Interactional formats and institutional context: a practical and exploitable distinction in interviews

This item was submitted to Loughborough University's Institutional Repository by the/an author.

Citation: ROBLES, J. and HO, E., 2014. Interactional formats and institutional context: a practical and exploitable distinction in interviews. Text and Talk, 34 (4), pp.443–465

Metadata Record: https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/22146

Version: Published

Publisher: © De Gruyter Mouton

Rights: This work is made available according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) licence. Full details of this licence are available at: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

Please cite the published version.
Interactional formats and institutional context: a practical and exploitable distinction in interviews

Abstract: This paper applies practically oriented discourse analysis to focus group interviews using conversation analytic principles to show how interactional qualities demonstrably different to analysts are also treated as such by participants. We take a grounded practical theory perspective to claim that the empirical and a practical distinction is an exploitable resource for participants, with important implications for the goals of research interviewing, interviewee participation in focus groups, and analyses thereof. We identify participant techniques for doing and attending to conversational and institutional interaction formats, including turn-taking organization, embodied acts, addressivity, and emotion displays, and how those techniques allow participants to co-construct emergent stances alongside answering questions.

Keywords: research interviews, focus groups, discourse analysis, grounded practical theory, institutional discourse, alternative medicine

DOI 10.1515/text-2014-0011

1 Introduction

This paper analyzes discourse in research focus group interviews to consider how participants construct and orient to their own ways of talking as “like an interview” or “like an ordinary conversation.” The paper examines this difference as a resource for focus group interviewing practice. We identify specific participant techniques – turn-taking organization, embodied acts, addressivity, and emotion displays – which exploit the distinction between interactional format and institutional context to get important work done which is relevant to the multiple participant goals. We consider how interviewers can attend to these moments and

*Corresponding author: Jessica S. Robles: Department of Communication, University of Washington, Box 353740, Seattle, WA 98195, USA. E-mail: roblesj@uw.edu
Evelyn Y. Ho: College of Arts and Sciences, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117, USA. E-mail: eyho@usfca.edu
strategically encourage them during interviewing. We also demonstrate how analysts can gain important insights from such moments.

These findings address at least two important research areas. Firstly is the ongoing interest in localized enactments of taken-for-granted communicative genres/frames such as ordinary/institutional in data (see DeFina and Perrino 2011; Hester and Francis 2001; Speer 2002; Watson 2009). Secondly is a theoretical/practical interest in how to conduct and analyze focus group interviews regarding the apparent dilemma between moderator constraints and participant interaction (e.g., Kitzinger 1994; Myers 1998; Markova et al. 2007). This is relevant to Morgan’s (2010) proposal for more research into how specific strategies for conducting focus groups affect their interaction. The value of co-construction in interviews has been championed at least since Briggs’s (1986) classic work, but specific strategies for how this can be encouraged, achieved, and analyzed in focus group interviews – as well as what it specifically accomplishes interactionally – demands more attention.

We use grounded practical theory and discourse analysis to analyze audio/video-recorded focus group interviews with people who have HIV-related neuropathy (numbness, tingling, and/or pain in extremities) before and after a series of acupuncture and massage treatments at a public health clinic in California. In the first section of this article, we review literature on institutional talk and interviewing practice. The ensuing analysis uses conversation analytic techniques to discuss how participants build different formats of interaction and orient to their features as more or less institutionally relevant. Finally, we conclude with implications of this analysis for focus group practice.

2 Institutional talk and interview practice

This paper analyzes the usefulness of focus group interview moments during which participants construct and orient to their interaction as more conversational within the ongoing interview context. This section therefore considers how language and social interaction research (particularly conversation analysis, CA) has articulated distinctions between ordinary and institutional talk specifically with regard to interviews, and implications of this for focus group research practice and analysis.

Context in institutional settings is a resource for interpretation, locally produced turn by turn. If talk and social roles have “institutional character” (Drew and Heritage 1992: 21) – if “participants’ institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged” (1992: 3–4) – then the format of talk can be deemed institutional. Schegloff’s
(1992) characterization of this CA approach to institutional talk is that institutionality as a feature of context/social structure must be analytically demonstrated to have procedural consequentiality. Rather than assuming talk is institutional because it occurs in an institutional context, CA studies focus on how the actions in talk orient to the institutional character of the situation.

A variety of ways of taking and designing turns, organizing and advancing sequences, and choosing what to say can all be institutionally specific, relevant to situated goals, constraints, and inferential practices (Heritage 2005). There is not a clear line between what counts as institutional or conversational talk but there is a “defensible distinction” (2005: 141). As Drew and Heritage (1992) point out, participants have methods for interactionally achieving institutional talk and constituting themselves as part, for example, of an interview process. Talk constructs institutionality in situated instances, but also reflects or is “institutionally inflected” by institutional contexts and members (Tracy and Robles 2009). Institutional settings are marked by metacommunicative awareness of some purported link between what happens in the situation and how that should match the purpose of the situation.

