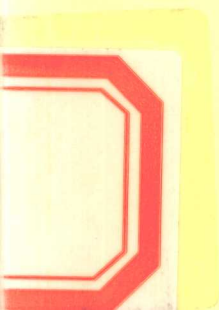


Advances in the Methodology
of Grounded Theory

THEORETICAL SENSITIVITY

Barney G. Glaser

University of California
San Francisco





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PREFACE

It is the intent of the author of this book that it be read thoughtfully. This has many meanings. This book is not doctrine, although at points the enthusiasm of the author may make it sound as if each point is a "command" that restricts possibilities. Yes, the book presents an orthodox or basic outline of a grounded theory research project. But in doing so the author hopes to stimulate thought about the methodological issues involved and the variations in the variables used to describe the generating of grounded theory as a research process. From this thought, the author trusts that readers can see other possibilities for ordering a grounded theory research-- probably more complex as stages become simulations and resequencing occurs as stages may double back in a particular project.

Also in offering the forthcoming discussions, the author hopes that readers will see the differences between their opinions and his on methodological issues as an occasion to analyze different approaches and opinions in research. Corrections too, are in order, if carefully thought through and not merely reactive. By its very nature grounded theory produces ever opening and evolving theory on a subject as more data is obtained and new ideas discovered. This nature also applies to the method itself and its methodology.

Lastly, the author's stand on illustrations this book is that they tend to take the limited space that is needed for detailing all the advances to be offered. Thus there is a paucity of illustrations. But this is not a shortcoming, if the reader considers the works of the author. In these monographs are a wealth of illustrations for what is written here. Indeed they are the source for much of it and the author assumes that readers have come to this book because of reading many of the books of Glaser. Following is a list of these books for the reader's reference.

SUGGESTED READING:

1. *Organizational Scientists: Their Professional Careers*, Barney G. Glaser (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964)
2. *Awareness of Dying*, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967)
3. *Time for Dying*, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967)
4. *Organizational Careers: A Source Book for Theory*, Barney G. Glaser (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966)
5. *Status Passage*, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1971)
6. *Anguish: Case Study of a Dying Patient*, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (San Francisco: Sociology Press, 1970)
7. *Second Deeds of Trust*, Barney G. Glaser and David Crabtree (Mill Valley, California: Sociology Press, 1969)
8. *Experts Versus Laymen: A Study of the Patsy and the Subcontractor*, Barney G. Glaser (Sociology Press: 1976)
9. *Chronic Illness and the Quality of Life*, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Saint Louis, G.V. Mosby Co., 1975)
10. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967)
11. *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*, Barney G. Glaser (Sociology Press, 1978)
12. *The Inheritance Business*, Barney G. Glaser (Sociology Press., Forthcoming)
13. *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, Barney G. Glaser, (Sociology Press, 1992)
14. *Examples of Grounded Theory: A Reader*, Edited by Barney G. Glaser (Sociology Press, July 1993)
15. *More Grounded Theory Methodology: A Reader*, Edited by Barney G. Glaser, (Sociology Press, Dec. 1993)

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THEORETICAL SENSITIVITY

The techniques and thought involved in grounded theory have been advanced and elaborated since the original publication of *THE DISCOVERY OF GROUNDED THEORY: STRATEGIES FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH*.¹ One purpose of this current monograph is to update the original publication, by detailing *only what is new* in the methodological processes of generating grounded theory. This material has only been available to the students of Glaser and Strauss in seminars and dissertation consultation and to colleagues on research projects, where the advances have emerged and have been further developed. The detailing of these advances assumes the reader has a working knowledge of *DISCOVERY*. Repetition from the first book is done only when necessary to detail the advance. The first book glossed over or completely neglected much of what will be discussed here, but the newer ideas come directly from working with the strategies that were laid out in *DISCOVERY*. Thus this book is a supplement to *DISCOVERY*.

By detailing the advances in procedures and thought in generating grounded theory, we hope to achieve the second purpose of this book: the development of the necessary *theoretical sensitivity* in analysts by which they can render theoretically their discovered substantive, grounded categories. Discussing this sensitivity, the authors soon discovered, was a major gap in the *DISCOVERY* book. Readers would only get so far in doing grounded theory before they floundered on how to set down theoretically in the end product what they had discovered. In this book we present a fund of ideas and ways to systematically relate categories into theory that both renders the data and works with it. In so doing we hope to give a sense of what theory is, how it may be constructed when generating it, and its amazing variability

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1. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Strategies for Qualitative Research*, (Chicago; Aldine Publishing Company, 1967)

and multivariateness. In understanding this multi-variable "variable" approach the reader will come to understand our style of theoretical thought derived from a combination of common grounds, yet diverse, styles, goals and training.

