as a member of this. The use of interviewers who were lesbian in Elling et al (2003) for this effect in their study of gay and lesbian sports clubs shows the consideration of these factors in research studies. While in Burdsey (2008) the researcher recognised how the factors of his identity may have affected issues of rapport, data collection and analysis, due to the combination of the researchers whiteness, nationality and middle class academic identity conflicting with the socio cultural identity of the people being studied.

'Conversely, my identity as a privileged, white, middle-class academic – and arguably just another 'cultural tourist' – was inescapable and potentially inhibited the generation of certain types of data (Burdsey, 2008:262).'

This is where the researcher's background as a football coach from a working class background may help build rapport and hopefully increase the openness of the interviewees responses. Although again this could also lead to the respondents giving responses they feel fit into what is socially expected from someone in the working class coaching environment therefore they may alter their actual responses to fit that. So the respondent will try to remain as neutral as possible and not give any information about their social background. As in Toms and Kirk (2006) the aim of the researcher was 'to look the part but not fit in too well' (pp. 107) so to avoid the cultural baggage affiliation with any particular group may bring.

There is also the need to be reflexive about the effect of their experience and social positions to how the researcher is presented throughout the study to ensure the effectiveness of the research. Therefore as Toms and Kirk (2006) states there is a 'need for self awareness of the multiple

positions the researcher holds' (pp. 109) and an ability to adapt this to avoid social misconceptions having a negative effect on the results

The academy director acted as a cultural guide and informant, helping to contact the various coaches and staff needed to deal with in the research. While acting to organise meetings, interactions with the teams, organising facilities, giving information about the teams and an introduction to the different teams throughout the research process. This was an important process in gaining the trust of the various participants in the study.

Social differences like social class and ethnic diversity can also influence the interviewer's bias and the respondent's answers and are thus another important consideration in the manner the researcher is presented (Robson and Foster, 1989; McNeil and Chapman, 2005). Again prompting the need for the researcher to stay as neutral and reflexive as possible to avoid possible associations which could negatively affect responses.

The interview can also be open to interviewer bias in how they probe or ask questions and how they approach the interview procedure. To overcome this possible bias guidance and direction from the interviewer should be minimised, they should allow the respondents the chance for full expression of their definition and answers, and allowing the interview to bring out the value laden responses (Foddy, 1993; Sommer and Sommer, 1997; Fielding and Thomas, 2001). It must also be acknowledged that the further the interview moves away from a structured procedure the greater the risk of bias from the interviewer (Sommer and Sommer, 1997). So as previously mentioned the interview will stick closely to Fowler and Magione's (1990) probing guidelines to reduce the possible negative impact of the researcher on the interview results.

The use of semi structured interviews is a very common method used in other cultural studies due to its ability to allow a representation of the many complexities of culture (Caudwell, 1999; Skelton, 2000; Burdsey, 2004; King, 2004; Giulianotti, 2005; Burdsey 2006; Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007; Jones, 2008). With these studies highlighting possible problems with the use of semi structured interviews to be considered in the planning of this study. In Giulianotti (2005) and

Jones (2008) the interviews were conducted under different environmental contexts. In Burdsey (2004) and Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) there were issues with the sampling not representing the general populace of the study. With the case study club used in this study the sample is easily defined and fixed and with a single interview context face to face interviews in a meeting room at the academy complex. Thus allowing the variables of interview context and sample to be controlled.

Within this study semi structured interviews; as shown in similar studies on culture in football like Burdsey (2004; 2008), Holt & Dunn (2004) and Maitland and Gervis (2010), allowed us to develop theory and give the study contextual relevance. Due to the fact that there is no prior research into this area this is useful to allow themes to develop as the study aims to reveal themes and trends for future research. While also allowing unrestricted responses or theme development needed in a study like this where due to the nature of the exploratory research the interview could need to expand into an unforeseen area. The ability to develop any themes presented in the research is controlled by the researcher which is where the previous knowledge of the area of the researcher is useful to allow expansion of themes. The previous knowledge can also present with it the possibility of bias with probes leading to particular answers. As previously stated the use of the neutral probing framework of Fowler and Magione (1990) should control this, however these concerns present the need for the researcher to be considered as a research instrument and the researchers background examined in the form of an epoche.

3.8   Researcher and Epoche

Qualitative research results are mainly guided by the researcher interpretations of evidence. Interpretive research is defined in terms of epistemology ('the view of what we can know about the world and how we can know it' Marsh and Furlong 2002:18-19), ontology (is 'the study of beliefs about the nature of reality' Shadish et al, 2002; so in this sense the interpretations and views of the researcher about the subject area) and the methodology (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). These

principles in an interpretive study will make an impression on the research in the way questions are asked, interpreted, analysed, evaluated and assessed (Cohen et al, 2000; Pring, 2000).

In order to allow a reliable analysis of the results we have to analyse the instruments of data analysis. So as it is the researcher who selects and chooses the meaningful data and is responsible for the data analysis they need to be looked at as a researcher instrument. Every person has subjective pre-suppositions and experiences which can influence their perception and interpretation of occurrences, in order to develop the most objective opinion possible these need to be understood and this contaminatory knowledge needs to be bracketed in such a manner that it can be put aside, to reduce its influence on the results; this is an epoche, as defined by Maso (2001).

The researcher has a strong football background having played football at an amateur club level from the age of 13 to the current day. They have also coached youth teams over the past three years while currently coaching teams at age's three to six, and in the under 15 age group. It has been suggested that being involved in the same field as a studies participants may make the researcher more aware of questions and follow up questions with this background experience and knowledge (Amis, 2005).The researcher himself is from a working class state school background, having always been educated in state schools. With the researchers background the possibility of pre conceptions of what will be discovered in the research is strong. Recognising this will allow the researcher to act to ensure that every step is taken to reduce the influence of these factors and control the impact of pre conceptions on analysis and data collection.

It must be understood however that while this approach is idealistic perception and interpretation as co-effecting influences are inseparable (Maso, 2001). Which is reflected in the close relationship between the researchers consciousness and the reality to be studied (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000), making achieving this separation a complicated task. To understand where the basis of this interpretation of the research of the results is based it will also help to aid reflexivity to allow the researcher to make an interpretation of interpretation; a key definition of reflexivity as defined by Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000). Considering this along with the bracketing of contaminatory

knowledge in an epoche should act to reduce or at least incorporate the influence of these pre suppositions into the analysis, thus providing more reliable and valid results.

3.9   Data Analysis

3.9.1   Interview analysis

Data analysis is a crucial part of the research process but arguably the most difficult one (Huberman and Miles, 1994). The interview transcript was subject to inductive analysis; this is a theory building process looking to establish generalities with different phenomenon under examination (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984; Hyde, 2000). An analysis process consistent with most qualitative research (Bryman, 2004; Denscombe, 2007), with the theory building aspect of the analysis also fitting the exploratory aims of the study. In this sense there are similarities with the study to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory approach with the theories being derived from the data gathered, rather than being formed beforehand through analysis of previous research and then looking to support or disprove this hypothesis (Allan, 2003).

This process initially involved dividing the text into appropriate pieces of information called meaning units (Krippendorff, 1980; Tesch, 1990; Baxter, 1991; Kovach, 1991; Polit and Hungler, 1991; Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Lichstein and Young, 1996). Then categories were created by finding common features between the meaning units and organising them into distinct groupings; known as properties (Côté et al 1993). Then these properties were compared and organised into more embracing categories (Côté et al 1993). These were also connected to issues arising in the account and theoretical concepts to explain the issues that arose during the transcript (Peat et al, 2002).

