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Stepping Beyond Transcripts: A Framework for Analyzing Interaction in Focus Groups

Abstract

Interaction is a much-claimed attribute of focus group research yet is often deficient in analysis when its essence can become lost. In this paper we aim to develop a flexible framework that can be operationalized and replicated when attempting to encourage and capture interaction. Working as outsider researchers with John Lewis & Partners (the UK's largest employee-owned business, with 80,000 employees known as "Partners"), we conducted eight focus groups asking 18 questions about the company's giving activities and associated decision making. Using the transcriptions, we analyzed interaction through a taxonomy of questions, laughs, and pauses, identified as the features of both interaction, and sequential interaction. Employing a two-stage approach for encouraging, capturing, and evidencing interaction, we developed an exploratory framework. Through a transparent audit trail, we reduced the data to points of impact. We propose that these present a meaningful starting position for the theorizing iteration of the data.

Keywords: Focus groups, interaction analysis, quasi-statistics

27 **Introduction**

28 The purpose of this paper is to advance interaction analysis in focus group research. We
29 explore how interaction benefits (which we believe are significant) can be operationalized
30 into a framework that can be replicated by practitioners and researchers.

31 Commencing qualitative analysis with the writing up individuals' views, researchers struggle
32 to highlight how the interaction happens and its significance. This neglect can lead to flaws in
33 acknowledging interaction, failure to discuss how interaction can be analyzed, and, arguably,
34 incomplete analysis. Useful data is effectively ignored, yet interaction is both a key
35 characteristic and a benefit of focus groups, distinguishing focus group methodology from
36 other methods (Kitzinger, 1994, 1995; Smithson, 2000). We encourage researchers to look at
37 fresh ways to advance and capture the conversations between participants within a focus
38 group.

39 Without an attempt at interaction, analysis in focus group research design lacks completeness.
40 Interaction analysis provides an advanced appreciation of the conversations that take place
41 within a focus group. We theorize that there is an unexplored liminal zone within interaction
42 analysis. Synthesizing transcripts with interaction analysis can lead to the identification of the
43 questions that create the most impact and new levels of theorizing. We present an exploratory
44 framework of interaction analysis in focus groups, working with a real-life organization and
45 in so doing, we demonstrate how interaction can be conducted, applied, and presented.

46 We propose a two-stage framework. Stage One creates the conditions to encourage
47 and capture interaction, from the initial planning of the focus group to the researcher
48 extraction. Stage Two illustrates the value of interaction analysis through the employment of
49 two iterations. We test this approach using a real-life organization, namely, John Lewis &
50 Partners, the UK's largest employee-owned business. Famous for its ownership structure, it
51 employs over 80,000 people, all known as "Partners" (John Lewis Partnership, 2022). As

52 outsider researchers, we conducted eight focus groups (comprising 52 participants),
53 investigating the philanthropic decision-making process that was used within the
54 organization.

55 Our research aims to increase the facilitation, analysis, and discussion of interaction
56 within focus groups. There are several stages involved in this process. Initially we discuss
57 ways of encouraging interaction, then outline possible ways to both record and analyze
58 interaction. We also articulate why interaction is important with the associated aim of raising
59 the profile of interaction within the focus group literature.

60 ***Development of Focus Groups as a Research Technique***

61 Focus group research as a method matured and evolved outside the inductive tradition
62 (Basch, 1987) and was originally developed for assessing radio audience reactions. Merton
63 (1987), who is often credited with the development of focus groups, critiqued Lazarsfeld
64 (1975) for guiding responses and not elucidating spontaneous expressions from participants
65 and said that the discipline evolved because of a publishing misnomer between the uses of the
66 terms “focus group” and “focused interview with a group”.

67 The journal *Qualitative Sociology* introduced Morgan and Spanish’s focus group work as a
68 relatively new research tool (1984, p. 253), thereby no longer referring to Merton (1967,
69 1987) as the original source of ideas. Morgan (1996) describes focus groups as a research
70 technique for the purpose of collecting data through group interaction on a topic
71 predetermined by the researcher. He further identifies the source of the data as being
72 collected through interaction, with the researcher’s active role being to facilitate group
73 discussion for data collection purposes. The main purpose of focus group research as
74 proposed by Gibbs (1997) is to draw upon respondents’ attitudes, feelings, beliefs,
75 experiences, and reactions in a way that would not be feasible using other methods (such as
76 observation, one-to-one interviewing, and questionnaire surveys).