To achieve these two purposes we shall look closer at the processes of theoretical sampling, memoing, and saturation and substantive coding. We shall also discuss theoretical coding, basic social processes, theoretical sorting and theoretical writing. All are vital, necessary aspects of doing grounded theory. We shall close this monograph by discussing several new directions in which students of grounded theory have taken this methodology for diverse purposes (particularly applications) as opposed to our primary purpose of developing scholarly, theoretical works for sociology.

THE GENERAL NATURE OF GROUNDED THEORY

Grounded Theory is based on the systematic generating of theory from data, that itself is systematically obtained from social research. Thus the grounded theory method offers a rigorous, orderly guide to theory development that at each stage is closely integrated with a methodology of social research. Generating theory and doing social research are two parts of the same process. How the analyst enters the field to collect the data, his method of collection and codification of the data, his integrating of the categories, generating memos, and constructing theory—the full continuum of both the processes of generating theory and of social research—are *all* guided and integrated by the *emerging* theory. In contrast, traditional methods of theory development rely on standard methods of social research that are not directly formulated, controlled by or related to how the theory will be developed. This is typical in verificational studies, which use testing methods developed apart from the method used to generate the testable hypotheses.

Also included at each state of generating theory is reliance on the social psychology of the analyst; that is, his skill, fatigue, maturity, cycling of motivation, life cycle interest, insights into and ideation from the data. Generating theory is done by a human being who is at times intimately involved with and other times quite distant from the data—and who is surely plagued by other conditions in his life. The analyst operationalizes the operationalizing methodology called grounded theory. Within the analyst, as the research continues, is a long term biographical and conceptual build up that makes him² quite "wise" about the data—how to detail its main problems and processes and how to interpret and explain them theoretically.

The first step in gaining theoretical sensitivity is to enter the research

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2. His means his or her (or all people) throughout this book. This convenience of style does not imply that only men are sociological analysts, which is trite and obvious to all but a few readers.

setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible—especially logically deduced, a prior hypotheses. In this posture, the analyst is able to remain sensitive to the data by being able to record events and detect happenings without first having them filtered through and squared with pre-existing hypotheses and biases. His mandate is to remain open to what is actually happening.

Sensitivity is necessarily increased by being steeped in the literature that deals with both the kinds of variables and their associated general ideas that will be used. Thus the analyst's sensitivity, while predominantly of a single field and an area or two within it, is surely not so limited. By familiarity with ways of constructing variables in other fields he may imbue his theory in a multivariate fashion that touches many fields. Thus an analyst can easily generate categories familiar to psychology, public health, economics, or history from studying these fields to make himself sensitive as to how they conceptualize data. Possibilities are limited only by the social psychological limits of the analyst's capacity and resources.

To be sure grounded theory is a perspective on both data and theory. It contends that there is much value in the conceptualizing and conceptual ordering of research data into a body of theory. This theoretical grasp of problems and processes within data is—in our perspective—a very useful way to understand what is going on in a substantive area and how to explain and interpret it. It is a succinct, interesting, and easy way to remember the data and a *transcending* way to view it. The data of the substantive area becomes theoretically tractable. It guides future research in the same area, and its formulations guide work in other areas. It is very catching and meaningful to many colleagues and students.

Others may feel, even *know* in their hearts, that data could be handled more profitably other ways, whether theoretically or empirically. Verificational studies abound which alter theories. There is a whole school of thought—ethnomethodology—that affirms that the “immaculate description” is the best way to render research data. Still others go for empirical generalizations—broad scope empirical patterns. *Our perspective is but a piece of a myriad of action in Sociology, not the only, right action.*

The division of labor in sociology needs *all* perspectives on styles of both theoretical and empirical renderings of research data. Our perspective is but one theory on where theory may profitably come from, and one method of how to obtain it, both of which has proven quite exciting and useful to our students and many others in and out of sociology. Many people in other fields—education, public health, social welfare, political science to cite a few—have used adaptations of grounded theory quite successfully.

