Southern Taiwan Workshop on Qualitative Methods in the Social Sciences

Center for Organizational Research University of California, Irvine National Sun Yat-Sen University Taiwan, 2009

Paul Dourish, Martha Feldman, Calvin Morrill

Part I: Ways of Knowing

Two Kinds of Research Questions

What questions

- What factors cause people to vote for one party or another?
- What factors are associated with the adoption of particular technologies?

How questions

- How do people make the decision to vote for one party of another?
- How does the practice of adoption affect the meaning of the technology?

Two important paradigms

- Positivist
 - Deductive
 - Hypothesis testing
 - Variance models
 - Causal relations
 - What questions

- Interpretive
 - Inductive
 - Meaning-oriented
 - Process models
 - Causal mechanisms
 - How questions

Either paradigm can be quantitative or qualitative

	Positivist	Interpretive
Quantitative	Common:	Rare:
	Use numbers to test hypotheses	Use numbers to create explanations
Qualitative	Common:	Common:
	Use non- numerical data to test hypotheses	Use non- numerical data to create explanations

Research Sequences

Positivist

- Theorize (formulate question and hypotheses)
- Gather data
 (operationalize variables)
- Analyze data (test hypotheses)
- 4. Write findings

Interpretive

- Gather data (follows some but not extensive theorizing)
- Analyze data (develop categories)
- Theorize (establish significance and relevance of categories
- 4. Write findings

Combining Paradigms

- The paradigm has to fit the question
- Interaction of two paradigms strengthens both
 - □ Sequential combining (Lin, 1998)
 - Positivist research can precede interpretive
 - Find statistical correlation, then explore processes and culturally embedded understandings that underlie correlation
 - Interpretive research can precede positivist
 - Find processes/series of understandings that relate one phenomenon with another, then find out how widespread the relationship is
 - □ Embedded combining (Roth and Mehta, 2002)
 - Positivist analysis informed by contextualized understanding
 - Interpretive data gathering informed by positivist inquiry

A Key Qualitative Field Technique

Participant Observation

- Directly watching a group, context, and/or practice while playing a role in it (roles can vary)
- Associated with ethnography
- Usually extends over long periods of time
- May be used with other qualitative methods: visual, interviewing, collection/interpretation of documents, etc.
- Can be systematically conducted

Attention to:

- Context and the socially constructed character of meaning and action
- Social process ("how" questions and mechanisms)

Why Engage in Participant Observation?

- Enables direct access to people's daily routines
 - Opens up settings, processes, and events that would otherwise be closed
- Facilitates direct experience
 - Experience "near" vs. experience "distant" research
 - Practical, emotional, and moral knowledge
- Builds in a longitudinal component
 - Gets at the "how" of social life, which we often miss in so much of social science because we jump to the "why" first

Challenges of Participant Observation

- Access and Rapport
 - On access, see Morrill et al (1999) and Feldman et al (2003)
 - On rapport, see Snow and Morrill (2005)
- Strategies for accomplishing it
- Sampling what you observe
- Representing what you observe

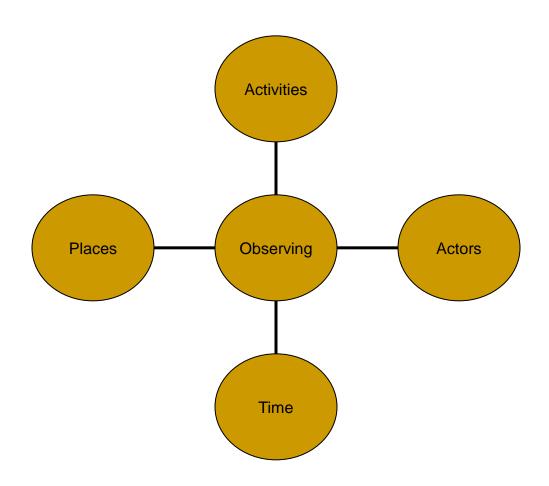
Strategies of Participant Observation

- Dual role of "participant" and "observer"
 - Suspension of the "natural attitude" (Schutz 1967)
- How you position yourself in the field determines what you can observe
- Structural positioning (Adler and Adler 1987; Snow and Morrill 2005):
 Membership
 Complete

Peripheral Complete

- Examples of role identities in the field (Snow et al 1986):
 - "Buddy researcher"
 - "Controlled skeptic"
 - "Credentialed expert"
- Can use different mixes of positioning and identities in the field depending upon research questions, field conditions, and where you are in your project

What Should You Observe in the Field?



