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A socio-ecological examination of the primary school playground: primary school pupil and staff perceived barriers and facilitators to a physically active playground during break and lunch-times.

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26 **Abstract**

27 Using the socio-ecological model as a conceptual framework, the objective of this study was
28 to determine playground users (primary school staff and pupils) perceptions of the barriers
29 and facilitators to a physically active school playground. Results from a series of qualitative
30 interactions with children (9 to 11 years old) and structured interviews with adult teachers
31 revealed key differences in the child and adult perceptions of the playground and the purpose
32 of break-times. A number of inter-related environmental boundaries and school policies were
33 identified as restrictive to children’s explorations and activity levels during ‘free play’ periods,
34 which centred on resource availability, accessibility and health and safety. Further, traditional
35 playground hierarchies act to promote and prevent physical activity engagement for different
36 groups (e.g. gender and age). This study provides an opportunity for primary schools to reflect
37 on primary school playground strategies and practices that are implemented at each level of
38 the socio-ecological model to encourage a more effective use of the playground during school
39 break-times.

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50 1. Introduction


51 High rates of physical inactivity have been reported among children of primary school age in
52 the UK [1] and worldwide [2,3]. Physical activity in this age group is important for a number
53 reasons; such as improved cardio-metabolic health [4,5], bone health [6], and mental health
54 [7]. However, physical activity is a complex and multi-dimensional behaviour determined by
55 numerous biological, psychological, sociocultural and environmental factors [8-12].


56 Ecological models of health (and physical activity) are one such method in considering a wide
57 range of determinants. The socio-ecological model, originally developed by Bronfenbrenner
58 [13] and adapted by Sallis Bauman & Pratt [14], focusses attention on the key individual,
59 interpersonal, environmental and policy agencies that have an active role in health and
60 physical activity promotion.


61 There is evidence to suggest interventions will fail to make long term, sustainable changes to
62 daily moderate to vigorous physical activity (MVPA) if they fail to adequately consider the
63 interactive characteristics between individuals and their environment at the intra-personal
64 (individual), inter-personal (social), environmental and organisational/policy level [15,16]. For
65 example, implementing changes at an individual level by encouraging engagement in
66 physically active pursuits during break-times will only work if appropriate environmental and
67 policy level changes are also implemented at the school. However, many childhood physical
68 activity interventions do not consider the multi-level influences on children's behaviour during
69 the intervention [17].

70 Despite the inconsistency associated with the design of physical activity interventions, it is
71 universally accepted that interventions within the school environment are important, and for
72 good reason [18]. Children between 5 and 11 years of age can spend up to 30 hours per week
73 within the school environment [19] making it an ideal setting to promote physical activity.
74 Within a school day, school break-times are reported to be the most favourable periods of the
75 day for children [20], providing periods of time for children to “*catch up*” with their friends [21]

76 which can positively impact on the integration and adjustment to the school environment [22].
77 However, as Baines and Blatchford [20] have indicated, schoolteachers (as part of the wider
78 institution) and external policy makers tend to hold contrasting views. That is to say, school
79 break-times are perceived by adult decision makers as a relatively unimportant pause in an
80 otherwise busy day.

81 Notwithstanding, it is largely accepted that the 'free' play behaviours of children can be shaped 
82 by the contexts in which they are placed, and the wider geography of the environment, such
83 as the human and physical dynamics of the space [23]. For instance, a previous playground
84 observation study [24] found that increasing the amount of play features on a playground can
85 increase the usage rate of these areas by 5 to 7%, per added feature for boys and girls,
86 respectively. Colabianchi et al. [24] observed 20 recently refurbished urban school
87 playgrounds and predicted that an increase of 10 items on the playground (e.g. sports courts)
88 would increase usage by 50% in boys and 70% girls. However, previous systematic reviews
89 of school break-time interventions have found both positive and negative effects on physical
90 activity levels [25,26]. For example, there was no consistent effect in outcomes reported in
91 multicomponent interventions (n=22) (including teacher training, line markings, staff and
92 student training), or structured break-time interventions (n=7) (including sports coaches,
93 organised games, PE activities introduced to break-times), with both positive and negative
94 results reported on physical activity levels [26]. Whilst interventions which introduced loose
95 playground equipment (n=5), though fewer in number, found consistent positive effects on PA
96 levels [26]. However, a recent observation study highlighted that the type of equipment
97 provided can have a negative effect on physical activity levels, such as providing equipment
98 that is too advanced for the children's motor skill ability [27]. Therefore, it is likely the variety
99 of effectiveness reported in the aforementioned studies are the result of contextual,
100 organisational and cultural differences, and the funding and resources available for use during
101 this period of the day.

102 In the UK, the Department for Education (DfE) provides eligible primary schools with funding
103 from the Primary Physical Education and Sports Premium (PPESP) with the aim of enhancing
104 the health and well-being of pupils. There is a growing amount of support for the use of the
105 PPESP to enhance children’s play and activity by making changes to the outdoor environment
106 [28,29]. Furthermore, one of the five key indicators aligned to the aim to support the
107 engagement of all pupils in regular physical activity is ‘*encouraging active play during break-*
108 *times and lunchtimes*’ [29]. Whilst the funding model and its key aims appear laudable and
109 transparent, the extent to which the experiences and viewpoints of children are considered
110 when designing suitable and sustainable outdoor play spaces remains unclear. 