Most methods of focus group interviewing involve an interviewer who sets the agenda to some extent and at least two interviewees (ideally six to ten) (Morgan 1998). Focus groups are seen as uniquely valuable due to the interaction among interviewee participants (e.g., Kitzinger 1994; Markova et al. 2007). This interaction can allow participants to speak with their own voice (Wilkinson 1998) and manage their identities and alignments with regard to important life issues such as health (Ho and Robles 2011). In addition to these goals, interaction provides insights for ethnographers and analysts (Kratz 2010). These points emphasize the extent to which interviews can be creative research tools for the joint construction of meaning among participants as well as with the interviewer (Briggs 1986; Douglas 1985; Holstein and Gubrium 1995).

However, in social science research it has been the norm to do focus group interviews in a relatively structured manner (Morgan 2002). Practical considerations for focus group interviewers thus often involve methods of control: keeping talkative people from rambling, encouraging shy people to speak up, stimulating waning discussions, and reigning in tangents. These goals lead to the assumption that “focus groups will fail without the active direction of a highly skilled moderator” (2002: 148). While the purpose of having a focus group is to encourage multiple voices, the general advice in conducting focus group is that useful discussion can only occur with proper monitoring (Myers 1998).

Puchta and Potter (1999) identify this tension in focus groups as being between the structured element (in which predefined topics and/or questions are meant to guide or control discussion) and the interaction element (in which talk
is ideally meant to be spontaneous and conversational). This apparent dilemma between participation and constraint (or as Markova et al. [2007] put it, “free but moderated”) is a theoretical concern related to the goal of focus group interviewing, a practical concern in terms of running focus groups, and an analytic concern for working with focus group data. This tension results in disagreements among scholars as to what counts as a focus group, including assertions that a focus group without interaction defeats the purpose of the method, but also that discussions not strongly guided by a researcher take the “focus” out of focus groups (e.g., Morgan 2002).

Practitioners have responded to this problem with different strategies. For example, asking elaborate multi-unit questions can provide a range of potential responses to participations and manage difficult tasks in institutional contexts (Linell et al. 2003; Puchta and Potter 1999). This attention to strategies for engaging with particular interactional moments dovetails with this paper’s analytic aims. Rather than starting with focus group interview goals and methods, this paper begins as the aforementioned researchers do by analyzing first what participants (interviewers/interviewees) actually do in focus group interaction, and what that accomplishes.

We approach the challenge of practical import through grounded practical theory (GPT) (Craig and Tracy 1995) which recognizes espoused goals of institutional settings and the extent to which interactional choices accomplish, challenge, or reveal different goals. Thus we address how relevant sequential actions, institutional context, and ostensive aims can be mutually informing, with implications for practice. GPT focuses on three levels, beginning by looking at troubles, dilemmas, or challenges in a particular setting (problem level), for example, the idea of “answering interview questions” versus “getting off track.” GPT reconstructs instances across multiple cases as more general problems, matching troubles with the practices participants employ to enact and manage them (technical level). Finally the norms and ideals which shape the setting are examined and critiqued (philosophical level).

Markova et al. (2007) – countering Myers’s (1998) assertion that focus group interviewees do not engage in many so-called “conversational” commonplaces of ordinary interaction – suggest that participants attend to institutional goals and sociability of everyday talk. Furthermore, Sarangi (2003) proposes that interview participants orient to the task-oriented, informational exchange of interviews, but often through social and relational practices and by shifting in and out of different conversational frames (similar to Markova et al. [2007], “communicative activity types”). This paper analyzes such moments of “shift” and examines how marking of the shift functions as an exploitable practical and analytic distinction. Can this distinction be useful for the goals of interviewing in general, and for...
focus group interviewing in particular? How can focus group interviewers and analysts attend to conversational moments in institutional contexts in order to generate or examine what is accomplished by these shifts?

3 Methods

We address how research focus group interview participants display in their talk an awareness of distinctions between interaction formats, and how these displays can be useful to interviewees, interviewers, and analysts. Discourse analysis in GPT takes a practical approach grounding analysis in empirical observation to develop a normative discourse for improving practices. This paper’s discourse analytic method is similar to action-implicative discourse analysis (AIDA), a GPT method which uses the details of everyday talk attended to in discourse analysis to form the basis of conceptualizing dilemmas and strategies and reflecting on how to improve communication to accomplish situated institutional goals (Tracy 1995). Taking this approach in this paper means seeing focus group interviewing as a practice which faces various challenges, and within which participants deploy techniques for managing those challenges. It also means being oriented to the practical usefulness of analytic results, while grounding those analytic results in analyses of situated discourse.

The discourse analysis constituting basis of this paper’s analysis is more conversation analytic than a typical GPT/AIDA study. This is because the argument is based upon a CA distinction regarding what constitutes institutional interaction or ordinary conversation. CA studies have been important in demonstrating this distinction with empirical rigor, but have been less attentive to practical concerns (but see Antaki 2011); therefore, this paper employs CA conventions within the GPT perspective described, including Jefferson-style transcription of talk and nonverbal actions (Jefferson 1984), and an empirical concern with making visible how participants achieve and orient to talk distinctions in interviewing procedures. This involves treating interaction as a sequentially organized endeavor through which participants conduct practical activities. The resources for organizing interaction involve the taking of turns at talk, the designing of actions for opening particular projects, and the addressing of relevant next turns toward the progressivity of situated activities.