77 *The Outline of Our Challenge*

78 The benefits of focus groups should not be underestimated. A major advantage of such
79 research is the opportunity to observe participants engaging in conversation without the
80 moderator leading the conversation. Focus groups can be constructed as a social occasion in
81 which participants are encouraged to express what they know, making a valued contribution
82 through an opportunity to share views in a positive environment while interacting with others.
83 Wibeck et al. (2007) consider interaction to be a hallmark of focus groups, yet it is seldom
84 evaluated, often ignored in analysis, and rarely discussed in empirical research. This may be
85 because researchers either do not know how to analyze interaction or simply fail to consider
86 the possibility in their approach to the work. Facilitation strategies need to be clear and
87 consistent (Rinkus et al., 2021), particularly between groups. Gasiorek, et al. (2021) articulate
88 that combining approaches into a single framework is not simple. A key area is the
89 consideration of how to facilitate the interaction within the group, and we argue that that is
90 where the interesting data arises.

91 Platt (1992) advises that the starting point should be a logic of design. Morgan (2010)
92 introduces an ambitious three-stage agenda for improving our understanding of the role that
93 interaction plays. First, calling for detailed investigations into how interaction can be
94 conducted (operationalized in our research as Stage One); second, for a reflexive examination
95 of the value that is added by analyzing interaction; and third, for effective presentation of
96 results, with consideration being given as to why interaction insights are beneficial (both
97 operationalized as Stage Two).

98 To do this a logic of design is introduced that is flexible and replicable. The two
99 stages encourage, capture and evidence interaction, forming the basis of the methodological
100 discussion, while the application of the stages forms our theorizing. Multi-levels of
101 interaction analysis are applied to the data, involving sequential interaction and “quasi-

102 statistics.” Becker (1970) introduced quasi-statistics as non-precise counts obtained from
103 inductive research. This results in a novel and replicable approach, that is tested on empirical
104 data, and permits advances in debate, leading to possible theoretical development and
105 practical insights beyond the bare transcripts.

106 Our paper proceeds as follows: first, we review the use of a taxonomy of questions
107 and face-work to create the conditions for interaction. Second, we describe our two-stage
108 framework, which provides a logical process to encourage, capture, evidence, and apply
109 interaction. In the subsequent discussion, the value of interaction analysis is highlighted both
110 by considering reactions to each question (as measured by quasi-statistics) and by noting the
111 number of contributing participants. We illustrate our framework by using the case of John
112 Lewis & Partners and then consider the practical relevance of the method we propose. The
113 paper ends by acknowledging the limitations of our method, presenting further avenues for
114 research, and offering our concluding thoughts.

115 **Literature**

116 Without the identification of interaction and its analysis, valuable data is omitted, differences
117 between groups are not captured and questions that create impact may be overlooked. Thus,
118 capturing interaction helps identify issues of importance which arise during focus groups.

119 Rinkus et al. (2021) state there is surprisingly little said about how to generate verbal
120 interactions yet most primary data analysis focuses on verbal content. Little attention has
121 been paid to analyzing participant interactions and how knowledge might be socially
122 constructed. The failure to acknowledge and quote sequential interaction, referred to as the
123 “conversation between participants” (Kitzinger, 1994, p. 104) and “sequences of group
124 interaction” (Grønkjær et al., 2011, p. 17), devalues the very interaction that produced the
125 data in the first instance (Morgan 2010; Wibeck et al., 2007). Stewart and Shamdasani (2014)

126 and Fern (1982) argue that stimulating interactions among group participants generates more
127 information than individual interviews.

128 *The language of hint and face-work*

129 In focus group research, social interaction sets conditions for higher levels of participant
130 interaction, awareness, and analysis. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) suggest that moderators
131 should adopt a learner role in their relationship to focus group participants. Goffman (1955)
132 proposes that moderators should use a “language of hint,” including well-placed pauses, and
133 specifies the following of a specific line of questioning in order to maintain momentum. By
134 not adopting a learner position, the moderator may confuse participants, “fall out of line”
135 with questions, and skew results. Participants may (incorrectly) perceive there to be a right
136 answer which the moderator is eagerly awaiting. Goffman supports the maintenance of face
137 as a condition for interaction. ‘Face-work’ is “the actions taken by a person to make whatever
138 he (she) is doing consistent with the face” (Goffman, 1955, p. 226). Put simply, by adopting a
139 careful approach to ‘face work’ the moderator can facilitate both interaction and encourage
140 sequential interaction between participants. In so doing, a greater depth of discussion occurs.
141 Asbury (1995) affirms that group interaction can yield richer information than individual
142 interviews with the same participants.