111 According to Jones [30], many fail to consider the ‘otherness’ of childhood when trying to
112 understand children’s engagement with activities during break and lunch-times, and in the
113 design and development of a playground environment children will enjoy. Jones argues that
114 when adults revisit their own childhood experiences they are ‘filtered’ by the experiences they
115 have had since their adult becoming [30]. This is not to say these experiences are wholly
116 irrelevant, but they cannot be straightforwardly applied or transferred to children lives today.
117 As previous researchers have suggested, children operate with a different, more flexible and
118 unfiltered negotiation of their world [30,31]. Previous well-intentioned methods of increasing
119 physical activity in children has perpetuated a “controlling and oppressive way” [32] of coercing
120 children to engage in physical activities. With this in mind, we join a growing list of scholars
121 who argue that many adult prescribed and adult facilitated interventions can be
122 counterproductive [33-35] and call for the meaningful inclusion of children and key supervising
123 staff in the design of childhood play spaces in primary schools. 

124 Notwithstanding, the activities and spaces available to children during school break-time are
125 often designed, chosen, and enforced by adults, leading to the creation of play spaces using
126 the method of “seeing through the child’s eyes” [30]. Although there seems to be a genuine
127 attempt from the adult population in the primary school environment to promulgate activities

128 that might be attractive to children [27] there must be some acknowledgement of the
129 'unbridgeability' [30] between adult and child experiences.

130 Therefore, the aim of this study is to develop a deeper understanding of user's (children and
131 supervising staff) perceptions of the current playground environment available to children
132 during break and lunch times. Furthermore, to fully comprehend the interwoven and implicit
133 subcultural constrictions and enablers of playground action, child and staff perceptions of the
134 barriers and facilitators during designated physically active break-times are explored. Using
135 the socioecological model, which recognises the interdependent relationship between the
136 intra-personal (individual), inter-personal (social), and the environment, we explore some of
137 the reasons why children engage, like and dislike specific areas of the playground. To the
138 author's knowledge, this is the first socio-ecological investigation of the UK primary school
139 playground environment that has aimed to identify barriers and facilitators of physical activity
140 at each level of the socioecological model. In what follows, we argue that understanding how
141 these factors interact and influence physical activity levels of children during school lunch and
142 break-times can be used by policy makers and individuals in positions of seniority (e.g. head
143 teachers, trusts, funding authorities, local authorities) when planning school playground
144 provisions [16] and in the design of playground interventions.

145 **2. Methods**

146 The Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ) checklist [36] was
147 used to provide transparency and to ensure accurate reporting of the empirical data [37]. The
148 methods that follow are a brief overview of the procedures used in this study.

149 **2.1 Recruitment**

150 Following ethical approval to conduct structured interviews with adults, and focus group
151 activities with children in primary school educational settings (School of Health and Life
152 Sciences ethics sub-committee at Teesside University, Application Number: **250/18**), five
153 schools from the lowest 10% on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (English indices of

154 deprivation: Department for Communities and Local Government) from the Tees Valley in the
 155 North East of England were contacted via email. Schools were selected using the list of local
 156 schools (www.gov.uk) and were initially chosen for convenience of location and their urban
 157 setting. Schools were eligible to take part if they had a minimum of one year five and one year
 158 six class. Schools which matched this criteria were then contacted with details of the study.
 159 Four schools returned expressions of interest and were contacted further to discuss the project
 160 requirements and complete the school management consent forms. Head teachers from three
 161 schools (Table 1) returned managerial consent. Study information and the relevant consent
 162 forms were provided for eligible staff, parents of eligible pupils and pupils themselves (assent
 163 forms). Staff consent and pupil assent were completed immediately prior to data collection.

Table 1. School demographics

	Children on record (n)	Female/male (%)	No. of focus groups per school	% free school meals
School A	565	51 / 49	2	47
School B	520	49 / 51	3	49
School C	303	52 / 48	4	68

164

165 2.2 Participants

166 School staff that were in an active role within the playground or in physical activity promotion
 167 within the school (PE specialist, health leads, heads and assistant heads, school classroom
 168 teachers, playground supervisors and school sports coaches) and children from years five and
 169 six (9 to 11 years old) were eligible to take part.

170 Children took part on focus group activities which were conducted over the course of one
 171 school term. Staff were given the option of participating in a face to face structured interview
 172 or completing the interview asynchronously using an open-ended questionnaire format. Table
 173 2 reports the number of staff and children recruited in the study.

Table 2 Number of staff and children recruited

	Male	Female	Total (n)
Staff (n)	N/A	N/A	11

Pupils (n)	31	34	65
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174 Abbreviations: N/A = not available.

175

176 **2.3 Data collection**

177 Data collection activities were conducted by members of the research team (MG and AI) that
178 had previous training and experience of working with primary school aged children in a both a
179 prescriptive (teaching and coaching) and facilitative role (research activity).

180 **2.3.1 Data collection – Child**

181 Focus groups, inclusive of a number of data collection activities has been used as an effective
182 way to gather opinions and experiences of the children [38]. Focus groups are a rich method
183 of revealing attitudes, experiences, and perceptions of the target audience [39]. They are
184 particularly useful in the early childhood context, providing an effective means to involve
185 children in research that they are directly implicated in and by. The research team used a
186 variety of age-appropriate data collection techniques, such as visual prompts, mapping
187 techniques and drawing activities. Techniques such as these, can spark children's interest
188 and maintain concentration whilst providing opportunities for children to more effectively
189 engage with the task [40-42].