Data for this project come from a larger research study examining the use of acupuncture and massage therapy for the treatment of HIV-related neuropathy that was approved by the University of San Francisco’s Institutional Review Board (see Ho et al. 2007). Participants were interviewed both in small groups and individually at the beginning and end of the 12-week trial. Interviews
were semi-structured and included questions regarding participants’ experiences of neuropathy, knowledge/use of various treatment options, and sources of information/communication for/about that knowledge. Focus group interviews comprised two–four participants with one facilitator/interviewer. The focus groups lasted 20–50 minutes and were videotaped. Individual interviews lasted 10–25 minutes and were audio-taped. In total, 51 interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The next section presents excerpts from two interviews during the study’s end (Group A and Group B). These group interviews were selected to discuss in detail because participants were highly interactive. We found these groups useful for a deeper investigation into what participants might be doing to give an observer the sense of an interactional quality. While we focus the presentation of our analysis on these two groups, there were interactive moments like these in other groups as well. Group A lasted 40 minutes and included the interviewer (I, Ho: off-camera) and participants Donna, Carter (who requested to be off-camera), Sean, and Kevin. Group B lasted 50 minutes and included the interviewer (I, Ho: off-camera) and participants Bill, Henry, Anne, and Leland (all on-camera) (all participant names are pseudonyms). The first part of the analysis illustrates key distinctions in the data by analyzing how one focus group accomplished different interactions in two different instances. The second part focuses on two particularly salient examples which demonstrate multiple ways participants distinguish their engagement, and how this distinction is made relevant.

4 Doing interviewing, doing conversation

This section begins with a typical example of focus group interviewing where the participants manage their talk in more structured ways. This is followed by an example later in the interview where interviewees orient primarily to meanings they work out among themselves rather than to the interviewer’s questions. The purpose of these first two examples is to demonstrate key distinctions across the data where interactional practices occasioned more conversational talk. These examples are followed by an analysis of two excerpts highlighting a range of practices.

The allocation of turns in interview situations can be markedly different from ordinary situations (e.g., Tracy and Robles 2009, 2013). Mundane group talk certainly includes questions and selections of next speakers to provide answers; but it would be strange if someone at a dinner table asked a question, and then each other person answered one at a time, one after another, in seating order. Yet this sort of sequential distribution of turns does occur in group interviews, and was
common in many of the focus group interviews. The interviewer would ask a question, sometimes (not always) selecting a speaker from the small group of interviewees. Unless selected by the interviewer, one interviewee would ultimately self-select, generally following a brief period (often nonverbal, sometimes verbal) of negotiation among the interviewees for who would take the turn. Following the initial interviewee’s answer, another interviewee would be selected by the interviewer or would self-select to provide their answer, and so on “down the line” (the initial answerer at one end of a row of chairs or immediately to the side of the interviewer if seated in a circle, then progressing one by one down the row or clockwise/counterclockwise until everyone had given an answer). The first excerpt below is a typical example (see the appendix for transcription notations).

(1)

209 I: are you doing anything different in terms of
210 treatment for your neuropathy including
211 different medications or holistic treatments or
212 self treatments than you were when you
213 started
214 Kevin: yep (.) yeah the only thing I do for my
215 neuropathy- and it really works well for me is
216 when I get in the shower I scrub
217 ((six lines omitted))
223 I: and do you do that every day
224 Kevin: um just about (1.0) when I’m having-
225 when it’s really bad I’ll do it twice a day (1.0)
226 I have really clean feet
227 Carter: I think the only thing- the only treatment
228 I’ve done as I mentioned was one treatment
229 ((three lines omitted))
233 Donna: I’ve been using the exercises and the uh
234 roller

The example in Excerpt (1) displays many of the features of institutional interviews attested in the literature (e.g., Drew and Heritage 1992; Heritage 2005; Hester and Francis 2001) and present across most of the data. Information-seeking questions are initiated by the interviewer, as in lines 209–213. In this case Kevin, the first to provide a response, self-selects and addresses the interviewer with his turn (lines 214–216). The interviewer expands the sequence with a follow-up question (line 223) to which Kevin replies (lines 224–226). Carter then
self-selects to take the next turn (lines 227 and 228). At the close of his turn, the interviewer provides an acknowledgement (line 232), and then Donna self-selects in line 233 and the pattern continues. The remainder of the analysis presents examples where participants organized their turn taking, embodiment, addressivity, and emotion displays to achieve/shift between conversationally marked and institutionally marked forms of interaction.

In Excerpt (2), in Group A, the interviewer had asked Donna whether she was feeling better because of her regular acupuncture/massage treatments. Following the selection of Donna as next speaker, the interviewer engages in insertion sequences within the larger question, asking follow-up questions of specific individuals. In this excerpt, Donna responds that she was feeling better because of “the acupuncture and massage and the little green pills” (line 147), after which the interviewer asks another follow-up question regarding the name for the little green pills. At this point in the conversation, Donna’s manner changes: she ceases to speak to or even to notice the interviewer, even though the interviewer asked her the question; instead, she orients in embodiment and addressivity to her fellow interviewees as potentially sharing relevant background knowledge about pills.