Again this analysis process matches the comparative analysis that is used in grounded theory, with the four stages of analysis in grounded theory being identifying codes of key points of data, grouping them with similar content to make general concepts, then grouping similar concepts

together in categories before using this collection of data to develop theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This analysis method was also seen in Holt & Dunn (2004) where the data analysis and coding of the data was based on Strauss & Corbin's (1998) version of grounded theory that moved from description to conceptual coding to theory building. This study is especially relevant as the participants in this study were also English professional academy youth team players and interviews were undertaken with the Academy directors.

This analysis method was again shown in a football setting in Holt et al's (2008) study on parental involvement in competitive youth sport. Holt and Tamminen's (2010) study on improving grounded theory research in sport highlighted the importance of the coding and analysis procedures in sport grounded theory research to allow the development of themes and trends from the research, thus increasing the ability to build theories from the responses.

3.9.2   Questionnaire analysis

To analyse the educational background of the participants the schools will be analysed through the government school finder website (Directgov school finder, 2012) where all the information about the schools can be found. The information is provided by the schools and the local authorities so it does have significant reliability. The schools classification as either independent or state will be noted to understand the educational breakdown of this sample, while other details about the schools like size and specialism will also be recorded to understand the types of schools attended by the participants. This will allow the comparison of different attributes of the schools to try to understand the results found and whether there are any prevalent trends towards school characteristics and football ability.

3.10   Considerations for reliability and validity

When analysing interviews though some assumptions can lead to reduced reliability of the answers as the information produced in interviews does have weaknesses. Such as the assumption that language is a good indicator of thought and action, but the attitudes, opinions and thoughts expressed are not always indicators of what people have done or will do (Potter and Wetherall, 1987; Potter, 1996). This is down to assumptions like those that people are telling the truth and that they are not elaborating or lying (Fielding and Thomas, 2001; Denscombe, 2007). Often the need to give face saving answers can be pronounced as interviews are conducted face to face generally with an interviewer. Therefore the need to present the answers directly face to face to a researcher may increase the feeling of needing to guard against embarrassment or protect against any inadequacy they may feel due to lack of knowledge or nervousness (Frey and Oishi, 1995; Elliot and Bull, 1996; Fielding and Thomas, 2001). With this increasing with the possible perceived increase lack of anonymity with this face to face contact (Johnson and Turner, 2002). The way the researcher presents himself and the way they react to the participants or answers given may also influence answers (Johnson and Turner, 2002). Here again the need for the researcher to present themselves (as shown in Toms and Kirk, 2006) in an appropriate manner and be reflexive on that presentation of themselves is vital. With the presentation of the researcher in relaxed clothing consistent with the coaching environment but significantly different and identifiable in relation to those of the coaching staff allows the researcher to gain acceptance, build a relaxed atmosphere while the differentiation from the coaching should reduce the possibility of face saving answers which may be given to members of staff and allow open truthful responses.

Non verbal gestures, social cues or any kind of behaviour from the interviewer to guide the interviewer in any direction can influence the answers they give by giving a perception of what the interviewer wants to hear (Opdenakker, 2006). Again to avoid embarrassment or impress the researcher the respondent may change responses from the exact truth due to their appearance to the participant as they could be viewed as someone they need to impress, or someone to fear, be intimidated by or dislike (Burgess, 1984; Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009; Elliot and Bull, 1996; Fielding

and Thomas, 2001). All acting toinfluence the responses they may give and the reason the researcher in this study has chosen to adopt a neutral profile where possible in order to minimise this possible impact.

The threat of introspection; or as Adler and Adler (1998) describe it auto observation, is also possible within the interview procedure.Where the researcher own experiences or attitudes may affect their observations and interpretation of events, because the interviews are being carried out by the primary researcher. The recognisation by the researcher of their own experiences and attitudes in the study and the fact that the majority of the information analysed and selected by the researcher from the interview will be factual based; around the topics of provision and talent identification, should reduce the possibility of this occurring in this study although these factors still need to be considered in data analysis.

Validity can be enhanced also with Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) Collaborative Model as it allows the researcher to build rapport and the respondent to open up and give more reliable responses (McNeil and Chapman, 2005; Yin, 1994; Denzin, 2007).

3.11   Chapter Conclusion

Using a qualitative approach allows the researcher to gather information on the many variable aspects of this socio-cultural situation which is vital to develop understanding in this unexplored area. It allows the comprehensive answers needed to understand the complex nature of the cultural environment in this academy football setting and its relation to the cultural environment surrounding independent schools.

This chapter has indentified the research methods used and given justification to their usage with information on how the results will be analysed and evaluated. The results of these methods and the finding of this study will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 - Results and Discussion

4.1   Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter will explore the emerging themes from the research and relate them to the themes and

theories identified in the literature review, and previous studies. Looking particularly at the

educational breakdown of the players from the academy system, the socio-cultural attitudes and

environment within the club, the socio-cultural influences on the player's development and how this

may act to influence the cultural environment and participation rates of players from different educational backgrounds in the academy.

4.2   Educational breakdown of the academy players

Of the 6 teams within the academy system studied 108 children took part in the research with others missing out due to injury or unavailability on the day (only 2 players). The children attended 73 different secondary schools and some of the schools had more children from the academy in attendance with one school having 6 pupils, one school having 5 pupils and three having four.

4.2.1   Independent school attendance

Of those 108 players just 2 attended independent schools. As a percentage of the group if it represented the population of the country there should be 7.64 children in the sample from independent schools; with 7.07% of the population attending independent schools according to the study by the Department of Education (2011). Although it should be understood that the sample group of 108 children is relatively small but in this context there is a lack of representation of children from independent schools relative to the population. The percentage of children in independent schools does vary in the different areas around the country though and as the clubs can only draw players from the immediate area; a 90 minute travelling distance, comparison to local figures would be more appropriate when investigating under representation. So looking at the educational breakdown figures from the Department of Education's figures (Department of Education, 2013) for local authorities in this catchment area the combined educational breakdown is higher than the national average at 8.17% so the representation should be 8.82 players or 9 when rounded to the nearest whole number. Thus showing an even greater under representation in this context of children from independent school backgrounds.

To give more contextual understanding of these answers the sporting provision of the local independent and state schools were also investigated. In the catchment area there were 198

independent schools of secondary age while there are over 500 state secondary schools (information gathered from the DirectGov School finder website; DirectGov, 2012). Due to the vast number of schools in this area the sporting provision of the closest 100 independent and state schools to the club were looked at to see whether football is provided as a sporting option. It must be noted that the search encompassed all schools as long as they had a provision for boys of secondary school age so religious schools, schools for children with special educational needs were also included and private training providers acting as schools. 88% of the state schools looked at were football playing and 66 % of the independent schools. Adjusting the figures to remove training centres and schools for children with SEN 98.9 % of state schools in the area provided football (just one school not providing it) as an option. While the independent school percentage went up to 85.7%. This demonstrates that while there is a significant different in the sporting provision of football between the different schooling types that the vast majority of independent schools still provide football as an option.

The reduced presence of football in the curriculum of the local independent schools compared to state school corresponds with the historical evidence gathered from studies into physical education in independent schools and their association with sports like rugby and hockey over football (Collins, 1998; and Tozer, 2012). Although when looking at the figures for the mainstream independent schools of 85.7% of schools providing football as an option it shows that the vast majority of independent schools provide this football option. So although in reference to Bourdieu's theory of habitus and the definition from Marshall (1994) of it being the patterns of behaviour, taste and thought which link social structures to social practise or social action. Here the social structure of the independent school has social practices which promote participation in the game on the whole to thus develop behaviours and tastes towards playing football. So although there is a reduced level of football support from independent school it is still at a very high percentage of the independent schools to suggest that there is no sports provision basis that independent schools should be under represented. However the provision of football in the schools

doesn't provide the whole picture. The quality of the sporting provision provided by these schools in comparison to state schools are not known and also the importance given to football as a sport. Where looking at the historical association of independent schools with sports like rugby and cricket and the history of success these schools have in this area it would be reasonable to presume that if the same emphasis was put on football in these schools an over representation would be expected. These factors would need to be understood in order to make a conclusion on the quality of the comparability of the school sporting provisions on independent and state schools in the area. Although the conclusions can be made that the independent school social structures in place in this area do offer on the whole the social practise available to build habitus that has positive attitudes towards football as a sport and therefore likely increasing the participation in those from independent school backgrounds.