THE SPECIFIC NATURE OF GROUNDED THEORY

Grounded theories have “grab” and they are interesting. People remember them; they use them. To achieve this use, we stated in *DISCOVERY* that a theory must have fit and relevance, and it must work. Grounded theory meets these criteria because it is generated systematically from research data. We have subsequently elaborated these criteria and added a fourth. A theory must be readily modifiable, based on ever-emerging notions from more data. Grounded theory meets the later criteria also.

By *fit* we meant that the categories of the theory must fit the data. Data should not be forced or selected to fit pre-conceived or pre-existent categories or discarded in favor of keeping an extant theory in tact. Our position is that the reality produced in research is more accurate than the theory whose categories do not fit, not the reverse. In the process of most preconceived research—such as that for testing hypotheses—data, which cannot be either forced or selectively picked, is discarded rather than used to correct the category. Since most of the categories of grounded theory are generated directly from the data, the criteria of fit is automatically met and does not constitute an unsatisfactory struggle of half fits.

We have discovered two more vital properties to fit: refit and emergent fit. One, since categories emerge so fast, it is important to constantly *refit* them to the data as the research proceeds to be sure they do fit all the data they purport to indicate. Thus categories are not precious, just captivating. The analyst should readily modify them as successive data may demand. The analyst’s goal is to ground the fit of categories as close as he can.

Second, many existing categories also fit the data. We do not have to discover all new categories nor ignore all categories in the literature that might apply in order to generate a grounded theory. The task is, rather, to develop and *emergent fit* between the data and a pre-existent category that might work. Therefore as in the refitting of a generated category as data emerges, so must an extant category be carefully fitted as data emerges to be sure it works. In the bargain, like the generated category, it may be modified to fit and work. In this sense the extant category was not merely borrowed, but earned its way into the emerging theory. Finally, then, the analyst’s theoretical sensitivity, which is developed by intensive reading in sociology and other fields is also not only sharpened by learning what kinds of categories to generate, but also by learning a multitude of extant categories that could possibly fit on an emergent basis. Chapter 4 on theoretical coding explicates the relation of data to categories as they are generated to fit.

By *work*, we meant that a theory should be able to explain what happened, predict what will happen and interpret what is happening in an area of substantive or formal inquiry. This is achieved in our view by getting the “facts” (what is going on) by systematic social research. For the theory to work, its

categories must fit, to be sure, but also it must “work” the core of what is going on; it must be *relevant* to the action of the area.

Relevance is not achieved automatically—but often missed automatically—by the pursuit of preconceived theories, which are deduced from other theories, conjectured, or emerged from the educated, but privatized interests of a “professional” sociologist who is desirous of punditting himself to fame. Grounded theory arrives at relevance, because it allows core problems and processes to emerge. The grounded theorist does not have to spend time to convince others of the relevance of his focus. He need not explain how he deduced the focus or explain why his interest can be seen as general enough to be worth of research. Rather he spends his time modestly, but assertively, searching for and discovering the relevance in his data.

To aid this effort to arrive at the core categories, we have developed the notion of Basic Social Process, for example “becoming”. A BSP explains a considerable portion of the action in an area and relates to most categories of lesser weight used in or making the theory work. Thus BSP’s are integrative of all categories needed in the theory. From this notion it is only a short step to thinking in terms of Basis Structural Conditions—such as shifts in a hospital—or Basic Social Dimensions—success or failure—or Basic Structural Processes—the growth of health food stores. We take up these ideas at length in Chapter 6. They potentiate the analyst’s sensitivity to the theory in his date.

Modifiability became a quite important criteria to us as we and our students generated various grounded theories over the years. Always something emerges that requires generating qualification of what came before, but also causing a need to hang on to what one had generated up to that point as precious and inviolate. We soon learned that generation is an ever modifying process and nothing is sacred if the analyst is dedicated to giving priority attention to the data. Doctrinairism and excess loyalty to pet ideas defeat this priority. Though basic social processes remain in general, their variation and relevance is ever changing in our world. The theory can never be more correct than its ability to work the data—thus as the latter reveals itself in research the former must constantly be modified. Our style of generating—taken up particularly in Chapter 4 on Theoretical coding—allows for ready, quick modification to help explain surprising or new variations. We and our students have become quite skilled and facile in recasting the theory—such as developing a new condition—almost as the new data appears. It is only through this quick approach that the *tractibility* of grounded theory over social life is maintained, hence maintains its relevance. In contrast verificational study devoted to changing one hypothesis, which takes a long period of time at great financial cost, can easily lose the meaning of the hypothesis as the world passes it by. To keep up with change and new data, an hypothesis could have been changed several times while the

verificational effort is focused on a change that may have been out dated together with its original hypothesis.