(2)

147 Donna: the acupuncture and massage and the little green pills
148 I: what are the little green pills
149 Donna: you know those (1.0) little green pills
150 ((to the group)) those little ((hand gesture))
151 Sean: [(looks at Carter, leans toward Donna)]
152 Kevin: [(raises left hand, thumb/index finger 1/2 inch apart)]
153 Donna: [(points at Kevin’s hand, imitates gesture)]
154 ((group leans in))
155 Kevin & Donna: [(same positions as lines 152 and 154 respectively, making small movements over series of turns)]
156 Kevin: hh yeah ((nodding))
157 ((group nodding, Donna nods once))

Rather than explaining that she forgot the name of the pills, Donna invites the other group members to help by stating, “you know”, and turning toward them in line 149. From the moment of Donna’s verbal and nonverbal orientation to the group, the interviewees enact an almost entirely silent co-investigation into “the little green pills”. They engage in a series of simultaneous and nearly identical gestures as well as more subtle nonverbal mimicry (such as leaning forward
– a move Donna often makes in this extract and elsewhere). Kevin takes up the role of jointly identifying the pill with Donna, and indicates satisfaction with the conclusion even though no one says the actual name of the drug (line 159).

By the end of the short extract, everyone was nodding (line 160) reaching an acceptable resolution to the question of the little green pills. The common reference to (presumably) the same pill is enough to satisfy the group while the interviewer still does not know what it is. Donna does not address her response to the interviewer nor provide an answer to the question, returning to a previous topic after this. The interviewer does not pursue a response or participate noticeably: though she was off-camera and we cannot tell how she might have been engaging nonverbally, she does not speak and none of the interviewees look in her direction during their quasi-silent discussion about the pills. For the moment, the interviewer is positioned as an outsider (Modan and Shuman 2011).

What about this exchange is relevant to the institutional nature of the situation? The action undertaken by the group was initiated by the interviewer, who ostensibly occupies the position of being “the one who asks the questions.” The participants’ uptake is relevant to the question. “What are the little green pills” (line 148) is an information-seeking question. Reasonable responses might include a name or a description (beyond their being little and green), or a description of what they are for. But the group never provides such responses, instead working to establish shared understanding of what pills are being talked about. Furthermore, the response is not directed to the interviewer. Finally, the interviewer does not ask the question again or indicate that the response is problematic. When Donna resumes talking, addressing her subsequent verbal turns to the interviewer, she does so by expanding her earlier turn (from line 147).

This example indicates a format distinction regarding distribution and relevance of turns:

1. One format where the interviewer asks a question, a participant answers (sometimes with follow-up questions from the interviewer), the participant indicates turn completion, and the next participant begins a turn to start the process anew.
2. Another format where the interviewer asks a question but the interviewees direct their responses to each other, their responses are not unambiguously relevant, and a relevant answer is not pursued by the interviewer.

There is also a difference in addressivity. It is not unusual for an interviewee to confer with other members when they share similar background knowledge. But the shift in address being accompanied by a subsequent lack of providing the delayed response to the interviewer recasts Donna’s shift in address as away from the task at hand of “being an interviewee.” Donna’s body and gaze shift toward
her co-interviewees is another indication of attending to them as her primary audience and joint-conversants. When Donna re-orient's to the interviewer, she addresses her next turn to the interviewer as if the prior interaction had not occurred. This example illustrates some of many recognizable techniques for realizing a conversational moment within an institutional interaction. Such moments got something done: they establish understanding among the interviewees such that they can carry on with the substance of the interview about how their neuropathy has or has not improved, even though a response to the interviewer’s specific but ultimately less important question (about the little green pill) was not specifically provided as an “answer.”

The next section analyzes two longer interactions where multiple techniques accomplish “doing conversation” within the interview context. These examples demonstrate the range of techniques across the data, and illustrate how these enact and constrain disagreeing and agreeing stances (respectively) and how orienting to talk as interview-like or conversation-like serves as a strategy for doing these emergent stances while accomplishing the institutional business of responding to interviewer questions. Excerpt (3) is also from Group A, later in the interview. Kevin has self-selected to tell a story about losing neuropathy in his hands after taking a drug (lines 514–547).

(3)

I just wanted to say quickly um
(0.5) I- I heard you ((gestures to Donna))
mention that you have neuropathy in your hands (. and years ago I had neuropathy
in both of my hands and I was (0.5) going
to ((clinic name)) at the time (0.5) and the
nurse practitioner that I was see:ing (0.5)
(0.5) prescribed uh (. ) Eloliv which is
a (0.5) uh mood? Elevator?
mmhmm
and uh but in a very sma:ll dose
mm hmm
so it wouldn’t cross the barrier an- to
become ((waves hands in a circle)) a mood
( . ) elevator
mm hmm
it worked directly on the neuropathy [ (1.0 ) ]
[ ah↑hh]
and I haven’t had it (. ) it disappeared (0.5)
I haven't had it in ((shakes head looks at Sean))

uhh"t"fffffff

I: Wow. [And are you still taking that drug or?]

Kevin: [a decade ((shaking head))] No

I: So it maybe cured? It

Kevin: Right right but I had it in both hands and I

couldn't figure out why my hands were

asleep all the time . (.) that's what I thought

(.) a::nd he explained to me that it was neuropathy

and that's what he prescribed?