Comparing the results found here with the national average is difficult due to the lack of other studies into educational breakdown in football. However the researcher discovered that of the 24 players in England's squad versus Germany (19/11/2013) 3 went to an independent school (12.5%). While in an investigation of the English first team squad players of the premier league teams 91% went to state schools. Although it must be noted that the researcher was only able to find 48% of these players schooling background (109 of 228) and thus the sample size is still too small to have any significant conclusions from. However it does start to demonstrate that there is a presence of people from independent schools in the professional football environment with the 12.5% and 9 % found in these two examples being higher that national representation of 7.07%. This does suggest that maybe at this level there isn't a problem with participation, but with the over representation of people from independent schools in other backgrounds like rugby union and cricket in elite sport it does pose the question about how high the representation might be if football had the same cultural capital in those schools as those sports.

4.2.2   Characteristics of the sample schools

Following on from this analysis of sporting provision in schools in the local area, of the sample schools attended by the academy players every school provided football even those from an independent school background. Again giving backing for the habitus theory of social structure like education for example acting to inform behaviours and tastes. Although this presumption should be tempered with the fact that there was only 2 independent school in the sample and that only one of the mainstream state schools in the local area didn't offer football as an option so the chances of any of these schools not offering football was very rare.

The schools that these children attended were analysed through the Directgov website to understand the educational background and the characteristics of the schools they attended. This is a government information website detailing information about schools to allow people to find appropriate schools in their area. It is the official database of schools in England with the school information being provided by the schools themselves, local authorities and Ofsted (Directgov, 2012).

4.2.2.1 School Specialisms

Many schools have a specialism; where they specialise in a particular subject area. This specialist schools programme was a government initiative which encouraged secondary schools in England to specialise in particular areas to boost achievement, although this initiative was stopped and the funding absorbed into general school budgets in May 2010 (Standard.dfes, 2008). The specialist schools and academies trust is responsible for this programme and there are over 3,000 specialist schools; around 90% of state funded secondary schools in England are specialist (DFES archive, 2009). To gain specialist status a school must demonstrate reasonable level of achievement while also produce a development plan over four years with quantifiable targets relating to that subject. Schools can specialise in a range of subjects or combine specialism in two of them.

There were also schools within the study that had Academy status. These schools are independent of the local education authority but are publically funded with private sponsorship also. These schools all have a private sponsor who in a return for an investment of 10% of the academies capital costs can influence the school's curriculum, ethos, specialism and building. Academies have a balanced curriculum that is required to follow the national curriculum but specialise in one or more areas as in the specialist schools. They can select for their specialism 10% of the children by aptitude similar to specialism schools. These schools are often the recipient of large scale government building renovations and have been said to be more likely to receive government funding than other schools. It costs on average £25 million to build a new academy (BBC News, 2006).

There were 12 academy schools (4 also had a specialism) found from the sample schools while of the 73 different schools attended 49 had a specialisation so only 12 had neither academy or specialist accreditation. 83.6% of the sample schools had either a specialism or were an academy compared to the national average of around 90% of secondary schools (Taylor, 2009).

The percentage breakdown of different specialisms found in the sample also differed from the percentage of specialised schools nationally. Table 1 demonstrates the percentage split of specialism between the schools in the sample and compares them to the percentage breakdown found nationally. The sports specialisation was massively overrepresented in the schools with 30.6% compared to 14% nationally. While the majority of the other specialism's had a relatively similar representation. Some like music and art had a slight percentage increase but not on the scale of the 16% increase in the sport specialism. If we refer back to the view of schools being the most important social institutions in promoting physical activities (Sallis et al, 1997; NASPE, 2005) the fact that the schools that put the most emphasis on sport are over represented in a study of elite youth players is expected. Although again raising the question of the sporting emphasis of the independent schools when culturally they may be pushed towards the sport they have a history of success in. So while you may with the success of the independent schools in many other sporting arenas expect to

see them over represented in this case as well this may be a demonstration of the effect of cultural capital pushing their sporting emphasis in another area resulting in their under representation.

Table 1 – Subject Specialism breakdown*

Overall	Amount in Sample	Amount Nationally	Specialism breakdown Nationally	Specialism breakdown in sample
Sport	15	429	13.98305085	30.6122449
Performing arts + Arts	7	543	17.6988266	14.28571429
MFL	6	233	7.59452412	12.24489796
Maths + Computing	7	329	10.72359844	14.28571429
Engineering	4	70	2.281616688	8.163265306
Science	7	394	12.8422425	14.28571429
Technology	10	559	18.22033898	20.40816327
Business an Enterprise	1	281	9.159061278	2.040816327
Music	3	40	1.303780965	6.12244898
Humanities	2	170	5.5410691	4.081632653
Combined	2	150	4.889178618	4.081632653
SEN - Behaviour, emotion and social	0	21	0.684485007	0
SEN - Cognition and Learning	0	60	1.955671447	0
SEN - Communication and interaction	0	54	1.760104302	0
SEN - Sensory physical	0	30	0.977835724	0

*Schools with a combination of specialist subject or more than one are noted for all their specialism hence the reason why there are more specialism than schools. Statistics are adjusted also to take account of all the specialist subjects in combination and multiple specialism schools.

4.2.2.2 School Size

The schools were all put into particular school size categories consistent with the groupings used in Weiss et al (2010) study of the relationship between school size and achievement; which were based on Lee et al (2000) study's groupings. This was used as they also studied secondary schools and looked at the impact of aspects of the school on achievement albeit in an academic field rather than a sporting one. Here the schools were grouped by size into four different categories; schools with 1-599 pupils were labelled small, 600-999 moderately small, 1000-1599 moderately large and 1600+ large. Of the 73 schools that were attended by the 108 children 50.7% of the schools classified as moderately large, 26% as moderately small, with 6.8% small and 16.4% large schools.

Table 3 – School size and relation to players in academy

Number of pupils	Number of Schools	Number of Players	% Schools each size	% Players to schools	National % School size
1-599	5	11	6.849315068	10.185185	15.7
600-999	19	29	26.02739726	26.851852	38.1
1000-1599	37	53	50.68493151	49.074074	39.5
1600+	12	15	16.43835616	13.888889	6.7

Looking at these figures; again recognising the small sample size, there is a clear trend toward the larger schools with both being over represented in the sample. The larger schools were both over represented by around 10% each with both smaller school group around 10% down. Looking at the actual numbers of children that attended these schools from the sample nearly two thirds of the players attended these larger schools (around 64%) again demonstrating the trends towards these larger schools. This is consistent with research showing that larger schools tend to have increased sports participation (Schoggen and Schoggen, 1988 and Sterns and Glennie, 2010) and thus a better chance of developing sporting prowess. The reasoning for this over representation of larger schools may also be down to other factors like the talent identification structure acting to influence where resources are concentrated and therefore the probability of players being picked up

from these schools. This trend towards the larger schools does fall in line with the policy of the club where they stated they tend to look at larger urban schools. A view put forward by both the academy director and the senior scout:

'The larger urban schools definitely are of more interest to us. I think it comes down to the competition at these schools just I guess because they have higher numbers of kids all wanting to play football. While in smaller schools there is less players to choose from and therefore less competition and worse teams' (Academy director INT1 lines 54-58).