Developed by Calvin Morrill and David A. Snow in the Graduate Seminar in Qualitative Field Methods, Department of Sociology, University of Arizona and University of California, Irvine.

Sampling Strategies

- Random sampling not as useful for qualitative fieldwork
- Purposive sampling
 - Niche/maximum variation (ecological mapping)
 - Typical cases
 - Extreme or deviant cases
- Opportunistic/convenience sampling
- Snowball Sampling
- Theoretical sampling

Final Tips on Fieldnotes

- Multiple kinds of fieldnotes
 - Observational notes
 - Analytic/theoretical notes
 - Methodological notes
 - Reminders
- Process of recording notes:
 - □ Mental jottings → written jottings → elaborated fieldnotes
 - Written jottings are phrases, words, fragments of quotes that you write down that will jog your memory and help you elaborate into a full fieldnote later
 - The question of paraphrasing vs. taped communication
 - For each hour in the field, plan at two yours typing the notes later
 - Important to type elaborated fieldnotes as soon as you can once you're out of the field
- The importance of organization and retrieval

Part II: Observational Exercise: Instructions

Spend one hour in a public place on or off campus (a restaurant, public square, temple, retail store, train station, etc.) observing the types of people present, what they are doing, the types of social interactions in which they are engaged, the spaces in which their interaction occurs, and how people are giving and receiving service.

Use the observational exercise form.

Part III: Discussion of Observational Exercise and Visual Ways of Knowing and Interviewing

Discussion Questions

- What did you see in your observational exercise?
- What did you look at? Why?
- How did you position yourself in the field as observers?
- How did people respond to you, if at all?
- What did you find interesting?
- What did you choose to include in your fieldnotes?

Visual Ways of Knowing and Interviewing

Materials beyond the "text"

- Traditional focus on "text"
 - But: Talk does not simply "reflect" social reality
- The "textual turn"
 - Deconstruction, production, author and authority
- The role of other media?
 - Photographs, video, audio, digital multimedia, designs, artifacts
- Four "modes"
 - For the researcher
 - With the researcher
 - From the participants
 - For the broader audience

For the researcher

- Documentation and scene-setting
 - Prompting the memory
 - Putting you back "in the moment"
 - Documentation for later analysis
- Analysis proceeds in much the same way
- But, dangers:
 - Cameras do lie (or at least, mislead)
 - Instruments distance you from the setting
 - In the moment "oh, I don't need to watch this carefully, I'll get it from video"
 - Instruments intervene in your participation
 - For good and for ill

With the researcher

- Using materials as part of your interviewing
 - E.g. Photo elicitation in interviews/focus groups
- Provoking responses
 - A/V materials are concrete
 - A/V materials place people in the scene
 - A/V materials encourage interpretation
 - (which is often your object of study)

From the participants

- Having participants themselves generate materials
- Photos, audio recordings, video recordings...
- Literally the "member's point of view"
 - Access to actions, objects, events, places that you cannot directly see
- Examining the process of selection and framing
 - As always, the central question is, "why specifically this"?
 - Focus not on material as record
 - Focus instead on act of communication



Participant-Generated Materials: Text + Photograph*

"Confined Diversity"