Donna: mm

Kevin: and I took it for a while [I can't]

Donna: [mm ]

Kevin: remember how long I took it

I: uhhuh

Kevin: but (0.5) in my hands (.) I have (.)

thankfully I have (0.5) no problem

I: that's great (.) great

Kevin: °so I just wanted to say°

I: ok

(1.0)

((10 lines omitted))

Carter: [So (0.5) ] and I know there are those (0.5)

pills that they give you and I went through

all of them to (0.8) for treating well it's not

really treating neuropathy I guess it's just

(0.5) masking the (. ) sensation or some[thing

Kevin: [I y'know

I really don't know (0.3) what it ifit- I can't

say it masked the- th-e the pain an th- the

discomfort because I don't have it now

I: Mm[m

Carter: [yeah

Kevin: it was a very small dose it was like (1.0)

twenny five milligrams?

I: hmm

Carter: huh?

Kevin: um just a very very (. ) very small dose

but today I (.) I heard you talking about it

in your hands and I remembered (. ) having
it and (0.8) how uncomfortable it was for
me now I have it in my feet but (0.5) um (0.8)
(0.8) it- it addressed the problem and today it’s-
it’s (.) fine as far as my hands go
I: mm hmm
Kevin: because we filled out those green sheets
[yeah mmhmm]
Kevin: =whatever in your hands (.) I always put never
(0.8) or you know
I: uh huh
Kevin: at this point in my life (.) never doesn’t bother
me in my hands
Carter: °mm°
I: that’s great
Kevin: but it’s always (.) it’s always hurt me in my feet
I: yeah yeah
Carter: It's probably something that they massaged or a
needle in your foot that went up to your hands
((group laughs))
Kevin: (could) be eh- na- uh cause I’ve only been coming
here about a year and a half
[(.) an this was like thirteen years ago
I: [ah so this was like before then?] Oh ok.
[ Ok ] [W↑:o::w ]
Kevin: [this was way] [this was] =
Carter: [Oh really? ]
Kevin: = long cause I no longer I’ve been with
((hospital name)) for about nine years (0.5)
switched from ((hospital name)) out to
((hospital name)) this was well before I switched.
I: Okay
Donna: It would be nice to find medication (.)
where you don’t have to take medication to
counteract the medication
I: Ye::s
Sean: Yeah
Kevin: Isn’t that the truth
((group laughter))
I: Very good point yeah does anyone have
Carter expresses doubt toward Kevin’s story in lines 561–565. After discussing his own health regimen with the interviewer (omitted lines), Carter calls Kevin’s information into question (line 563 and 564, “not really treating neuropathy”), indirectly referencing “those pills that they give you” (lines 561 and 562). Even after Kevin proffers several accounts for his apparent cure, Carter dismisses the remedy (lines 596 and 597). In his dismissal, Carter rejects premises of Kevin’s evidence (lines 515, “years ago I had neuropathy” + lines 528 “[Elovil] worked directly on the neuropathy” and “[the neuropathy] disappeared”, line 530). The content Carter rejects is not so much the drug itself, but that the drug could cure neuropathy, which Carter, preferring alternative treatments (e.g., diet: omitted lines), does not accept.

Kevin apparently realizes Carter’s stance: he tries repeatedly to reclaim the efficacy of his remedy, downplaying the “drugness” of the drug (line 572) and reiterating its success (line 581 “it addressed the problem”). Kevin reasserts the factuality of his claim by restating it as a real, recordable part of his past (line 578), which could not have been induced by acupuncture/massage, and was listed in the larger study’s measurement tool (line 584). Thus Kevin challenges Carter’s assumption that any form of biomedicine cannot directly treat neuropathy. The conversation takes a turn to the hassle and side effects of taking medication in general rather than whether it can treat neuropathy or not.

The disagreement Carter and Kevin accomplish through their series of disalignments, challenges, and accounts is marked by various conversationally oriented practices. This shift occurs primarily around lines 565 and 566. The practices employed in this shift are not a priori conversational rather than institutional, but for this interview, participants treated what they were doing as a “disagreement with each other” rather than as “answers to the interviewer’s questions.” Kevin hears Carter’s turn (lines 561–565) as disagreement and begins to formulate an expansion of his point to counter Carter. He addresses Carter; Carter demonstrates that he hears Kevin’s turns as addressed to him, addressing Kevin verbally with “your” in his response (line 597). Similar patterns occurred across the data: even in cases where participants largely addressed their disagreeing-with-other-interviewees responses to interviewers, they still acknowledged/addressed/oriented to interviewees with whom they disagreed, for instance, by gesturing or turning their head briefly.

The way turns are allocated and who takes them is also distinct: the interviewer, for instance, does contribute throughout, but often minimally through continuers such as “mm hmm” “mm” and “yeah.” Also Kevin addresses the group
as a whole rather than the interviewer (verbally in lines 513, 514, 577), and other participants demonstrate their awareness of this by responding nonverbally (gaze, body orientation, also Donna’s continuers, lines 541, 543), as if in conversation with Kevin (rather than as observers of Kevin’s responses to interview questions. The presence of overlap during this period of disalignment and mutual addresivity between Kevin and Carter demonstrates that they are attending closely to each other’s turns and turn completions, and is also a way of doing-wanting-to-make-a-point. Kevin and Carter’s talk at this point, Kevin’s in particular, also displays markers of emotionality through disfluencies (lines 566–569, 581, 582, 599) and extreme case formulations such as “very very” and “always”, “never” (lines 576, 587).