These four criteria make both grounded theory and the action is purports to explain tractible. One can see both and their relationship to each other and then proceed accordingly. These criteria also lead us to an important property of grounded theory—it is *transcending* in many ways. Its generative nature always takes it beyond the substantive area being studied. A substantive theory invariably has formal theory or general implications. To study health optimizing by natural foods leads quite readily to thinking in terms of a formal theory of optimizing processes or in terms of an approach to the general optimizing processes of all health professions.

The grounded theory method, though uniquely suited to field work and qualitative data, can be easily used as a general method of analysis with any form of data collection: survey, experiment, case study.³ Further, it can combine and integrate them. It transcends specific data collection methods. The generative nature of grounded theory constantly opens up the mind of the analyst to a myriad of new possibilities for research, for ideas, for other substantive areas of endeavor, for formal theories, for projects and for variations in method.

The analyst is constantly going beyond his data to new problems and ideas. Sticking to the study and finishing it is a difficulty of self control found by many grounded theorists who wish to move on before they are finished. The growth and maturity over his data that occurs, as the analyst persists in his research, constantly puts him *beyond* his previous analysis, much as it got him out of the data and enabled him to return to it with theory. In retrospect we call this the delayed action effect—it takes time to transcend one's data with a theory, but it surely happens. And when it does happen, the analyst feels transcended with excitement over the theoretical mastery of his data. Others find in it a few well chosen categories that fit, and exciting possibilities for future research. A little goes a long way in the world of research on ideas. To discover the "redesigning of life styles" by the chronically ill, has set many a researcher to work on just how people redesign for what illnesses. One category can transcend many researchs and excite many researchers to pursue it such as the notion of "temporal pacing" and all the questions it raises.

Needless to say, the transcending nature of grounded theory makes the analyst quite sensitive to his data, where to take it conceptually and where to collect more data. It makes him humble to the fact that no matter how far he goes in generating theory, it appears as merely "openers" to what he sees that could lay beyond. This property, which theoretically sampling helps pursue, will be a recurrent theme throughout this book.

Grounded theory is transcending also in the sense that it conceptualizes the data, thus raising the level of thought about it to a higher level with a

3. *Discovery*, op cit., Part II

few concepts that indicate many heretofore seemingly separate incidences. Because of this conceptual transcending, we also found that grounded theory transcends, by inclusion and integration at a higher level, previous descriptions *and* theories about an area. Grounded theory *does not* confront other theories with being wrong or off, nor does it synthesize with other theories that seem right on. It does not, *because* these other works simply become part of the data and memos to be further compared to the emerging theory to generate an even more dense, integrated theory of greater scope.⁴ Thus their variables of relevance become included and integrated into the grounded theory.

Grounded theory has a strong productive emphasis. It assumes to make the enterprise worthwhile, that the analyst will produce a piece for others in the world at large whether by a talk, paper or monograph. It assumes a future contribution to a field. It assumes that grounded theory is not the end all for worthwhile productivity in sociology, but that it contributes its share among the many ways of doing sociology. It assumes that it can hold up in the world of evaluation and critique, and that the analyst will receive the rewards, jobs, grants and recognition deserving of a theorist or of a theoretical effort. Some public airing of the theory (usually publication) is a must so as not to commit the theory to the privatizing and precious use of a clique. In the bargain it frees the analyst from dependence on a clique and strengthens his position within it by broadening his base of recognition and analysis.

Grounded theory assumes that part of the method, itself, is the writing of theory. The way data is coded, ideas are memoed, and memos are sorted are all partly focused on designing and facilitating the writing of the theory. Writing is not left to chance or untrained skill. We discovered so many analysts floundering at this stage. How to write theory has become a significant part of the grounded theory method. The techniques of writing are taken up at length in Chapter 8: Theoretical Writing.

Grounded theory is ideational; it is a sophisticated, careful method of idea manufacturing. The conceptual idea is its essence. Reification and "hack" ideas are an ever present danger, the avoidance of which we discuss in the Chapter 4, on Theoretical Coding. The best way to produce is to *think* about one's data to generate ideas. The relative emphasis when generating is on thinking as opposed to learning. It is assumed that the analyst can learn well, has learned a great deal in the past and will continue to learn in the future. Focusing on generating ideas that fit and work the data takes considerable thought.