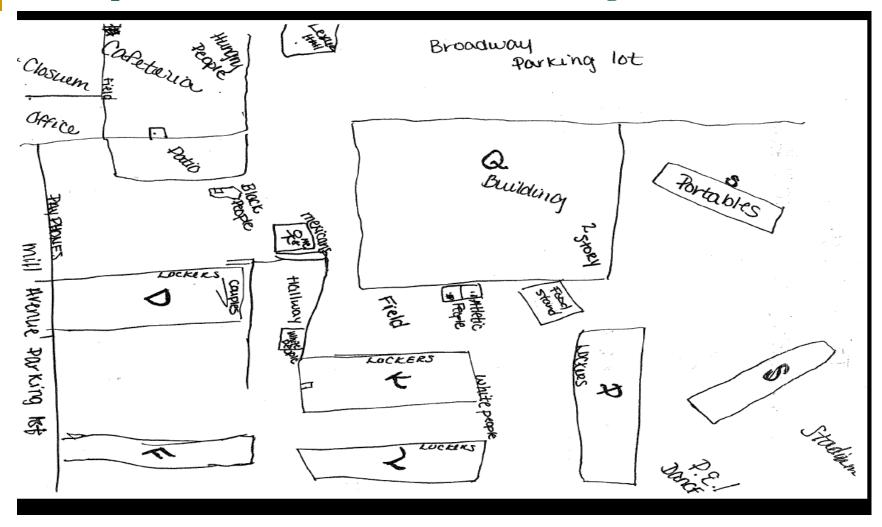
When I consider my reasons for taking this picture, many things come to mind. Such things as the difference in shapes, the contrasts of each color thus illustrating the diversity that is our school. As well as the total view and feeling that I get when looking down upon the buckets in the truck just as I was looking down on the hundreds of students that attend our school. Another way I look at this picture is as we the students are the buckets, every one of us is different in shape and color but the same in one small way. The fence in front of us and the building behind us refers to the faculty, staff, and the security guards keeping the students confined to the school premises only allowing particular students off the premises, thus illustrating the new closed campus rule the students have had to conform to this year.



*Materials produced by a high school student to represent changes in rules and space at her school.

Source: Morrill and Musheno (forthcoming).

Participant-Generated Materials: Drawing



Drawing produced by a student of the physical layout and distribution of social groups on his high school campus.

Source: Morrill and Musheno (forthcoming).

Participant-Generated Materials: Drawing



Drawing produced by a student of his high school campus.

Source: Morrill and Musheno (forthcoming).

For the Broader Audience

- Alternative forms of presentation
- Reaching different audiences
 - Including, importantly, the participants themselves!
- Conveying different messages
- Integrating different voices
 - Explicit about multiple points of view
 - Bringing them together to compare and contrast
- Dangers of curation
 - Still implies point of view in juxtaposition, captioning, selection, organization

Visual Practice and Visual Culture



Sources: Pink (2001)

Visual Practice and Visual Culture









Media in Qualitative Research

- The role of aesthetics
 - Not just creativity, not just "prettiness"
 - The valuing of experience
 - The emotional, affective fabric of everyday life

- Ways of communicating
 - "Engaging" in output as well as conduct of research

Why Engage in Interviewing?

- To tap into talk as a data source
 - But: Talk does not simply "reflect" social reality
- To understand how informants make sense of their actions
 - Find out what's important to informants
- To give voice to informants
 - Important in writing up fieldwork
- To build rapport with informants
- To have individuals construct their personal biographies and place them in historical contexts (extends context)

Interviewing Control Continuum



- Strategies entail different:
 - Degrees of interviewer control
 - Mixes of perspectives "of" vs. "in" action
 - Costs (social and material)
 - Timing within the fieldwork process

Designing Semi-Structured Interviews

- Begin by thinking about what will make sense to the informant
- Structure
 - Best to begin with more descriptive questions and the move to more abstract concerns
 - Fewer questions that cover major themes
- Kinds of questions
 - Descriptive: who, when, what, where, how
 - Structural: descriptions of groups, activities, organizations
 - Contrast: differences between groups, activities, organizations
- Tape Recording
 - If you do so, remain engaged by taking notes

Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

- "Active" interview should mimic a good conversation with reasonable "give and take" (Heyl 2001)
- Be flexible with respect to ordering of questions and paying attention to cues from informant
 - Cover themes, but not necessarily in predetermined order
 - Interviewing by comment when appropriate (Snow et al 1982)
- Limit "yes" and "no" questions
- Importance of nonverbal feedback to informant

Sampling Informants

- Be conscious of the information yield from different types of informants (Snow et al 1986):
 - Veteran
 - Neophyte/rookie/novice
 - "True believer"
 - "Heretic"
- Functions of different informants
 - Surrogate census taker
 - Observer's observer
 - Typical perspective
 - Atypical perspective

Part IV: Analysis and Outputs

Role of Analysis

- Two processes of analysis
 - Doubt generation (finding interesting questions)
 - Uncertainty resolution (developing answers)
- Both processes important for positivist and interpretive research
- Processes take place at different stages of positivist and interpretive research

Positivist Analysis

- Doubt generation takes place in the analysis of previous studies and the development of hypotheses
- Uncertainty resolution takes place after data gathering
 - Hypothesis testing
 - Focus on similarity/ centrality
 - Control for context
 - Data reduction through category creation