That this interaction is also treated as disagreement between Kevin and Carter by the rest of the group is further evinced by how it is closed. Although Carter’s “oh really” in line 605 could be a partial mitigation of the disagreement, Donna’s comment in lines 611–613 seems to occupy “saying something everyone can agree with” in this position as a way of closing the argument or affirming that it is closed and can be transitioned out of. This also marks a potential topic closing, which the interviewer utilizes explicitly (lines 618–620). She makes a quick acknowledgement, ends the topic, and previews an end to the interview, asking for final comments. This is a typical way an interviewer might attempt to shift or end a topic, while still allowing for more to be said – so as not to be seen as cutting people off. This does not mean that the interviewer saw this segment of interaction as inapposite to the goal of the interview, but her framing of the activity and reference to the next phase (individual interviews) is the first moment in several turns that the interview is clearly identifiable “as an interview.” The disagreement in the interview may seem off-topic, beside the point, or even like bad data, bringing up a possibly too-subtle distinction between what constitutes a “cure” compared to what the interviewer’s question may have been looking for. But the moment revealed a central conflict about drugs among people with HIV (see Ho and Robles 2011), a conflict which could have been elided or simplified if this moment had not happened.

The next excerpt from Group B features similar practices which do agreeing stances. This excerpt begins with Leland telling a story about the difficulty with drugs: disliking, but at the same time, being alive because of them. This leads to a discussion of drug side effects, a common gripe among people taking multiple medications for HIV.

(4)

528 Leland: and then he say something (0.5)
529 ((Name)) you are concerned (0.5)
about things that they say you might

[have but ]

Bill: [you might have ((nodding))]

Leland: you might ne-ver have† them

I: That’s true that’s true [mm hmm]

Leland: [You know?]

(.3) And then he says the same thing

((extends an open hand at Henry))

you might be alive today thanks to the

Leland: [hm ((nods))]

medication you go to ((sweeps hand into air)) South Asia

or Africa they don’t even have medi-

even you know] they don’t even=

Bill: yeah ((shakes head)) yeah no]

Leland: = have it. Hhhhh [so ]

((extends an open hand at Henry))

you might be alive today thanks to the

Anne: I make myself read all the [small] print

((holding hand in the air like holding a

pamphlet)) on the printout that I get (.)

when I have new medication

Leland: uh huh

Anne: once

Leland: uh huh

Anne: and then I throw it away

[((throwing gesture))]

Leland: [yeah ]

Anne: because because ((nod)) ]

Bill: I throw it away ((small tossing gesture))]

Anne: I jus I know I wanna know ((looks at I))

but I don’t really [wanna] um ((finger

snapping motions))[(2.0) ]

Leland: [I know]

((slaps hand onto palm)) [I’m reading]=

Henry:

[((nods)]

[do I really wanna?

Bill: [the minute that I know ]

Leland: = I’m reading [all those labels and I’m]

going crazy ( )

Anne: [to dwell on em (.). yeah ]

Bill: ((hand palm up)) the minute that I kn:ow

((Henry, Anne, Leland look at Bill))
570 Bill: (hands mimic skimming a list))
571 I start having them (.).
572 (I, Bill, Henry, Anne laughs, Leland smiles)
573 Bill: I have all this ((hands like checking
574 an item off a list)) Right now.
575 [Even before I take]
576 Leland: [Yeah but (0.2) ]
577 I: [Yeah you're like 'I am' feeling itchy’
578 (I, Bill, Leland laugh, Henry,
579 Leland smile and look down))
580 Bill: Eh [hah hah hah hahaaaaaa]
581 Leland: [Yeah but. But I would like to say something]
582 what was the original question

Leland’s utterance (line 528) is relevant to what the interviewer just asked, while directing gaze intermittently at other interviewees. By line 535, however, Leland’s turns are primarily addressing other interviewees, with the interviewer almost a peripheral participant. Though present (off-camera) and possibly engaging nonverbally using eye contact or nodding, the interviewer makes no verbal contributions after that point until line 577, silent except for one line of laughter alongside others (line 572).

The interviewees address one another verbally and nonverbally throughout, overlap in almost every turn, and display emotions of being amused and frustrated toward the topic. They also display a sense of being animated, emotionally invested. This is the clearest of several moments when this group do mundane conversation in ways indistinguishable from ordinary talk (Koven 2011) regarding sequential actions, turn taking, and embodiment. Even the interviewer, when contributing, did so as an ordinary participant – her utterance is formulated in a conversational style, not through her role as interviewer.

The participants recognize a distinction between an interview framing, and what they have been doing. This is partly marked by their response to the interviewer’s contribution, which is not enthusiastic, followed by laughter but no uptake. When the interviewer speaks (line 577), it signals a break in the interaction (line 578–582). The participants may be treating her contribution as relevantly linked to her role as the interviewer. Certainly they do not ratify her joining the sharing of experiences which, indeed, she does not share. The interviewer neither has HIV, nor neuropathy, nor complicated regimens of drugs. Though speaking for someone’s experiences to align with them is a feature of ordinary talk, its problematic occurrence here suggests the interviewer is not quite distinct from her institutional role. The interviewer’s contribution is received with laughter,
but Leland does not display uptake and his next turn asks about the original question, orienting to the business of the interview (line 582). The interviewer repeats the questions and the group returns, albeit briefly, to responding one-at-a-time, as on a panel, orienting to the interviewer as the addressed recipient. It is not clear exactly when Leland began to re-orient the group to the institutional format. In line 576 for instance he says “yeah but”, and we might see line 581 as a repair of that. In either case, his utterance explicitly marks a format shift and displays noticing the difference.