190 The focus group discussions were designed to last for a maximum of 60 minutes, as
191 recommended by previous research on the topic [38] and were conducted in a segregated,
192 quiet, informal space within their familiar school environment. To be confident in successful
193 data collection and provide a positive experience for the children we limited group size to eight
194 children [41]. At the start of each focus group, children were welcomed and introduced to the
195 focus group facilitators and read the summary of the information previously provided to them.
196 School staff were not present during the child activities as it was felt that the presence of these
197 authoritative figures might have affected the honesty in responses.

198 All focus group discussions were digitally recorded using audio devices. Noticeable changes
199 in body language or persistently repeated opinions were recorded in the facilitator notes to aid
200 in transcription, to support the outputs from the variety of focus group activities and to ensure
201 accuracy of the adult perception (i.e., the research team) of the child's experience/response.
202 Children were told the devices *"are here to record the discussions we have today about your
203 playground. They will only be used by the research team and the recordings will not be shared
204 with anyone else"*. Nevertheless, there were a few occasions where the children sought
205 confirmation of anonymity; *"will my teacher see this?"* This highlighted the power imbalance
206 between adults and children within this setting. Reinforcing the anonymous nature of their
207 responses and explaining that the role of the facilitators in this activity was to listen to their
208 experiences and stories and not to judge or discipline the children [38] served the purpose of
209 removing any anxiety of 'getting into trouble' for speaking openly, and reduced the inherent
210 power imbalance between adults and children with the facilitator from this point on being
211 perceived by the children as part of the group, maximising interaction and honesty.

212 During transcription, individual responses were coded by participant number only (e.g., pupil
213 1, pupil 2 etc.) through the recognition of a change of voice. Focus group activities continued
214 until facilitators believed the groups had reached a saturation point [43], at which point the
215 subsequent activities described below were introduced.

216 The first task required children to highlight on an A3 map of their playground, areas they liked
217 and disliked, and provide reasons for their responses (Figure 1). Mapping techniques and
218 visual prompts have been identified as an innovative and useful way for children to express
219 their views about the use of the spaces they occupy [38,42]. Children were encouraged to be
220 creative and draw on the maps if they wished. This activity was designed to gain a wider
221 contextual understanding of the children's perception of the playground environment [16].

222

223 Figure 1 Aerial playground mapping activity

224

225 Children were then asked to write the skills they perceived as necessary to use each
226 playground area on sticky paper notes and place them on the map over the corresponding
227 playground area. On completion of this task, children then removed the sticky notes and
228 placed them in a line from the most to least important, in terms of being able to use the
229 playground effectively (Figure 2). The outputs from this task were used to identify any specific
230 skills that children perceived as necessary to be able to be physically active in each of their
231 previously identified playground zones.

232

233

234 Figure 2 Skill requirements of playground areas and order of importance

235 For the next task children were given an A4 piece of paper and a selection of pens and pencils
236 and were asked to draw the image that came into their head when thinking of a playground
237 supervisor (Figure 3). Previous studies exploring the effect of the management and
238 supervision of playground activities on the level of PA during break-times have found
239 contrasting results [27,44,45]. This suggests that the roles, actions and behaviours of
240 playground supervisors can have either positive or negative connotations on children's
241 behaviour [46]. Using creative approaches, such as drawing, can be more effective in
242 interpreting a child's perception of their experiences and emotions [47]. To help them get
243 started with the task children were first asked to write some words down that described their
244 experiences of playground supervisors in their school playgrounds.

245

246 Figure 3 Playground supervisor drawings

247

248

249 The final focus group activity was designed to allow children complete anonymity and remove
250 themselves entirely from the confinement of restrictive adultist opinion. Children were given
251 one piece of A5 paper and asked to "write one wish for the playground that would make it
252 better and help you be more active during break-time". The children were then asked to fold

253 their piece of paper in to a small square and post it into *'the secret box'*. Previous work has
254 suggested a 'secret box' activity removes the fear children have of sharing their thoughts and
255 opinions [40].

256 The facilitator's role in these tasks was to look for clarity in the responses and activity outputs,
257 to ensure the children had considered each of the task requirements, and stimulate further
258 discussion amongst the group. The discussions were used to get more accurate
259 interpretations of the outputs during audio transcription.

260 **2.3.2 Data collection - Staff**

261 Staff were first offered a one-to-one interview to discuss the a priori themes of the project;
262 *barriers* and *facilitators* to a physically active playground during school break-time. However,
263 gatekeepers at each of the schools expressed a concern from teachers on allocating time from
264 their day to meet with the researcher. Furthermore, there was a concern that senior leaders
265 at the school would be able to identify who had and hadn't taken part in the project. For this
266 reason, staff were given the option of interview or questionnaire. All participating staff chose
267 to complete the questionnaire in their own time and were asked to be as detailed as possible
268 in their responses on the questionnaire, using additional pages if needed. Staff were offered
269 the option of providing contact details if they were happy to be contacted further for any
270 responses requiring clarification. No member of staff provided these details.

271 **2.4 Thematic data handling and analysis**

272 Qualitative data for both focus groups and asynchronous interviews were analysed using the
273 process of thematic data analysis as described by Braun and Clarke [48]. This 6 stage
274 approach allows a more detailed contextual examination of the pre-identified ideas,
275 assumptions, and ideologies underlying these a priori themes without sacrificing its flexibility
276 to provide "a rich and detailed, yet complex account of the data" [48; pg.5] that is both
277 theoretically and methodologically sound; and can be widely used across a range of
278 epistemologies and research questions [49].