4. The implication is that the grounded theory be done well, the furtherance of which is one purpose of this book.

Good ideas must *earn* their way into the theory through emergence or emergent fit; they cannot be imposed because of learning or because of its extreme form: doctrinairism. Good ideas are one good test of the theory. They last, people cannot resist using them. They cannot forget them: for example who can forget "looking glass self", "generalized other", and "anticipatory socialization".⁵ The highest laurels in sociology go to the producers of good ideas. Good ideas contribute the most to the science of sociology. Findings are soon forgotten, but not ideas. The conceptual level of good ideas transcend the data also by going beyond it in use and time.

Immaculate conceptions are not necessary. Doing 80% of the job allows other researchers and sociologists to put in a lot of work specifying and explicating the concept, (e.g. reference group or awareness context) thereby making its originator even more known for productivity.⁶

The hard thought necessary to generate good ideas requires that the analyst treat "all as data" at some level. Whether his material is research data, others ideas on it or the literature, it is to be compared to the ongoing data and memos for the purpose of generating the best fitting and working idea. Generating good ideas also requires the analyst to be a non-citizen for the moment so he can come closer to objectivity and to letting the data speak for itself, and further from issue orientations implicit in the data which can dictate a biased view of it. When the analyst generates a good idea in thought, he must decontain himself immediately by writing a memo on it (see Chapter 5 on Theoretical memos). If he does not memo, he soon risks losing the idea by either forgetting or sidetracking it when going on to another idea or by giving it away verbally to a friend only to never recall it because of the energy reduction that comes through telling it to a positive audience.

We assume in grounded theory that good ideas will either be generated from the data or emergently fit to it. The latter—a form of borrowing—leads to a problem. The analyst must remember it is the idea he is using, not the person it was borrowed from. Given the scholarship training of most sociologists, in which men are respected for their ideas—sometimes excessively so—it is only a slight, easy step for the analyst to get lost in referring to the man and his work and to forget the theory being generated and the work it took to establish an emergent fit. It is also easy to forget the new meaning and transcending nature of the emergent fit while revering the originator of the idea, and therefore to forget his own contribution to the

5. The reader is referred to the classic works of Charles H. Cooley, George Herbert Mead and Robert K. Merton.

6. For one among many examples, the reader is referred to the many articles that have tried to respecify and reconceptualize "Social Structure and Anomie", Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill, Free Press, 1949) Chapter IV.

new use of idea. In developing the idea, the analyst needs only footnote another sociologist who *also* used the idea and place this person's meaning in the context of the newer meaning and its transcending use in the generated theory. Thus, the analyst does not deify another sociologist; he de-defies "great men" to their rightly portion of recognition and does not lose his own valuable contribution. His analysis is preserved as his own and not attributed with excessive reverence to someone, who did not do it. The analyst need not constantly refer to a Weber, Durkheim, Merton, Becker and so forth, and interrupt the flow of his theory. He merely footnotes.

Footnotes acknowledge that ideas are built on others ideas whether through style, sensitivity and/or similarity. By footnoting in this manner the analyst also avoids the opposite excess seen frequently in the literature: avoiding all recognition of others who might have had close or similar thoughts. This we call theoretical capitalism. Theoretical capitalists may copiously footnote to give an appearance of scholarship, but they never footnote another person or his idea, that comes close so as not to dilute or challenge their supposed originality.⁷ Or they do not footnote at all and so give the appearance of complete originality.⁸ In either case one cannot know how much is truly original and truly larceny. They, of course, indoctrinate their students to footnote carefully all ideas, especially theirs, in order to secure their ideational capital. They train their students not to have new ideas, to ensure the doctrinaire use of theirs. These theoretical capitalists put out catching, conjectural, but thin theories, so theoretical serfs will work on them to clarify, test and densify their ideas. The students are guided to dissertations on ideas of their capitalist advisors.

The grounded theorist is not a theoretical serf. He is merely a theorist among theorists, trying to generate good ideas that fit and work, placing other sociologists and not defying them, claiming analytic freedom, and earning the respect and recognition worthy of *his* theory and its contribution. He claims this freedom in a field that paradoxically, readily gives credit of all ideas to another, as if one had no idea (or right to one) until it came from some other. We find in most grounded theories that the analyst using an emergent fit soon goes quite beyond an originator's idea in many unanticipated, complex ways and thereby leaves the originator far behind. It is a travesty when the analyst gives the credit to the originator—who could never have thought of the ingenious new use—instead of taking it for himself.