In this analysis, illustrative excerpts from the data displayed ways participants do institutional and ordinary talk in a focus group interview setting through turn allocation, verbal and embodied orientation/addressivity, and emotion displays. In conversational moments participants did not talk “as interviewees” or “as interviewers.” They did not orient to institutional goals, identities, or contexts. They did not remark on their own talk as “on record” or “in answer to a question.” Certainly in many cases their talk was (or began as) being relevant to a prior question by the interviewer, and certainly the topics they talked about were relevant to the frame of the interview in general and its clinical setting (though as people who all share medical concerns this does not preclude their covering the same topics in a mundane setting). Participants did treat this way of talking as distinct from an “institutional format.” “The interview” was treated as being linked to answering questions, one at a time, in response to the interviewer’s questions. Thus, deviations from this were often explicitly commented on at some point, as when someone says “what was the original question?”.

Of significance is that by enacting and orienting to these format distinctions, participants demonstrated an array of techniques for managing the co-construction of stances while ostensibly delivering answers to the content of interviewer questions. The institutional context was foregrounded and backgrounded variably across turns. This shifting between formats, and attending to those shifts, offered participants methods of jointly formulating emergent topic-relevant stances indirectly to interviewer questions. This is of practical use to participants in the Garfinkelian (1967) view that it is part of how they make sense of ordinary activities, but is also practical in that it offers material which may be useful for focus group interviewers and analysts.

5 Discussion

In discussing how analysts can account for content and interaction in interviews, Tracy and Robles (2010) offer one suggestion to consider “news at an angle” – that the content sought through questions may be produced in interaction, but
emerge in indirect ways not obvious in participants’ ostensible answers. Furthermore, Morgan (2010) claims that while many studies have championed the value of analyzing focus group interaction, not enough studies offer detailed ways such analyses can guide interview conduct. This paper analyzed the sequential production of the very distinction focus group practitioners label “more interactional” and considered specific ways participants orient to and accomplish that. This section reflects on these findings, considers limitations and future directions, discusses contributions and implications, and offers suggestions regarding practical use of the findings.

Focus group practitioners, scholars, and other professionals can easily articulate a difference between what appears to strictly “do the interview” and what does not. This analysis furthered empirical evidence that such differences exist and how they are produced (see Hester and Francis 2001), and suggests these differences have value for how interviews unfold, how participants can make use of conversational resources for ongoing institutional business, and how analysts can make sense of interviewee “answers” in light of content-related goals.

This analysis has limitations. For example, though the claims are based on a range of data, the analysis focuses on a few key cases. However, these were selected deliberately: we do not make any claims regarding generalizability (see Jaworski and Coupland 2006), but rather characterize how particular moments unfolded across these data using excerpts where such moments were salient. Furthermore, we offer reconstructions of a particular interactional and analytic distinction relevant to the field. Specifically, this paper contributes to ongoing discussions regarding the nature of institutional context and its procedural relevance for talk.

This paper also contributes to focus group practice and research in interactional and institutional goals of interview conduct. From a GPT perspective, analysts identify participant techniques for dealing with a situated problem and how their techniques relate to local ideals of practice. Though none of the practices in this analysis were treated as highly problematic, the received view for focus group interview practitioners is that conversational interactions and interview goals may be in tension. Participants certainly treated their talk as potentially “off-track.” Whether constituting a dilemma, the distinction provides an available resource, one which is drawn on by interviewers and interviewees to conduct themselves together. When engaging in acts locally produced as institutional asking-and-answering of questions, or doing moments of mundane conversation, participants can shift their footing (Goffman 1981; Koven 2011), locally attending to the institutionality recognizable to them and constructed by them. The institutional format for interviewing was treated as situationally consequential, and thus distinctions from it were marked as being built in different ways and with
different features. Interviewees in this analysis recognized goals and roles of the institutional setting; their talk was organized to at times match those expectations, and at times to disregard them.

Finally, this paper offers findings which may be useful to focus group participants and analysts. Morgan (2010) argues that interaction does not always need to be a foregrounded goal of focus group conduct/analysis – depending on research goals, content alone and quoting selected interviewee responses in write-ups often suffices. However, Morgan identifies one kind of interaction he suggests is “almost always” important to attend to as interaction: when participants rapidly give multiple, chaining responses, as analyzed in this paper. Analysts of discourse and others who value interaction in focus groups suggest that fostering interaction in focus groups is important in many ways, but many stop at the stage of planning focus groups (e.g., Kratz 2010), offer inexplicit suggestions (e.g., Markova et al. 2007), or do not explain how their findings can be used in practice or in analysis (with exceptions to the last point, i.e., Puchta and Potter 1999; Tracy and Robles 2010).