279 **2.4.1 Child Focus Groups**

280 The first task for data analysis involved two researchers reading through every focus group
281 activity the children had completed to begin to identify recurring themes across each of the
282 groups (stage 1 - familiarisation with the data). Each activity was then reviewed again, and
283 initial features of the data coded in a systematic fashion to collate data relevant to each code
284 (stage 2 – generation of initial codes). Activities were reviewed a third time whilst listening to
285 the associated audio recording from the matched focus group to ensure the children’s written
286 points had been interpreted accurately. Audio recordings were not transcribed “verbatim” but
287 were used to ensure that valuable detail relating to the context and the specific nature of the
288 written responses were captured [50]. Excerpts from the audio recordings which matched and
289 supported the focus group activity outputs were transcribed verbatim (by each researcher)
290 and transferred to the table of responses and coded accordingly. As codes were collated,
291 potential themes began to emerge and all relevant codes (and associated data) were
292 transferred under these themes (stage 3 – search for themes). On completion, themes and
293 the associated data items (audio transcriptions and written text) were then reviewed to check
294 for accuracy of interpretation and for any repetition across themes (stage 4 – review of
295 themes).

296 The latent themes that emerged as a result of the aforementioned analysis were grouped
297 under the component titles of the socio-ecological model; individual, interpersonal, physical
298 environment and policy (stage 5 – Definition and names of themes). The multi-level framework
299 that the socio-ecological model provides, allows for a constructionist and interpretative
300 examination of the range of socio-cultural factors that can influence physical activity levels
301 during school break-times [16,48]. This final activity facilitated the creation of the final thematic
302 map and the final interpretive report (stage 6 – production of report) [48].

303 **2.4.2 Staff Asynchronous Interview Forms**

304 Completed staff forms were read in full prior to analysis to identify commonality across all
305 responses and to become familiar with the data. Data was then coded and handled following
306 the same processes described above. Responses from the child focus groups and staff
307 responses that did not recur frequently but that had particular resonance due to the language
308 used were grouped under the same code ('valuable insight').

309 **3. Outcomes**

310 A total of 65 children were recruited and provided parental consent and initial assent. At the
311 time of data collection four children were absent and three withdrew assent prior to the start
312 of the focus groups. The remaining 58 children (52% female) participated in focus group
313 activities.

314 Eleven members of staff from across the three schools returned consent to take part in the
315 study. Figure 4 and Figure 5 display the final thematic map for children and staff, respectively.
316 The thematic map is inclusive of the a priori themes (barriers and facilitators) and the deductive
317 themes from each of the data collection activities (playground map, essential skills, supervisor
318 drawings and discussions) and their association to each of the socio-ecological model
319 components. The secret box activity was also analysed in respect to the socio-ecological
320 model but did not contribute the themes identified in the thematic map.

321
322 Figure 4 Final thematic map showing the socio-ecological barriers and facilitators to a physically active
323 playground from the school children's perspective

324
325
326
327 Figure 5 Final thematic map showing the socio-ecological barriers and facilitators to a physically active
328 playground from the school staff perspective

329
330
331 A full list of the secret box responses can be seen in Table 3. Responses are separated for
332 children and staff and divided into small and large wishes dependent on the resources
333 (physical and monetary) needed or the surface area required [16]. Further, the wishes are
334 separated into categories based on their desired outcomes (i.e., physical environment,

335 individual/interpersonal or policy). Children’s wishes focussed on play, adventure, and fun.
 336 Wishes were predominantly concentrated on the provision of new equipment and longer
 337 break-times. Staff wishes for the school playground focussed on a wider development of
 338 playground structure, policy changes, management and support.

Table 3. School children and staff magic wish responses.

	Children	Staff
Physical environment	Small items	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scooters and bikes • Be able to use the grass • More equipment* • New fresh games
	Large items	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obstacle course • VR booth • More options for indoor play* • Climbing wall with buzzers • Running track • A field so we can do rugby • Make a basketball pitch • More playground things • Swimming pool • Big massive slide • Big Bouncy castle
Individual and Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cargo nets • Monkey bars* and gym equipment • Slides* • Swings* • Seesaw • Tyres • Bikes and scooters* • More equipment* • Make it more fun • Trampolines* • Something fun – like hunts • Fairer games • Spider net climbing frame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A school field for summer to avoid confrontation • New grassy area • Overhaul of the outside area - more engaging • MUGA on the concrete area (less injuries) • More outdoor to explore • A more interesting environment to explore • More space • A sheltered area
Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I wish to make everyone happy on the playground • More exciting games with more people • Do dangerous stuff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-regulation • Personal power and resilience – to cope with losing
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More options for indoor play* • More time* • Tag rugby coach • Less tolerance to bullies • More time on the ball-court • To be able to use key stage1 (5 to 7 years old) playground* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training for staff* • Training for playground leaders* • More equipment • Involve staff more

*Items occurred multiple times in magic wish responses (multiple = three or more)

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4. Discussion of research findings

342 The following is a further presentation of focus group outcomes, discussed in light of theory
343 and research on the individual, interpersonal, environmental and policy influences (barriers
344 and facilitators) on children's physical activity engagement during school break and lunch-
345 times and is subdivided according to the components of the socio-ecological model.