'We have a good history of picking players up from the big schools in this area. You have some huge schools around here and the quality of teams is usually very good so we tend to look and build links at these schools more.' (Senior Scout INT2 Lines 22-25).

So these results could be the pushing of resources for talent identification towards these larger urban schools rather than the actual improved success of schools of this size in producing talented football players. With the increased numbers possibly being as these are the schools that are focussed on more and therefore their increased exposure leads to more players being picked up from these schools.

The average size independent secondary school has 549 pupils (ISC, 2012) showing that on average independent schools are quite far below the most successful school size for academy players found in this study. With the average independent school fitting in the small category with the clubs previously mentioned preference towards larger schools these independent schools are therefore less likely to looked at for scouting purposes or with regards to building links, again acting to reduce the opportunities for players from these schools to enter the academy environment. While the average state secondary school size is 986 pupils (Department for Education, 2011) only just outside the key size school found in the study and much larger and therefore more suited pupil numbers wise than the independent schools for the clubs talent identification policies. The two

independent schools which have players at the clubs both fell into the moderately large category again demonstrating the increased sporting development opportunities available to larger schools.

4.4   Talent Identification structure

The interviews with the academy director, senior scout and football development manager at the club allowed us to understand the talent identification pathways that were available for entry to the club and how inclusive these were for children from an independent school background. There were 2 interviews conducted with the Academy director and the football development and one with the senior scout to help address the issues and trends that appeared in the interviews and allow more expansion of knowledge.

Each of the three participants interviewed controlled a different aspect of talent identification. The Academy director had the overall control of the academy, with the responsibilities for overseeing every aspect of the academy and its direction ('I control the policies of the academy in regard to everything talent ID, coaching and philosophy' Academy Director INT1 Lines 2-3). However due to the size of the academy different aspects were delegated to other members of the academy team. The football development manager had control of the advanced centres the second development stage just below the academy ('I run the advanced centres for kids aged 8-16 which basically falls underneath the academies they feed the academy system. And the futsal scholarship programme which is 16-19' Football Development Manager INT1 Lines 2-4). While the senior scout controlled a team of 5 scouts whose job it was to identify players in the local area ('My job is to find player. I erm have to control and delegate and monitor 5 other scouts underneath me to make sure we cover this area adequately' Senior Scout INT1 Lines 2-4).

Therefore these three people act to provide views from all areas of the talent identification structure. Thus allowing a very detailed understanding of the talent identification structures and

procedures in place and their influence on participation of children from different educational backgrounds.

From the interviews there was a clear talent identification structure described. At the bottom level there are development centres which are open to everyone and entry is charged:

'At the base level we have development centres. These are, they are designed to get as many people playing as possible for us. They are open to everyone and it is the first level we have. It is the beginning of the talent identification structure' (Academy Director INT1 lines 21-23)

'There is a slight cost to it. We have to pay for the coaching and the facilities. We charge about £49 a term which could be 10-12 sessions.' (Academy Director INT2 Lines 35-36)

The level above this is the advanced centres. There are two squads within the advanced centres squad 2 and squad 1, with squad 1 being the higher one. There is also a charge for participation at this stage:

'There is the advanced squad 2 and the advanced squad 1 and then the academy. If they do well at the advanced squad 2 then we either put them into squad 2 permanently or they go into squad one. If from there they do very they get moved up for a trial period with the academy.' (Football Development Manager INT1 lines 28-31)

Lastly there is the academy level for which there is no charge and it is funded by the club and the premier league:

'The Academy level is the top of the tree and what they all aim for. When you get to this level there is no cost it is subsidised by the club, the premier league as well. This is the top level of what we do everything is geared towards producing players for the academy' (Academy Director INT1 lines 45-48)

4.5.1   Development Centres

The development centres are at the very base of the talent identification structure as they are open to entry from anyone. Although there is a charge for participation of £49 for every term (11-12 weeks training) so there is an economic barrier to participation. The players are coached by lower level club coaches and assessed at the end of every term with players of the necessary level being recommended to the coach at the advanced centres:

'Those development centres are sort of a pay and play level so anyone can come and go on those courses. Within that then you have holiday courses and things like that as well which are a similar sort of thing. The players that do well in that they get sent into us from scouts or they get sent into us from other sources get put into trial at our advanced squad 2 level' (Football Development Manager INT1 lines 25-28)

 At this point over 30 players had been signed to the academy that had progressed from the development centres to the academy system.:

'We have had quite a lot, I mean some over the years come through and go all the way up. About 30 players I think' (Football Development Manager INT2 Lines 32-34)

        There are 3 development centres that are based around the local area, which are spread around the two closest counties. Two of the three venues were at state schools with the final one being at the MK Dons training ground. The two schools had 6 of the players in the academy enrolled there:

        'There are 3 development centres which are based around the nearby area spread around (NEIGBOURING COUNTY) and (NEIGBOURING COUNTY)' (Line 53) 'with 200-300 kids training every

week in the three development centres' (line 57 and both quotes from the Academy Director INT1)

How this is advertised affects the awareness to different groups and the centres were advertised 'through schools, through websites, through word of mouth, through mailing shots, through email campaigns' (Academy Director INT2 lines 115-116), with leaflet distribution being the main source of advertisement:

'Obviously you have websites and things which I think are being upgraded and improved currently but that leaflet would be one of the main things' (Football development Manager INT1 lines 140-142)

The flyers were given to every school in the areas where a centre was present with the advertisement also going out to local independent schools as well as the state schools:

'all the local schools get given them' (Football Development Manager INT1 line 146)

'We send leaflets to as many local schools as we can the private ones as well that we know' (Academy Director INT2 line 156)

The emails were sent out to regular contacts that they email to, and people that email them detailing the information about the academy. The people that received the email were local clubs who had links with the club through interactions over players and through the chartered standard contacts with the local FA:

'the emails were sent to those clubs we have built up a partnership with. These are mainly large clubs that we tend to scout a lot of players from' (lines 60-61)

'we send a lot of emails with the help of the FA football development department they put us in touch with the chartered standard clubs and forward email on our behalf as it all links in with their football development aims' (Both the Academy Director INT2 lines 65-67)

The advertisement of the development centres does seem to be fairly universal and doesn't exclude the independent schools in the local area. The particular reference made to private schools as well shows the consideration of these schools in the advertisement of these schemes and ensuring the awareness of this coaching schemes for children from all educational backgrounds in the local area. This along with the openness of the development centres to everyone means it is an inclusive scheme with no recognisable restrictions to people from different educational backgrounds.

4.4.2   Links with schools

The links with schools were also looked at to see if there any attempts to work with schools from an independent school background, and the type of schools that were chosen. To look at why certain schools were chosen and how this influenced equality of opportunity for entry to the academy system. Whether any types of schools were excluded from this and for what reasons.

The links with schools took a variety of forms. From using facilities, to communication regarding academy players present at the schools, to playing friendly games and maintaining players schooling focus:

'we have an education officer who liaises with players, with schools that have player involved in the football club. To check that education wise there is no drop off and to make sure we can come to an agreement regarding players being allowed time off to train. The schools are generally happy to give us players as we help keep them in line but punishing them football wise if they, if their school stuff, learning starts to be disrupted.' (Academy Director INT2 lines 267-272)

'We play friendlies against schools for scouting purposes although mainly county teams. We have a few good links with some counties' (Senior Scout INT1 lines 77-78)

'We build a good relationship with schools like (school used for development centre), we use their facilities but they have the benefits from us as well. There is the prestige of having (club name) train there and there is more chance of their players getting picked up as we, due to that close link' (Academy Director INT2 lines 284-288)

4.4.2.1 Links and attitudes towards State schools

The state schools were noted as a good environment for developing players and building links with. With the academy director noting that 'the state school environment is very good' (INT2 line 135) as 'the teachers there are often very football orientated' (INT2 line 138), with football being the main sport that is taken very seriously in those schools. With it being the 'sport that the schools put all their attention to. They play competitively in leagues and cups and they have a PE staff that often have a background in the game' (INT2 lines 142-143).