Interpretive Analysis

- Doubt Generation takes place after data are gathered
 - Disrupt order of data
 - Develop hunches through coding and memoing
 - Expand connections within data through heuristics and meta-theories
- Uncertainty resolution takes place at later stages of analysis
 - Develop holistic, contextual explanations
 - Support explanations through "triangulation"

Analysis Techniques

- Coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995; Spradley, 1979)
 - Activities, actors, places, times
 - Meanings (e.g., all the ways of talking about...)
- Memoing (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 1995)
 - Discussion of ideas generated through coding
- Thought experiments (Abbott, 2004; Feldman, 1995)
 - Heuristics (e.g., lists, reversals)
 - Meta-theories (e.g., semiotics, ethnomethodology, dramaturgy, deconstruction)

Importance of Writing in Analysis and Producing Outputs

Multiple moments of writing in qualitative fieldwork:

- □ Field jottings → fieldnotes ←→ data analysis ←→ analytic memos ←→ write-ups
- Fieldworkers "write" back and forth across fieldwork, fieldnotes, data analyses, memos, and write-ups
- There are intensive, recursive relationships between the later four stages that involve interpretation and translation, and in effect, figuring out the story and "theorized storyline" (Golden-Biddle and Locke 2007)

Some pragmatic things to remember:

- Importance of fieldnote excerpts and informant voices
- Importance of "seeing" the argument in the data: how do you know?
- Importance of being able to recount how you constructed your interpretations

Selected Bibliographies

Paradigms in Qualitative Analysis

Lin, Ann Chih. 1998. Bridging Positivist and Interpretivist Approaches to Qualitative Methods. *Policy Studies Journal* 26: 162-180.

Mohr, Lawrence. 1982. Explaining Organizational Behavior. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Roth, Wendy D. and Jal D. Mehta. 2002. The Rashomon Effect: Combining Positivist and Interpretivist Approaches in the Analysis of Contested Events. *Sociological Methods and Research* 31: 131-172

Dvora Yanow. Thinking Interpretively: Philosophical Presuppositions and the Human Sciences. In Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.) *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn.* (M.E. Sharpe, 2006).

Participant Observation and Writing Fieldnotes

- Adler, Patricia A., and Peter Adler. 1987. *Membership Roles in Fieldwork.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Emerson, Robert M. (Ed). 2001. Contemporary Field Research: Perspectives and Formulations. Boulder, CO: Waveland Press.
- Emerson, Robert. M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feldman, Martha S., Jeannine Bell, and Michele Tracy Berger. 2003. *Gaining Access: A Practical and Theoretical Guide for Qualitative Researchers*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G. Guba. 1985. Naturalistic Inquiry. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Lofland, John, David A. Snow, Leon Anderson, and Lyn H. Lofland. 2005. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis* (4th edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Morrill, Calvin. 1995. Anatomy of an Ethnography of Business Elites. Pp. 229-256 in *The Executive Way: Conflict Management among Corporate Executives.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morrill, Calvin, David B. Buller, Mary Klein Buller, and Linda L. Larkey. 1999. Toward an Organizational Perspective on Identifying and Managing Formal Gatekeepers. *Qualitative Sociology* 22: 51-72.
- Schutz, Alfred. [1932] 1967. *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Snow, David A., and Calvin Morrill. 2005. Field Relations. Pp. 25-29 in *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement*, V.2, Kimberly Kempf-Leonard (ed.). San Diego, CA: Elsevier.
- Snow, David A., Robert D. Benford, and Leon Anderson. 1986. Fieldwork Roles and Informational Yield. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 14: 377: 408.
- Spradley, James P. 1980. Participant Observation. NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Visual Ethnography

Banks, M. and Morphy, H. 1997. Rethinking Visual Anthropology. Yale.

Boehner, K., Vertesi, J., Sengers, P., and Dourish, P. 2007. "How HCI Interprets the Probes. Proc. ACM Conf. Human Factors in Computing Systems CHI 2007" (San Jose, CA), 1077-1086.

Gaver, B., Dunne, T., and Pacenti, E. 1999. Cultural probes. *Interactions 6(1)*: 21-29.

Pink, S. 2001. Doing Visual Ethnography. Sage.