346 **4.1 Individual and interpersonal factors (children)**

347 From the perspective of the children, individual level facilitators of physical activity focussed
348 predominantly on the intrinsic desires to have fun (*"Because my friends push me on the low
349 swings, it's fun"; "it is fun to try new things"; "me and my friends play games here...the maze
350 game because it is fun"; "we play tag, it's very fun"*), for the enjoyment of activities (*"I like it
351 because I get to play football"; "I like playing there because I can play leapfrog"; "I like it cause
352 we can play tennis and get tennis rackets"*) and the belief they will do well in a specific activity
353 (perceived competence) (*"...football is a good sport for me"; "...because I likely do well"*).

354 Thus, congruent with the work of Snow et al. [35] who conducted focus groups on 8 to 10 year
355 old girls, children in this study cited fun, physical competence and mastery of skills as a major
356 influence on the engagement in play. In terms of physical competence, Barbour [51] suggested
357 that the type of activities children take part in are a result of similarities in movement ability
358 and movement skill competency, with children of low physical competence reluctant to
359 approach activities requiring a higher level of ability. Evidence suggests that when
360 fundamental movement skills are taught to younger children (4 to 9 year olds), increases in
361 confidence in their ability results in participation in physical activity during other parts of the
362 day [52]. As children age they are more aware of their ability, or lack thereof, and as a result
363 less likely to participate in activities they desire for fear of embarrassment [52,53]. The desire
364 for actual physical competence in Snow et al. [35] and the engagement (or disengagement)
365 in specific activities due to perceptions of physical competence in this study are slightly
366 difference concepts. However, the aspirations for and perceptions of competency were driven
367 by the same yearning for a sense of social belonging.

368 Children in this study identified that they took part in activities that they *“would likely do well*
369 *at”* but also participated in activities and occupied playground areas for social reasons,
370 irrespective of any assessment of physical competence and in the absence of a specified
371 activity (*“this is where my friends are”*; *“because most of my friends play here”*; *“because my*
372 *friends are here...”*). Parrish et al. [52] focus group findings from children aged 9 to 11
373 highlighted that children were more likely to take part in games their friends were playing, even
374 if they had a desire to play something else. One group of children in this study, when
375 discussing the activities on their playground highlighted:

376 *“let everyone take part and be nice, we don’t really care what skills you have we*
377 *just like letting people play, it’s just about friendship”*

378 Previous research suggested that there is more than a simple gender preference
379 operational when children select areas of the playground to “play” in [27]. The influence
380 of physical competence, perceived physical competence and friendship identified here,
381 re-enforces this assumption and highlights the potential impact of positive peer
382 relationships and social position as a driver for physical activity engagement. During
383 analysis, there was a clear interaction between findings at each level of the socio-
384 ecological model. However, this interaction was particularly evident between the
385 individual and interpersonal items in the model. Many of the ‘individual’ factors children
386 gave for liking and disliking areas were driven by the desire for ‘social’ interaction or
387 ‘social’ play. For example, the individual desire for quiet and relaxation (*“I like it because*
388 *it’s a good place to private talk”*) and for playing games (*“me and my friends play games*
389 *here”* and *“I play tag with my friends”*), were grounded by positive peer relationships.

390 The desire for children to engage in social games, requiring more than two people could be
391 perceived as a method employed by the children in this study at increasing the ‘quality’ of their
392 friendships

393 *“because we get to run around and play bulldogs”, “we sometime get to play*
394 *football tennis”, “we play football and sometimes tig”, “we play hide and seek”.*

395 However, the opportunity for social play was also often linked to less desirable playground
396 experiences (*“there are too many footballs”, “there are a lot of fights and it stops playing”, “play*
397 *is too rough”*) and traditional playground hierarchies (*“the boys take the ball court most of the*
398 *time”, “because other year groups use it”, “a lot of fights with year 6’s”*) which could be
399 considered as barriers to physical activity for individuals who avoid competitive games for fear
400 of conflict and to avoid the hegemonic masculinity [54] of the sporting (predominantly football)
401 culture of the primary school playground [55].

402 Hegemonic Masculinity is a term popularised by sociologist R.W. Connell [54], to explain the
403 recurring socially constructed practices that promote the dominant social position of males
404 and the subordinate position of females across the life cycle. Within a school playground
405 environment children can become invested in activities that help them to construct and
406 maintain a gender identity [56,57], with the environment and their peers often enabling their
407 construction of ‘masculinities’ and ‘femininities’ [57]. Although the presence and the magnitude
408 of the effect of these practices are likely school dependent, due to the varied
409 management/supervision of the playground between schools, football and fighting is an
410 activity that many boys continue to use to solidify their masculinity [56].

411 Some of the girls in this study identified hegemonic masculinities that are displayed during
412 break-times. As an example, the following conversation between three participants is worth
413 citing at length. On this occasion we use pseudonyms to enable the reader to distinguish
414 between participants.

415 **Pupil 1:** *“we don’t like playing here because you get hurt and the boys kick the*
416 *footballs at you” (Girl)*

417 **Pupil 2:** *“there is loads of fights” (Girl)*

418 **Pupil3:** *“No...” (Boy)*

419 **Pupil1:** *“YEAH THERE IS” (Girl)*

420 **Pupil 2:** *“have you seen how many fights happen” (Girl)*

421 **Pupil 1:** *“there was a fight here” (Girl)*

422 **Pupil 3:** *“oh yeah there was a fight there the other day” (Boy)*

423 **Pupil 3:** *“we have fights constantly” (smiling) (Boy)*

424 **Pupil 1:** *“I hate it” (Girl)*

425 One boy in this group can initially be observed trying to address these statements by perhaps
426 claiming either the absence of fights or trying to explain the reason for fights, before he is
427 interrupted. He then concedes and becomes somewhat proud with a contented claim of *“WE*
428 *have fights constantly”*. Whether he actively participates in this behaviour or not, this statement
429 could be perceived as attempt to associate himself to these hegemonic masculine behaviours
430 deemed important for his social status.