There also pointed out differences in players coming from those schools as well with the scout saying that they tend to be 'better physically and more skilful due to street games they play, which you maybe don't get in private schools where its more civilised' (INT1 lines 167-168). Noting that there is 'more of a football culture' (INT1 line 169) at these state schools with independent schools more focussed on education and other sports.

While the Academy director again talks about the differences saying they play more in the playground and at the park and 'this is where you pick up those little skills that can make the difference' (INT2 lines 148-150). Moving on to talk about the greater desire these state schools players have as they 'have more to lose, they see that dream career while children from

independent schools probably have the education to be able to move into a successful career whatever happens' (INT2 lines 153-155).

The opinions noted above all focus on the strength of the state schools due to cultural factors, historical factors like the football orientation of the school and institutional aspects like the teachers football background all providing a positive impact. These views expressed are in keeping with previous research. The perceived patterns of behaviour, taste and thought which are linked to the social structures of the state schools social practises mirror the definition of habitus of Marshall (1994). Thus demonstrating the perceived presence of sporting habitus geared towards football in the state schools. This could be referenced towards cultural capital with the development of cultural capital linked with someone's upbringing and education (Wilson, 2002), with the positive influences noted towards football participation the reproduction of positive cultural capital towards football is very likely.

There were also views expressed to the players from state schools referencing the greater desire they have with 'more to lose' in comparison to independent school players who 'probably have the education to be able to move into a successful career whatever happens' (Academy Director INT lines 153-155). Referencing the better environment for producing players of the state schools as it is more competitive and the player get to play in the street more which acts to improve their development. These views again back up the historical associations with state school and the work class culture cultural association with the game. With these aspects all helping to produce the skills, preferences and knowledge which fuel the state schools production of cultural capital towards football participation (Bourdieu, 1984).

4.4.2.2 Links and attitudes towards Independent schools

There was some reference to links with independent schools with some issues mentioned also. The amount of players from this background was said to be very few in the academy; correlating with

the information we found. The difference being that 'they aren't as happy about children missing school time' although generally there 'aren't any problems' (Both the Academy director INT2 lines 207 and 209 respectively). There are less links with independent schools as 'they don't take football as seriously so are less interested in forming a link with a football club' (INT1 lines 137-138). Although the academy director did admit that hadn't been any attempt to create any links with clubs other than just dealing with them on behalf of the children in the academy to organise time off:

'because of our experiences we don't really look to build many links with independent schools. We just speak to them if end up having players from there to make arrange for their schooling' (INT1 lines 140-141)

The Academy director and scout both referenced the fact that there seemed to be very few players within the system from private schools:

'There are very few from private schools and those that are come from football families. Maybe the dad was a player at some point' Academy director (INT 2 lines 301-302)

'I don't see many players at all from these schools' (Senior Scout line 70)

The reasons given for this is that 'footballs often a, is very much left behind in the sporting calendar with rugby, hockey and the other sports taking precedence' (Academy director INT 2 lines 51-52). Adding further that these players lack the 'desire and fight to succeed in football as 'children from independent schools probably have the education to be able to move into a successful career whatever happens' (line 154-155). With the scout also noting from his experience that there 'are some very good technical players but they are not really that football orientated and you need total focus to succeed' (Senior Scout INT1 line 77-79).

This is partially supported by the fact that historically independent schools have had cricket, rugby, hockey, swimming or tennis as the main sports (Tozer, 2012). Sports that better represent the upper middle class Corinthian values, and individual sports (Wilson, 2002; Stempel, 2005). Shown by

the success of independent schools athletes at the Olympics in individual events; over half of the medals won by former independent school pupils at the Olympics and other individual sports from 2000-2012 coming in individual sports (Tozer, 2012).

There are also some views presented about independent school children and their ability to succeed as players with specific reference to their desire to succeed. Pointing to schooling as a major factor in them not being football orientated enough to succeed, with a stronger reference to education and other sports. This again falls in line with the cultural capital and habitus elements. With the lack of support and the different emphasis supposedly from these independent schools influencing the patterns of behaviour, tastes and preferences which build this sporting habitus. With the reference to the educational emphasis of these schools there is the prevalent opinion; and the link of social structure to social practises in habitus theory that these opinions are supported by, that these schooling conditions would act to reduce independent school children's want or desire to participate in football.

It must be noted that these are only the opinions of the members of the academy system and the stereotypical images drawn towards independent school players as lacking the desire or drive to succeed in football, lacking the physical skills due to their background can have an influence on talent identification opportunities. A fact demonstrated by the Academy director who controls the overall talent identification programme stating that 'we don't really look to build many links with independent schools' (INT1 line 140) due to previous experiences showing the presence of talent identification restrictions based on the opinions of the Academy Director. Where similar to Bradbury and William's (2006) study into institutionised discrimination based on race preconceptions leading to reduced opportunities.

4.4.2.3 Links with county or town school football associations

Although school links were acknowledged as very important school football was also derided for its development quality:

'I think that the way school football is conducted is quite damaging to. I think you know there is a lot more school football now which is great but the way it is played is rarely within the realms of development football' (Football Development Manager INT1 lines 96-98)

The better level of football quality for school level was said to be county level football as it brought together the best school footballers from the area. They were multiple mentions of links with particular counties. They were chosen due to their history of producing good players and they formed a link where they would play a friendly every year across different age groups.

When asked why he didn't watch the ISFA representative matches the Academy director said he wasn't aware of these games; 'I don't really know much about these representative games, they tend to keep themselves to themselves' (INT2 lines 234-235). While the scout had been to watch one of these games in the past:

'These are decent quality teams and I have seen a game in the past but I prefer to watch the state school versions we have more success with the players from there. They seem more dedicated to making it in the game' (INT1 lines 155-157)

Again the present of preconceptions based on historical interactions or stereotypes about the players in these games. Referencing again the player's dedication to the game reinforcing the stereotypical view expressed beforehand. This has then acted to reduce the possibility of a scout watching a player from an independent school in this area which restricts the opportunities they have to progress into the academy system.

4.4.3   Scouting System

The scouting system was controlled by the academy director overall with the scouting delegated to about 10 senior scouts below him who all have a team of about 5 part time scouts themselves:

'My job is to find player. I erm have to control and delegate and monitor 5 other scouts underneath me to make sure we cover this area adequately' (Senior Scout INT1 Lines 2-4)

This level of control over the scouts extends to control of the selection process for scouts, and what games to watch. The academy director tells the scouts what games to watch ('We have a team of about ten scouts who we inform about what games to watch from information we receive about players from scouts or personal information. It's a team process' INT1 lines 148-149). The scouts are chosen by the academy director with an interview and course based recruitment process. They have a team of about 10 main scouts and 50 scouts below that may be involved in local teams and they will watch and identify players in their league. With these scouts chosen due to their contacts and knowledge of the local area

It was noted that the majority of the players came from the large local urban areas as there are a lot more people to choose from hence more likely to have greater ability players. It was also highlighted that children from inner areas tend to be better as they 'spend more time outside getting all the football practise hours you need through play with their mates. Because for these children there's less options so they have no choice' (Academy Director INT1 lines 198-199).