Being doctrinaire, and revering "great men" interferes both with sensitivity to the data and with generating those ideas that fit and work best. It interferes because the assumption is one of forming the data to fit the doctrine. It is counter-emergent. It constrains, closes out or bogs down

7. Review the work of Robert K. Merton and Neil Smelser.

8. Review the work of Talcott Parsons and Herbert Blumer.

those wild thoughts or flyers that help so much in generating new categories or emergent fits.

The grounded theorist need not always look for areas that are untouched by sociological theory, so as to ensure the originality of his theory. It is a joy to blaze a new theoretical trail into an untouched area of inquiry—safe too. To supply the first theory for say—chronic illness—is to raise the probability of its use. But we have found in doing studies in well trodden fields, that there is still quite enough space for new work, if it is *grounded*. Social psychological problems of most relevance often differ as the area changes. New categories are always generated which increase the understanding of and traction over the area. And most importantly, a well done grounded theory will usually, of not invariable, transcend diverse previous works while integrating them into a new theory of greater scope than extant ones. This is a useful contribution.

In generating good ideas, the grounded theorist must always remember that it is what he *does* say that matters, not what he *does not* say. The analyst must work with what material he has. He cannot work with what he hasn't and therefore he need spend little or no time lamenting it. In the end, in research or teaching he can only claim what he did. What ideas emerge are relevant because of their theoretical power. What ideas did not emerge, did not because of lacking theoretical relevance—they accounted for nothing in the data. Yet, many a sociologist will chastize the grounded theorist for leaving out his "pet" category (e.g. "identity transformation") because the data hints of it or for leaving out a standard category, scholars say should always be included, such as a social class, or sex. It is not hard for another sociologist to point out what he thinks the analyst missed. Indeed, we are all trained to spot gaps, omission, misses or holes in what someone did.

The grounded theorist need only remember that the most parsimonious theory of greatest scope uses only those categories that emerge as working the emergent problems. If a so-called missed category was relevant, it would emerge on its own and integrate into the theory. To be sure it can always be forced on the data, but that still does not make it relevant or work unless it earns its way into the theory in the first place. The social class or sex of a student going through a becoming process in a professional school is only relevant when it is, *not* when it ought to be.

To be sure there will always be gaps. If his colleague is pointing out a wisdom not a whim, the analyst merely scans his data for indicators and comparisons and *may* generate a similar new category or a property of a category that corresponds to the gap. In short, misses may be possibilities for growth but surely not put-downs of it. Misses are also possibilities in research or teaching to the person who sees them, not an occasion to down the author for more coverage.

The above notions on good ideas, great men, footnotes, doctrinairism, omissions and so forth, may appear to the reader as anti-scholarly or anti-academic. This is not so. These notions are analytic and merely differ from elements of scholarship. Often the difference is only a matter of relative emphasis or degree not kind. The reader must understand the working distinction between the two so he can see how the analyst, quite necessarily, uses his scholarship in the service of analyzing data yet keeps the two enterprises clearly in view. The following chart depicts the relative, primary emphasis of each.

SCHOLARSHIP

1. Reading, learning and re-membering ideas.
2. Correct rendition of ideas.
3. Argument over ideas.
4. Criticize—highly evaluative.
5. Receive ideas.
6. Source (“great man”) of ideas is often more important than ideas (you are a scholar because you have read and learned people).
7. Deductive preconceived logic applied to understanding data.
8. Learned people love to point out gaps in analysis and put down another.
9. Full scholarly coverage based on the literature—non-parsimonious.
10. Full coverage leads to scholarly closures—all literature covered.

ANALYSIS

- Thinking and generating ideas.
- Taking chances with ideas, not always correct, while fitting them to data.
- Advise on ideas.
- Critiques to help generate better ideas.
- Earn ideas—generated from data or emergently fitted to data.
- Own ideas and ideas from data that fit and work are more important than scholarly source.
- Derive or induce logic from data then apply it to the data, after ideas emerge.
- Work with what one has, not apologize for what one has not.
- Theoretical coverage—only those ideas that work and the more parsimonious the better.
- Theoretical coverage leads only to partial closure as always new ideas help theory to work and be modified.