431 Football has been [55] and continues to be [33,58] the predominant activity dominating
432 playground space. Similarly, the schools participating in this study had playgrounds which
433 were monopolised by the established football space (marked and worn out pitches, caged
434 football zones, painted goals on walls). The domination of the playground space for football
435 leads to a desperate rush by children at break-times, to preside over the remaining playground
436 space. Thomson [33] observed children claiming possession of playground space by marking
437 areas with their coats and school bags for their activities and any attempt at invasion from
438 others resulted in retaliation and conflict. This issue becomes exacerbated during winter
439 months when access to the play spaces hosting these dominant playground games is
440 prohibited, directing these activities into the already contested areas of the playground.

441 **4.2 Individual and interpersonal factors (adult supervisors)**

442 Similar individual level facilitators were identified from staff outputs with play, exploration and
443 enjoyment identified as key to children's participation in activities.

444 *"Children like to climb on the rocks and tyres"; "children often look to play their own*
445 *games..."; "children like freedom and unstructured play"; "children enjoy playing*
446 *football"; "children enjoy the ball court and playing football"*

447 Although adults (staff) in this study seem to understand the individual value of play, they
448 identified more frequently with the extrinsic values of peer relationships and social
449 development:

450 *"teamwork and collaboration"; "ability to listen to others"; "...take turns and play*
451 *fair", "need to understand the rules"; "social is important to feel comfortable playing*
452 *in front of others"*

453 Previous research exploring children's geographies has highlighted that the intrinsic value of
454 play is not acknowledged by teachers and policy makers [35] and that opportunities for play,
455 particularly outdoor play is decreasing with increased emphasis on classroom based, adult
456 organised activities [59,60]. Furthermore, adults colonise children's places and create safe
457 and easy to monitor play spaces which often means the naturally sporadic and exploratory
458 play behaviours of children [33,61] are perceived as disruptive and undesirable, and are
459 consequently dealt with 'accordingly' (*"children need to be guided on how to play safely",*
460 *"children need to be aware they will be punished (equipment removed) for bad behaviour"*).

461 The staff opinions on the 'correct' use of the playground could be interpreted from a dualist
462 perspective, whereby there is either a right or wrong way of 'playing'. Although one cannot
463 argue that children will benefit from *"teamwork and collaboration"* and an *"ability to listen to*
464 *others"* throughout their child, adolescent and indeed adult becoming; the adult regulation and
465 enforcement of these qualities goes against the nurturing concept of physical literacy [62].
466 Children develop a natural, more flexible interaction with the environments that surround them
467 and can be very creative and innovative when adapting architectural features of the

468 playground such as bins, bollards, fencing, walls etc. [33]. Objects in the environment are not
469 inanimate features to which we ascribe an abstract concept but are meaningful in a sense that
470 they 'engage' with us, indicating how we can interact effectively with them [63]. Children in this
471 study identified areas of the playground that to the researcher looked unusable. However,
472 children circled these areas for the inanimate objects (bollards, rocks) that existed there (for
473 example, *"I like playing here cause I can play leapfrog"*). However, these behaviours are often
474 stifled by staff on the playground perceiving their use as inappropriate and unsafe (*"children*
475 *given free choice often decide on inappropriate games"*; *"children need to follow the rules and*
476 *understand what they can and can't do"*), and because they do not fit in with their framework
477 of rules. Jones [30] suggested adult constrictions, desires and agenda restrict children's lives
478 and their practices when discovering their identity in a changing environment.

479 Children learn very early on the notion of rule keeping and are generally faced with a daily list
480 of 'don'ts' before entering their play space [33]. Crease [64] explains that infants go through a
481 number of stages in their becoming, described as first 'I move', then 'I can', and finally 'I can
482 do'. A large proportion of children in this study were faced with physical barriers, boundaries
483 and rules which reduced their freedom to 'move' and therefore unable to explore the 'I can'
484 and subsequently the 'I can do...'

485

486

487 **4.3 Environment and policy level**

488 As previously mentioned, the large open spaces identified in this study were predominantly
489 grass fields and expansive concrete areas. Children highlighted these areas as positive for
490 their promotion of team games, playing with friends and their soft surfaces. However, the
491 children also highlighted that these areas often flood in wet weather leading to prohibited
492 access due to adverse conditions. The data from the children and staff suggest that this is an

493 issue that needs addressing at policy level with adequate investment in facilities for all
494 weathers:

495 Children

496 *“sometimes not allowed here when it is wet or muddy”, “can’t use it when it is full*
497 *of snow”, “not allowed in when it is snowing”, “we are not allowed on the grass*
498 *when it is wet”, “we are not allowed on when it is icy or snowy cause we might fall*
499 *over and get hurt”, “when it rains there are puddles for weeks”*

500 Staff

501 *“space is a problem when the grass is wet, children are confined to the hard area*
502 *which prevents children playing”; “bad weather prevents physical activity at break*
503 *times”; “not being able to use the field when it is wet has a negative impact as*
504 *children are not allowed footballs on these days”, “rock area is dangerous when it*
505 *is wet”*

506 As one child said *“if it is raining, why not put a roof on the MUGA”*. Similar findings from
507 Australian children, also recognised the need for ‘weather protection’ [65], demonstrating that
508 despite very different weather conditions, the play restrictions being enforced on children in
509 primary school playgrounds is an issue experienced internationally.