These attitudes with the attitudes expressed above towards children from independent school backgrounds and independent school representative sport again highlights the reduced talent

identification opportunities afforded to players from independent schools. The senior scouts power over the scouts in his area and the academy directors power over all the scouts reinforcing the fact that if these views are present in these decision makers then as shown previously with the lack of links with independent schools due to previous problems it can a detrimental effect on talent identification provisions. With their control over where the scout look for players and the games they watch.

4.5   Cultural attitudes in the academy system

The interview does highlight certain attitudes or beliefs with regards to talent identification with certain groups. When referring to children from more affluent middle class areas the clubs academy director refers to them having a smaller chance of having footballing ability:

'They don't play as much football at an early age so they don't get that initial experience and that initial skill base' (INT1 lines 202-203).

This is also referred to by the scout where he states that they don't have the 'competitive edge' or desire to make it as a footballer (INT1 lines 47 and 53 respectively)

So therefore they don't have the same aspects needed to become a football with the 'lack of these early experiences which build the intelligence needed for footballing development' (Academy director INT1 lines 204-205). Whereas the less affluent areas he says tend to develop that type of player. This is again repeated later in the interview in a comparison between the working and middle class characteristics which explained the prevalence of the different groups in the academy:

'I believe that those from the working class really have that desire to succeed as it makes a big difference to their lives. That dream can change their lives, children from independent schools

probably have the education to be able to move into a successful career whatever happens' (INT1 line 152-155)'

The scout then in an analysis of the differences between the chances of success for players from these different backgrounds states:

'The hours playing street football are definitely under rated as a development aspect in my opinion. The most successful players also grew up playing on the streets and it is this which I think stops us seeing more players from these private schools or upper class players, as I don't think they do this enough and aren't really exposed to this competitive environment enough' (INT1 lines 275-276)

Another belief that is repeated through the accounts from the senior scout and the academy director; the football development manager said he had very little knowledge of players educational background, is that of the independent school players lacking desire. This would be put down to a number of reasons with the schools emphasis on other sports and education, the lack of competitive street football played, the lack of football background they have, the lack of a football culture at the school they attended and even physical presumptions about players from state schools:

'better physically and more skilful due to street games they play, which you maybe don't get in private schools where its more civilised' (Senior Scout INT1 lines 167-168)

These beliefs can act to prejudice opinion against players or whether to look at players from those environments or social institutions like independent schools. This can lead to the reduced provision of resources shown above in areas like talent identification pathways and clubs links. Which creates an institutional discrimination which produces differentiation in sporting provision (Giampetro-Meyer, 2000; Hippolite, 2008; Moore, 2008; are examples of this in sport and Bradbury and William's, 2006; in football). Again looking to reduce opportunity for players from these environments to enter the profession football academy. Whether or not these players are actually from an upper middle class background themselves.

4.6   Chapter Conclusion

This discussion explored the emergent themes from the study and how they related to previous studies and theoretical concepts. Within this study the educational background of these academy children was also looked at. Some significant socio- cultural background features were analysed. The talent identification systems were identified and analysed and the prevalent cultural attitudes within the system were looked at for their impact on provision and equality of opportunity. With the information found compared to the literature and any contextually relevant factor to uncover any emergent trends.

In the next chapter conclusions from this discussion will be drawn, the study will be evaluated for possible improvements that could be made, implications for future practise noted and suggestions for future research offered.

Chapter 5: CONCLUSION

5.1   Introduction to the Chapter

The final chapter will assess the findings of the study, and their implications. Initially it will reassess

the research question to allow the summarisation of the research findings. Observations will then be

made about the methodology used, and the findings of the study in an attempt to evaluate the

limitations of the study. The relevance of the study to this field will be noted, with the implications

to the field being highlighted. Finally the avenues for expansion of research in this area from the

research gathered will be explored.

5.2   The Research Question

This research project was an exploratory study that set out to provide some evidence into the

educational breakdown of a professional football academy and the prevalence of educational based

cultural discriminatory attitudes or practises in the academy environment. This was all based on the

contextual situation of the sample club, with various contextual factors being considered in the

analysis. The evidence for this was drawn from the educational background of the academy player,

and the accounts of three main figures in the talent identifications system. With these studied to see any restrictions to those from a certain educational background participation in football and other variables investigated to give some context to the answers.

5.3   Summary of Research Findings

The findings of the study concluded that only 2 of the participants came from an independent school background. The schools the players were found to be mostly (50.7%) of moderately large size (1000-1599) (Weiss et al, 2010) with the majority of the children attending these schools (49.1%). There was also a correlation found with a large over representation of sport specialism schools in the sample.

The talent identification procedures demonstrated mixed results. The development centres were advertised to all schools including independent, demonstrating an equality of awareness procedures and opportunity under these measures for this scheme. While many other avenues for talent identification did not have the same opportunities for children from independent schools. They only watched state school county games and they arranged friendly games with these state school county sides. They focussed on larger schools where the average sized independent secondary school is only 549; under the small classification, thereby not a school that will gain the same attention as larger state schools. All examples of inequality in the talent identification procedure.

There were also cultural stereotypes discovered towards certain groups and independent schools regarding their ability or suitability to be an academy footballer. These stereotypes were on educational and social class aspects. With attitudes towards children from independent schools being that these players don't take football as seriously and lack dedication, physical ability, desire and the technical skills needed in comparison with state school players.

This was also presented in aspects of institutionised discriminatory behaviour in not focusing the talent identification procedures on independent school sport due to these pre conceptions of their ability. Seen in the lack of club links and the decision not to watch regional representative independent school games.

Although the theories of cultural capital and habitus along with the historical conflicting sporting cultural capital of the independent schools and football could offer an explanation for the results this needs to considered in relation to other information. The fact that in the professional examples of a recent England squad and the premier league squads provided by the researcher there is in fact a slight over representation of players from independent school backgrounds. While also the sporting provision of independent schools in the area has a very high association with football with 85.7% providing football as an option at school.

5.4   Implications of the Study

These results demonstrate that in this context there is a presence of cultural stereotypes towards the middle class culture associated with independent schools and the institutions themselves that act to negatively influence the presentation of talent identification provision towards these groups..

It also brings an understanding of the way which institutionally clubs can discriminate against children from an independent school background. It highlights the presence of cultural stereotypes in this professional youth football context that acts to reduce the chances of participation for certain groups. Hopefully this will act to highlight the consideration needed to allow inclusion in talent identification procedures of independent schools, so hopefully the independent schools as a resource for producing elite sportsman can be looked at as an important developmental area for young football talent in the future, with adjustments to sports policy to allow this. With the evidence of the independent schools success in producing talented sportsmen in other sports and

the fact that in this context at least football is widely played in independent schools there is plenty of scope for this progression.

This study provides an initial understanding with one club of possible trends to investigate regarding the educational breakdown of players in a professional academy setting. It also allows us with the considerations of other contextual factors to understand the reasons which may help shape these results so in respect of increasing participation it could lead to the development of some plans towards increasing participation in football from children from an independent school background. Overall though it has to be understood that no definitive conclusion can be made to be generalised from the research as it is at the moment a standalone investigation into this area. It can be a basis for further investigations into this area with the highlighted contextual factors studied allowing valid comparison between results and reliable future conclusions to be made to increase participation in football for children from an independent school background.

5.5   Limitations of the Study

Although this study has acted to provide a valuable insight into the area of cultural discrimination and its effect on sporting participation in a class related educational perspective, there are considerations to be made on the reliability of the data and the limitations of the research. The answers are not generalisable with the information only having contextual relevance. The lack of research in this area also means that there are very little definite conclusions that can be drawn from the study itself. Although it has highlighted trends and set a basis for future research.