Interviewing

- Heyl, Barbara Sherman. 2001. Ethnographic Interviewing. Pp. 369-383 in *Handbook of Ethnography*, Paul A. Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delemont, John Lofland, and Lyn H. Lofland. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Holstein, James A., and Jaber F. Gubrium. 1995. *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lofland, John, David A. Snow, Leon Anderson, and Lyn H. Lofland. 2005. Data Logging in the Intensive Interview; Guides and Write-Ups. Pp. 99-108 in *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis* (4th edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Morrill, Calvin. 1995. Anatomy of an Ethnography of Business Elites. Pp. 229-256 in *The Executive Way: Conflict Management among Corporate Executives.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Snow, David. A., Louis A. Zurcher, and Gideon Sjoberg. 1982. Interviewing by Comment: An Adjunct to the Direct Question. *Qualitative Sociology 5*: 285-311.
- Spradley, James P. 1979. The Ethnographic Interview. NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jonovich.

Analysis

- Abbott, Andrew. 2004. *Methods of Discovery: Heuristics for the Social Sciences*. W. W. Norton.
- Cerwonka, Allaine and Malkki, Liisa. *Improvising Theory: Process and Temporality in Ethnographic Fieldwork*. Chicago.
- Corbin, Juliet & Anselm Strauss. 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques (*3rd edition). Sage.
- Emerson, Robert. M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feldman, Martha S. 1995. Strategies for Interpreting Qualitative Data. Sage.
- Golden-Biddle, Karen & Karen Locke. 2007. *Composing Qualitative Research* (2nd edition). Sage.
- Langley, Anne. 1999. Strategies for theorizing from process data. *Academy of Management Review*.
- Locke, Karen, Karen Golden-Biddle & Martha S. Feldman. 2008. Making Doubt Generative. *Organization Science*.
- Lofland, John, David A. Snow, Leon Anderson, and Lyn H. Lofland. 2005. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis* (4th edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- James Spradley.1979. The Ethnographic Interview. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Exemplary Qualitative Fieldwork Monographs and Essays

- Anderson, Elijah. 1999. Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City. NY: Norton.
- Becker, Howard S. 1970. Fieldwork Evidence. Pp. 39-62 in *Sociological Work: Method and Substance*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Chambliss, Daniel F. 1989. The Mundanity of Excellence: An Ethnographic Report on Stratification and Olympic Swimmers. *Sociological Theory* 7: 70-86.
- Dourish, Paul. 2001. Where the Action Is: The Foundations of Embodied Interaction. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Duneier, Mitchell. 1999. Sidewalk. NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Feldman, Martha S. 1989. Order Without Design: Information Production and Policy Making. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Feldman, Martha S. 2000. Organizational Routines as a Source of Continuous Change. *Organization Science* 11: 611-629.
- Fine, Gary Alan. 1996. *Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hughes, John A., Dave Randall, and Dan Shapiro. 1992. From Ethnographic Record to System Design. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work* 1: 123-141.
- Kleinman, A. 1988. *The illness narratives: Suffering, healing and the human condition.* New York: Basic Books.
- Kunda, Gideon. 1992. Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Exemplary Qualitative Fieldwork Monographs and Essays (cont.)

- Lewis, O. 1959. Five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty. New York: Basic Books.
- Luker, Kristin. 2008. Salsa Dancing Into the Social Sciences: Research in an Age of Info-Glut. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mertz, Elizabeth. 2007. The Language of Law School: Learning to Think "Like a Lawyer." New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morrill, Calvin. 1995. *The Executive Way: Conflict Management in Corporations.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morrill, Calvin, David A. Snow, and Cindy White, eds. 2005. *Together Alone: Personal Relationships in Public Places*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Morrill, Calvin, and Michael Musheno (with Cynthia Bejarano, Christine Yalda, and Madelaine Adelman). Forthcoming. *Makin' It Work: Youth Conflict and Control in a Multiethnic High School.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rosaldo, R. 1989. *Culture and truth: The remaking of social analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press.
- Snow, David A., and Leon Anderson 1993. *Down on Their Luck: A Study of Homeless Street People.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Snow, David A., Calvin Morrill, and Leon Anderson. 2003. "Elaborating Analytic Ethnography: Linking Fieldwork and Theory." *Ethnography* 4:181-200.
- Zaloom, Caitlin. 2006. *Out of the Pits: Traders and Technology from Chicago to London.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.