510 The appearance of staff members on the playground acting like shepherds tending their
511 disobedient flock may be driven more by the inadequate investment at a policy level in the
512 children’s physical, social and emotional development during this important period in a child’s
513 day [59]. This was further highlighted by a number of staff members who identified a lack of
514 staff resources prevented them from engaging in anything other than crowd control (*“there is*
515 *lots of activity and a lot to monitor for just two members of staff”, “not enough staff being able*
516 *to supervise and keep children safe”, “staff are limited, we already have some staff on the*
517 *playground but not all the time and they can’t cover everywhere”; staff are occupied dealing*

518 *with behaviour so seldom able to engage with activities*”). This is in contrast to self-report
519 findings from national (UK) school surveys from 1995 to 2017 which identified that there are
520 now more adults supervising than there has been in the previous twenty-two years [59].
521 Although these numbers are likely school dependent, the actions of the supervisors may be
522 more important than the numbers available [27]. Children highlighted the potential for teachers
523 to act as facilitators (*“some teachers won’t come out but ‘Miss D’ played like Mr Fox or*
524 *something with us before but not many (teacher) do”*) but are too often restricted by the number
525 of staff available (*“sometimes there is only one member of staff on duty so we have to stay*
526 *where the teacher can see them so they are safe and don’t get hurt”*; *“...but I do get it cause*
527 *there are only like two dinner nannies”*; *“that’s the part we are not allowed down, well we are*
528 *sometimes but not all days when we don’t have teachers, because when it (the bank) goes*
529 *down the teachers can’t see us”*).

530 Children at participating schools had a mix of teachers, teaching assistants, ‘dinner nannies’
531 and ‘playground friends’ that helped monitor the playground during break-times. Children
532 highlighted they would like their teachers to be more involved during break-time but highlighted
533 they wanted teachers based on ‘sportiness’ (*“...because they are good at sport”*, *“teachers*
534 *are not that sporty”*, *“Mr T and Mr L are the sportiest but there are no more sporty ones”*, *“our*
535 *teachers are not that sporty, there is only like three and they are not that sporty”*).

536 Although in the current study we were unable to distinguish between staff positions within the
537 school (head teacher, teacher, teaching assistant etc.) due to the anonymous nature of the
538 staff responses; previous research has found that head teachers from different schools have
539 very different ideas about the value and role of break-time [20] and therefore, the behaviours,
540 actions and opinions of the staff (from staff and child perspectives) in the current study may
541 be a result of (or lack of) the agenda at senior management levels.

542 Overall, staff perceived their role as a combination of encouraging a supportive and safe
543 environment (*“supervisors should be at their station, organising resources and facilitating”*,

544 *“adult presence ensures that children feel safe and are used for advice and support if needed”*
545 and promoting engagement in physical activity (*“my role is to keep children safe and happy*
546 *and to encourage some children to be active”*). However, the perception from children was
547 that the role of playground staff is for safety and the enforcement of rules and boundaries
548 (*“sometimes we do use here for bulldogs, but the younger ones are doing it now so we are*
549 *not allowed”, “if we go on there the teachers can’t see us and we’ll get dirty”, “dinner nannies*
550 *say we can only play with your own year group...it’s so annoying...”*, *“they look after us, stop*
551 *fighting and help people who are hurt”*).

552 The active interest of the adult members of staff in the school were explored during the
553 playground supervisor and playground activities tasks. When asked about the staff who were
554 present on their playgrounds during break and lunch-times, this is just a sample of the words
555 the children used to describe them:

556 *Safe; loving; try to keep us safe from bully’s; caring; angry; helping; laughable;*
557 *sharing; bossy; hardworking; respectful; kind; mad; safety; hate.*

558 Although mostly positive, the variety of qualities cited by the children gives an idea of the
559 variety of adult personas that occupy children’s playgrounds during break-times. It is therefore
560 important that these staff members understand the importance of their behaviours and the
561 positive influence they can have on the social and physical activity behaviours of the children
562 who occupy the playground space.

563 From the variety of staff and child accounts provided in this study and in previous studies
564 [16,33] on the level and role of staff interaction during break-times it seems that, beyond child
565 safety, there is no standardised, universally accepted requirement for behaviour of playground
566 staff in the primary school setting. This allows for a large variation in the day to day
567 management of the school playground, dependent largely upon the member of staff who
568 happens to be ‘on duty’ that day (mood, personality, personal agenda, etc.).

569 All the schools in this study were in receipt of the PPESP. Only one school in this study
570 mentioned break-times as part of their planning, with structured lunchtimes with a sports
571 coach, lunch supervisors and pupil leaders to target inactive children during break-time
572 reported. Whilst this one school's acknowledgement of break-times as a period of time that
573 would benefit from investment, the plans and ideas mentioned previously were alongside the
574 provision for the daily mile, access to new sports and activities and a lunchtime wake up dance
575 activity – all of which was allocated a combined £750 from the £19,520 PPESP allocated to
576 this school.