Some methodological limitations are that it is a small sample size so the ability to identify trends from the results is reduced in validity. The researcher again has acted to interpret all the results and conduct all the interviews so this along with the researcher's history needs to be

considered. Bracketing these preconceptions in the form of an epoche can help reduce their effects but perception and interpretation as co-effecting influences are inseparable (Maso, 2001). So to understand where the basis of this interpretation of the research of the results is based it will also help to aid reflexivity to allow the researcher to make an interpretation of interpretation; a key definition of reflexivity as defined by Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000). Although in keeping to the neutral probing guidelines of Fowler and Magione's (1990) and Toms and Kirks (2006) reflexive presentation acted to reduce influence. However the researchers background must be considered in the interpretation of the results even if there seemed to be little or no impact.

5.6   Recommendations for Future Research

From the study many areas for further research are possible due to the exploratory nature of the study. With the trends developing from the research opening up new possibilities for study. Like an investigation into the sporting emphasis at independent schools to assess the importance given to football, an assessment of the educational background of academy level players on a wider scale and in grass roots clubs to see the representation of independent school players at all levels of football. These being just a few of the many paths that would add to this research area greatly.

This further research would help to develop a more accurate understanding of the educational breakdown at all levels of the game to look at fall out patterns, entry barriers and whether there is indeed under representation of children from these educational backgrounds in the game. Thus providing the opportunity to build more successful strategies to ensure equality across all educational backgrounds in sporting areas if any problematic participation trends emerged.

5.7   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter reviewed research question and objectives before summarising the findings of the study. The implications of the study were noted along with an assessment of the studies weaknesses and avenues for further research in this area.

5.8   Concluding comments

This study aimed to explore a new area of social research in reference to the educational breakdown of football and whether culture capital could have a negative effect on the participation of children from upper middle class institutions.

There was evidence of the working class cultural capital attached to football acting to produce stereotypical views towards children from an independent school background. Which in turn acted to influence and reduce the talent identifications opportunities for these children. The influence of sporting habitus was shown in the reproductions of values and behaviours. With this lack of football habitus being often quoted as a reason for limited success of independent school children in football and used to justify reducing opportunities for the children from independent schools.

The participation in this setting though demonstrated that children were under represented in an area with a higher independent school population than the average. Although through field research it was shown that with regards to national participation at the elite level there is a very slight over representation of independent school educated players; in the evidence drawn from the England national squad and premier league player's backgrounds. This demonstrates the ability of players from these backgrounds to progress into the professional game and also poses the question that if the barriers found in this study are represented around the country how high could the representation from independent schools be with their history of producing elite athletes.

Chapter 6: APPENDICES

6.1   Appendix A: Club Consent form

Club Consent form - Analysis of the social characteristics of Academy level footballers

This information is being collected as part of a research project concerned with identifying the characteristics of successful academy level footballers. It is being conducted by the department of education in the University of Birmingham. Within this study we will conduct an interview with the academy director, a senior scout and football development manager or equivalents in your club, and to ask the educational background of all the academy aged children from under 12's to under 18's. It is just only one question to find out their schooling background. We want to find the educational background to discover the effect this may have on their development as a player.

The information supplied; and that which may be collected as part of the research project, will be entered into a secured database only assessable to the authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and only used for research, statistical and audit purposes. By allowing your club to supply this information you are consenting to the University storing the information for purposes stated above. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data protection Act 1998. No identifiable personal data will be published.

Please also understand that your clubs participation in this study is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw at any time without giving reason. If you choose to withdraw from the study the data will be removed from the study and destroyed.

I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information leaflet for this study, I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily. Based on all of the above I agree to allow my club to take part in the research.

Name of Club...

Name.. Date......................

Signature..

Name of Researcher.. Date.......................

Signature..

6.2   Appendix B: Club Information Sheet

Post graduate Research Study - Analysis of the social characteristics of Academy level footballers

Information Letter

This information is being collected as part of a research project concerned with identifying the characteristics of successful academy level footballers. It is being conducted by the department of education in the University of Birmingham, and we would like to use your club as a case study for this research.

Within this study we will conduct an interview with the academy director or equivalent in your club, and just ask one question to find out the educational background of all the academy aged children from under 12's to under 18's. This is asked so we can work out the influence this educational background may have on footballing development.

The interview will establish how the club selects players, the talent identification, coaching provision, community links and entry pathways into the club. This should also not take more than 10 minutes of your time.

We hope through this research to identify problems that children from different social groups encounter in entering the system and how it can be improved

The main findings of this study will be presented to your club at the end of the research project, along with the researcher's interpretations and conclusion from this. The club will also be provided on request with a full copy of the research thesis. No personal or identifying data will be passed back to club after the research or published in the project.

If you require any more information please contact the researcher (contact details below). There is also a consent form attached to return to the researcher as soon as possible if you choose to take part in the research. Thank you.

Lee Redmond
University of Birmingham

Telephone:
Email

**6.3	Appendix C: Parental Consent form**

Parental Consent form - Analysis of the social characteristics of Academy level footballers

This information is being collected as part of a research project concerned with identifying the characteristics of successful academy level footballers. It is being conducted by the department of education in the University of Birmingham in collaboration with (Case Study Club). Within this study the only information we will collect from your child is one question to find out their educational background. This is to help us understand the links between educational background and football success.

The information supplied and that which may be collected as part of the research project will be entered into a secured database only assessable to the authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and only used for research, statistical and audit purposes. By allowing your child to supply this information you are consenting to the University storing the information for purposes stated above. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data protection Act 1998. No identifiable personal data will be published.

Please also understand that your child's participation in this study is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. If they choose to withdraw from the study their data will be removed from the study and destroyed.

I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information leaflet for this study, I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily. Based on all of the above I agree to allow my child to take part in the research.

Name of Child.. Date.....................

Signature of Parent/Guardian..

Name of Researcher.. Date......................

Signature...

6.4   Appendix D: General Information Sheet

Post graduate Research Study - Analysis of the social characteristics of Academy level footballers

The purpose of this research is to help the understanding of the social characteristics of academy footballers. With this research we hope to identify ways to help improve the methods of bringing players into this academy system, and the support and entry pathways into the academy system for players from all social backgrounds.

(CLUB) is being used as a case study club for this research and your child as an elite academy level footballer has been chosen to take part in this research. Although you must understand that your child's participation in this study is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw at any time without giving reason. If they choose to withdraw from the study their data will be removed from the study and destroyed.

During this study we will ask your child one question about their educational background. This is just to help us understand the influence educational background has on player development.

All information will be treated as anonymous and their data will be kept totally confidential, no personal information will be disclosed at any time. The information supplied and that which may be collected as part of the research project will be entered into a secured database only assessable to the authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and only used for research, statistical and audit purposes.

If you require any more information please contact the researcher on the details provided below. There is also a consent form attached to return to the club as soon as possible if you choose to take part in the research. Thank you.

Lee Redmond
University of Birmingham

Telephone:
Email:

6.5 Appendix E: Interview Schedule - Academy Director 1

Interview Questions for the interview with the Academy Director

Demographic questions

Role:
Age:
Educational Background:
Qualifications:

Gatekeeper Responsibilities

What are your responsibilities with regards to the development of coaching provisions for children in your community?

What are your responsibilities with regards to the talent identification procedures towards children in your local community?

Talent identification

What areas do you target in the local area for your talent identification, and coaching provision? (P – Why?)

Do you target schools for your coaching schemes and the identification or influx of talented children?
- What schools do you target? Why do you target those schools? Do you target any particular types of schools? And why? Do certain schools tend to produce more talented players? Why do you think this is so?
- Why don't you target certain schools?