Interviewers may see it as their institutional task to frame interviews (Wadensjö 2008), often as distinct from ordinary conversation (Roca-Cuberes 2011); while interviewees frequently attend to expected interview norms (Blum-Kulka 2009), they do not always do so. Of what potential practical use are participant orientations to and shifts between interactional formats? How can researchers make the most of this when it is unexpected, or foster it when it is desired? For interviewees, these format resources allow participants to switch between “giving answers to the interviewer for institutional goals” and “having a conversation.” If interviewees sometimes “get conversational” in interviews it is probably for a reason. An approach to research which aims to serve participants as well as researchers should provide interviewees with the context and resources to formulate their experiences and construct their stances jointly, together and with/to one another (e.g., Ho and Robles 2011).

For interviewers seeking to attend to these concerns, looking closely at when and how format shifts occur is pertinent to maintaining interaction and institutional focus. Learning to identify when participants orient to interviewing (interviewees orienting to the interviewer and institutional goals, one-after-another turn distribution, low displays of emotion) or conversation (interviewees orienting to one another, high overlap, co-constructed narratives, emotion displays) can help interviewers more readily track participants’ meaning making as it unfolds. It also provides opportunities for interviewers to respond in different ways. The interviewer’s moves in these data indicated attentiveness to the ideal of fostering interaction by at times encouraging the conversational format (minimally participating, not pursuing uptake, contributing as a co-participant...
rather than as an interviewer) but also by eventually reorienting to the institutional nature of the interview (participating more substantively, pursuing uptake, marking interviewer status, remarking on format shifts). In conducting focus group interviews, moderators who attend to these moments can develop skills in encouraging and reorienting. This can make attention to guiding interaction a more explicit and teachable body of knowledge rather than relying on interviewer talent or serendipity.

Attending to format shifts can also signal to analysts when participants are providing useful answers to question content, and when they might be providing an unexpected angle by constructing a stance the interviewer would not have known to seek and would not have designed into questions. Zorn et al. (2006) argue that by moving from data collection (research-focused) to interaction (participant-focused), scholars can use focus groups to simulate everyday interaction, examine social processes, and analyze effects of influence in non-decision making groups. Modan and Shuman (2011) also suggest that interview participants may have their own equally relevant goals as much as the interviewer does. Making space for the possibility of multiple goals among all participants allows the ongoing experience of the interaction to be just as fruitful as what is gleaned from it.

6 Conclusion

A special issue of Language in Society (2011) investigated interviews as a site of research analysis. In returning to Speer’s (2002) questioning the “natural” and “contrived” data distinction, DeFina and Perrino (2011) proposed that interviews be on equal footing with so-called natural data in narrative analyses. These scholarly conversations and others (e.g., Hester and Francis 2001; Watson 2009) indicate ongoing practical and analytical issues to consider when it comes to conducting and using research interviews, and that the issue of how to characterize interaction and its relationship to institutional contexts continues to be one of lively debate.

This paper used grounded practical theory and discourse analysis to analyze focus group interviews in a public health clinic. Using conversation analytic techniques within grounded practical theory we discussed how participants build different interactional formats, with implications for interviewing, analysis, and participation practices in interview contexts.

Acknowledgment: The University of San Francisco’s Jesuit Foundation Grant provided funding for this research.
Appendix: Jeffersonian transcription notations


Text [text] Brackets Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.

= Equal sign Indicates no hearable pause between utterances.

(# of seconds) Timed pause A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.

(0.0) Micropause Indicates a brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.

(.) Period Indicates falling pitch utterance-final.

? or ↑ Question mark or up arrow Indicates rising pitch utterance-final or internal (respectively).

- Hyphen Indicates an abrupt halt, cut-off, or interruption in utterance.

° Degree symbol Indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.

text Underlined text Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.

::: Colon(s) Indicates prolongation of an utterance.

(text) Parentheses Indicates speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.

((text)) Double parentheses Annotation of nonverbal activity such as smiling, laughing, pointing, etc.

References


Kitzinger, Jenny. 1994. The methodology of focus groups: The importance of interaction between research participants. *Sociology of Health & Illness* 16. 103–121.


Sarangi, Srikant. 2003. Institutional, professional, and lifeworld frames in interview talk. In Harry van den Berg, Margaret Wetherell & Hanneke Houkkoop-Steenstra (eds),
Analyzing race talk: Multidisciplinary approaches to the interview, 64–84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.


Zorn, Theodore, Juliet Roper, Kirsten Broadfoot & Kay C. Weaver. 2006. Focus groups as sites of influential interaction: Building communicative self-efficacy and effecting attitudinal change in discussion controversial topics. Journal of Applied Communication Research 34. 115–140.

Bionotes

Jessica S. Robles (PhD, University of Colorado at Boulder) is Lecturer at the University of Washington. Her research looks at the moral implications of discursive and embodied communicative practices in various institutional, interpersonal, and cultural contexts. Address for correspondence: Department of Communication, University of Washington, Box 353740, Seattle, WA 98195, USA <roblesj@uw.edu>.

Evelyn Y. Ho (PhD, University of Iowa) is Associate Professor at the University of San Francisco. Her research examines the intersections of culture, health, and communication and is focused on the use of holistic therapies in the United States. Address for correspondence: College of Arts and Sciences, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117, USA <eyho@usfca.edu>.