577 Whilst the physical activity levels of children during break-times is much more complex [66]
578 the lack of valuable and sustainable investment in playground provision is worrying and in
579 contrast to the recommendations provided by the DfE [29]. A continuation in the
580 marginalisation of break-times for more curricular focussed adult led activities (i.e., PE);
581 alongside a reduction in time provided for break-times [20] and inadequate investment in the
582 primary school playground provision, will lead to further reductions in exploratory play and
583 reduced opportunity to develop physical literacy. Furthermore, without recognition of the
584 importance of break-times in children's physical, social and emotional development and the
585 provision of a sustainable intervention, the current playground behaviours will continue to re-
586 enforce the adult-child power distribution [30].

587 **5. Summary and conclusion**

588 This study aimed to use the socio-ecological model to explore school children's and school
589 staff perception of the school playground and identify reasons for enjoyment, engagement and
590 dissociation with specific playground areas. There have been limited studies exploring the
591 socio-ecological model components within a school context [16] and to our knowledge this is
592 the first use of this framework to qualitatively explore the complex contexts presented to UK
593 primary school children during their 'free play' time.

594 This qualitative evaluation has identified differences between the adult and child perception of
595 the primary school playground. These differences affirm the need to actively include children
596 in future playground planning. Many schools ask their pupils '*what should we do?*' Or '*what*
597 *would you like on the playground?*' However, for most, this is where this partnership ends.
598 This does not go unnoticed by the children who have invested a part of themselves in these
599 tasks ("*the teacher said we could get like a science area outside to grow plants and things but*
600 *she never did it...I don't know why*"). It is important to follow up on these activities and
601 feedback to the children on the actions been taken, even if the outcome may be perceived as
602 undesirable, so that they feel that their opinions are heard and of value [41].

603 This somewhat unconscious stance of power and knowledge is often overlooked in
604 environments where the focus is on making well-intentioned changes to the environment 'for
605 the children's sake'. However, the issue still remains and we, as adults know little about the
606 child's becoming and cannot accurately see things from a child's perspective [30].

607 Effective injury prevention efforts at school are important and should address several factors
608 (i.e., Individual, interpersonal, environmental and policy). However, improvements to the
609 physical environment of the school through regular safety assessments, good quality
610 maintenance, and repairing hazards immediately after they are identified [67], can contribute
611 to the safety of the school children without the need to restrict children's access to specific
612 areas. Although the safety of children should be paramount, children should also be allowed
613 some freedom to choose the activities they wish to take part in, to be able to begin to explore
614 the concept of becoming physically literate. Physical literacy, focuses on the lived body, the
615 embodied dimension of human existence [63], therefore nurturing this aspect of children's
616 lives will make a distinctive contribution to their becoming.

617 As mentioned previously, football dominated the playground, monopolising the space
618 available. Cashmore and Dixon [68] explain that football is inescapable, a sport ingrained into
619 the fabric of communities. It would seem that this is also the case within primary school

620 playgrounds, where football remains the activity dominating the available space. Therefore,
621 as many children engage in this activity during break-times, it can be considered an important
622 and effective catalyst for physical activity participation. However, the barriers that this
623 dominance presents to children, either not interested in football or who have yet to
624 demonstrate an acceptable skill level, cannot be overlooked [33,58,69]. Conversely, as
625 previous focus group studies with children have suggested, it is the lack of alternative space
626 that is the main concern [69] and removing the facilities for football would remove opportunities
627 for the large numbers of children who currently use football as a means of being physically
628 active. Therefore, provision of additional space and/or more effective use of the current space,
629 alongside more inclusive and enjoyable activities for boys and girls is needed.

630 The findings from this qualitative evaluation provides an opportunity for primary schools which
631 match the description of the schools participating in this study, to reflect on primary school
632 playground strategies and practices that are implemented at policy level. However, this study
633 is not without its limitations. Firstly, restricting recruitment to year five and year six children
634 may have overlooked the barriers that exist in the younger key stage 2 children, particularly 7
635 year olds, who will have just been introduced to this new playground. This limits the ability to
636 generalise this study's findings to children of different age groups who are likely to have a
637 different playground experience. As this study did not receive any funding there was a limit to
638 the number of schools and participants the research staff could manage in the time frame.
639 However, limiting the sample to two year groups from four schools allowed for a more
640 comprehensive data acquisition, evaluation and synthesis. Regarding the concept of the 'adult
641 filter', the authors of this study cannot remove their own subconscious adult filter and adult
642 embodiment; however, the comprehensive, flexible and robust methods employed during child
643 focus groups, in addition to the use of respondent validation techniques is a strength of this
644 study and minimises any inaccuracies in the adult interpretation. Furthermore, the use of two
645 authors throughout data collection, transcription and analysis enhances the trustworthiness of
646 the findings presented in this study. In addition, due to staff concerns with interviews

647 (mentioned previously) all staff responses were completed using questionnaires, limiting a
648 more in-depth investigation of the answers provided. It is hypothesised that a more
649 comprehensive response and discussion would be possible using interview methods, and
650 every effort should be made to remove the barriers perceived by members of staff in this study
651 in future studies. Finally, this data was collected prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. During the
652 pandemic in the UK, primary schools changed the structure of break-times, increasing the
653 number of breaks for fresh air throughout the day. This change in structure might have affected
654 children and staff perceptions of the value of break-times. Future research should explore the
655 effect the COVID-19 pandemic had on the perceptions of school break-times during and post
656 pandemic.

657 By attempting to understand the effect of the various complex interactions that exist within
658 primary school playgrounds will help raise awareness within schools of the implications of
659 supervisory interactions, judgement and management of behaviour, on the health and
660 wellbeing of pupils [70].

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