Cultural discrimination

Do you see any deficiencies in the participation of any social/ethnic/gender groups within your academies or coaching schemes?

Why do you think this is?

Do you think it is important to resolve this? (P – Why?)

How are you acting to resolve this within your clubs work?

Do you feel there are any groups that you can't help? (P- Why?)

Football cultural stereotypes and effect on provision

What do you think are the essential characteristics needed in order for someone to become a professional footballer? (P – Why?)

How do you as an academy go about finding children with these characteristics for your academy?

6.6   Appendix F: Interview Schedule - Academy Director 2

Academy Director Interview 2 Schedule - Further Questioning and issues arising from the interview

How has your sports science degree helped you in your current role?
- How did it help you in your career?
- Have you had any negative treatment due to your previous education or background?
- How do you use your degree on a day to day basis?
- How is the information and activities you undertake in your academy through your sports science background taken and appreciated by the players and coaches?

How long have you been working at this Club?
- How long have you occupied your current role?
- What has been your proudest achievement in that role?

How did you choose the centres do you have and where are they?
- How do you recruit to these centres?
- Who is involved in this programme and how are they chosen to be involved in this programme?
- How is this programme advertised and how are people made aware of it?

You said in our previous interview that with regards to talent identification you liaise with scouts and the clubs the players come from when picking players, what form does the information gathering from the clubs come, what do they tell you?
- Do you have specific contacts within the clubs? How are these contacts chosen?
- How do you choose the clubs you work with?

Within the area in which you scout for players do any areas tend to produce more players, better players, or better types of players (like position wise)?

Do the scouts have any particular criteria to picking a player are there any defined guidelines?
- How are scouts chosen what's the criteria?
- Does it require more than one scouting visit?
- Do they record information any specific information to report back to you?

A lot of players said they got scouted through friendlies with the club how are these friendlies arranged?

You said you had about 40 partnership clubs how are these clubs chosen?
- What do they offer you?
- How successful is this partnership?

What does your coach education programme to these clubs consist of?
- Do you yourself personally educate the coaches in the area of sports science and coaching considerations? And how do they take this?

You said you try to watch as much football and talk to as many people as possible, who do you talk to?
- How are these people chosen?
- Do you feel you miss out on any people by only talking to selective people?

Do any players get invited along to the centre of excellence or trials without being scouted?
- How does this work?

A lot of players were also picked up through other professional clubs academies how does that system work?

You mentioned you worked closely with secondary schools, what exactly is the relationship you have with these schools?
- What schools in particular do you have this relationship with? What area are they from, and what would you say the social demographic of the schools would be?
- Why do you choose these schools?
- Do any schools have any history of producing better players and why do you think this is?

Why do you work with secondary schools closely as opposed to primary schools?

Do you work with any independent (private) schools?
- Do you have any success in these schools and what are the players like?
- How good do you feel the independent school environment and the social environment at the school is for developing football players?

How good is the state school environment for developing players? Why?

You mentioned that you look more to schools in urban areas, and said that the increased numbers in these areas made finding good players more likely, would you say there are any other reasons you look at these areas, and/or anything that may give people from these areas more chance of sporting success?
- Do you look at rural areas at all? And do you gain much success when you do? Why?

With regards to district and county football which you noted you were more prone to look at, what districts do you tend to find produce better players?
- What do you think the reasons for this are?
- Do you have any contacts within the county level and how are they chosen?
- How are players selected to play for their district or county?

How important do you feel parental influence is on a child's ability to succeed in football?
- How important are their prior experiences?
- What type of parents or parents characteristics do you feel are most helpful in helping children be successful in football?
- Do you feel the parents background and interests have an effect on the child's success?

How helpful or unhelpful do you feel large clubs of specific social or ethnic groups like the Asian specific ones you mentioned are to participation and excellence in football?
- What are the barriers do these groups participating in more mixed teams?

You mentioned there is a split within the club of players from different backgrounds I'm just going to mention some social groups and if you could just say how well you feel that group are represented in the academy system, and any characteristics of these groups with regard to football (looking at aspects like attitudes, determination, parental support and ability for example)?
- Players from a working class background? Middle class background? Upper class background?

You also mentioned that it is easy to distinguish between the different groups of players in the clubs academy, what characteristics separate these groups from each other?

You also said you have a scholarship system how do you qualify for this system?

You mentioned that obviously dedication is very important, what are the components of this dedication?
- Do any groups tend to be more dedicated and why?
- Do the players need any outside support in order to aid this dedication?

Do you the players educational background has any effect on their possible success?

Do you have any open trials? How are they advertised?

Lastly do you feel that any particular social upbringing is more helpful in footballing development? Like being brought up on a council estate? In a rural location? In the suburbs of a town or city? And why?

6.7   Appendix G: Interview Schedule – Football Development Manager 1

<u>**Football Development Manager Interview schedule**</u>

What is your role within the club?

What is your education background? State or Independent school?

What Qualifications do you have relevant to your role?

What is the Talent Identification Structure at the club?

What is your role within this?

Roughly how many players do you have at each stage of this structure?

Where are the development centres based?

What are your responsibilities with regards to coaching provision and talent identification?

What areas do you target for talent identification and coaching provision?

What links do you have with schools?

Do you target schools for talent identification?

Are certain schools more prone to producing players than other schools? Or certain types of players?

What are independent schools with regards to player production compared to state schools?

What would you say was the social class and educational breakdown of the academy players and why?

Do you watch any independent school football?

Why do you feel they aren't represented better?

What county produces better players and why?

How are you centres advertised and to who?

Are there any deficiencies in participation with any particular social groups? If so why? And is it important to resolve this?

Do you have any club links and why are they chosen?

6.8   Appendix H: Interview Schedule - Football Development Manager 2

<u>Football Development Manager Interview 2 schedule</u>

How did your grammar school influence you in football?

How good an environment for developing young football players was your grammar school?

How many players come into the advanced centre from the development centres?

Where do the majority of the player that come into the advanced centres come from? Where are they scouted from?

What role does the futsal scholarship programme have in player development?

How do people enter into the futsal programme? What characteristics do you need to be considered for a place on the scheme?

How is this programme advertised?

What types of schools or areas do the majority of these players come from?

What school do use for this programme and how important is the school support in producing players?

In the last interview you highlighted that schools are very important in producing good players what are the positive effects that schools have in helping develop players?

Aside from the lack of a focus on development in school matches what are the negative impacts of school football?

Are there any positive examples of schools or clubs in reference to the development of players with regards to their football playing and what do think are the reasons for this?

How much does it cost to be part of the advanced centre and do you this cost restricts the participation of any players?

What would you was the ideal social situation to produce a player thinking about the characteristics needed to be a top player?

What is the most common cause of players failing to fulfil their potential and is there any social cause for this?

What is the importance of parental influence on footballing development?

6.9   Appendix I: Interview Schedule - Senior Scout

Senior Scout Interview Guide

What is your role within the club?

What is your educational background? What type of school did you go to; state or independent?

What qualifications do you have relevant to your role?

What are your responsibilities with regards to talent identification?

Who controls the players you look for?

What type of players do you look for? What characteristics?

Where do you go to find players?

Do any players get invited for trials without being scouted?

Do the scouts have any pre set criteria?

Who makes the final decision on player's entry into the academy system?

What are the most important components that make a successful football player?

Do you have any links with schools?

Do you have any links with independent schools?

Do you feel players from particular social backgrounds tend to do better? (Probe for players from independent schools, state school and working middle and upper class)

What areas do you tend to focus on?

Where are the most successful players from and why?

Do you think Education has an impact on football success? If yes is any educational background better for developing football players?

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