143 The real value, however, comes from the researchers’ exposure to the participants’
144 own thoughts as the means of self-expression. Conversation between participants (which we
145 term sequential interaction) highlights differing worldviews about the particular situation
146 being explored. Types of communication such as pauses or laughter (referred to as features of
147 interaction) can also be recorded and presented (Lazarsfeld, 1935; Becker, 1970). There is
148 also merit in making connections between a planned taxonomy of questions and sequential
149 interaction between participants. Finally, the planning of the questions is relevant: locating

150 higher-order questions in the center of the question set can facilitate better understanding and
151 discussion (Bloom, 1956).

152 ***Focus Group Interaction***

153 Goffman (1955) contends that focus groups are understood as social enactments, inspiring
154 interaction analysis. Notwithstanding this, analysis sections of focus group data within
155 research papers often fail to expand on how to capture and analyze interaction (Duggleby,
156 2005; Halkier, 2010). Eisenhardt (1989) discusses a common lack of clarity and few
157 exemplars to guide research, including forms of analysis. A particular issue is that many
158 articles and academic research projects appear to treat the data identically to data obtained
159 from individual interviews (Wilkinson, 1998). Kitzinger (1994) reviewed over 40 published
160 reports of focus group studies and found that not one reported upon the conversation between
161 participants. Cyr (2016) analyzed focus group literature within political science and sociology
162 articles over a ten-year period (2004–2013) to see how often the social nature of interaction
163 was captured and estimates that only 0.69% of articles in political science and 1.2% in
164 sociology even mention focus groups, which is noted as surprising, given the resurgence in
165 the data collection method.

166 ***Motivation for Interaction Analysis and Recording Interaction***

167 The methodological rationale for doing this type of interaction analysis is to enable both more
168 detail to be captured and valuable data uncovered. This aids qualitative analysis and
169 subsequent theorizing. There are two areas to consider for the development for encouraging
170 and capturing interaction and the gathering of relevant evidence: sequential interaction and
171 quasi-statistics.

172 ***Sequential interaction***

173 This involves developing the participants' conversation to be presented in the form of counts,
174 allowing for interaction outside the structure of researcher-constructed questions. Content

175 found in sequential interaction may feed into the formulation of new hypotheses and fresh
176 insights (Bratton & Liatto-Katundu, 1994), leading to unexpected findings, new research
177 questions, and new hypotheses. Measuring sequential interaction is important because it helps
178 researchers identify what is important to the participants, rather than what the researcher
179 believes to be so.

180 *Quasi-statistics*

181 The second area is the introduction and employment of quasi-statistics, a process which
182 involves collecting descriptive counts of interactions that take place in a focus group. Barton
183 (1995) and Lazarsfeld (1935) both claim that the inclusion of frequency data presented as
184 quasi-statistics separates the data into categories (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009; Warr, 2005). In
185 addition to sequential interaction the counts of categories can include laughter, pauses, and
186 crying, developing a logical structure to assess categories that are predetermined by the
187 researcher in a focus group setting. Barton and Lazarsfeld (1961) advise that the analysis of
188 quasi-statistical data can be made through a logical structure to provide direction for the
189 inductive researcher. Becker (1970) suggests that quasi-statistics provide useful information
190 that is fundamental to inductive data (Maxwell 2012; Morse, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie,
191 2003; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009; Warr, 2005). Although insightful, these approaches lack a
192 means to operationalize interaction into achievable steps that researchers and practitioners
193 can engage with. The starting point, therefore, for a framework of a logical method design
194 framework is how to create the conditions to capture sequential interaction (and other related
195 features).

196 **Method**

197 *Identifying Incompleteness in the Current Method*

198 Pan and Tan (2011) argue that, because interaction cannot be prescribed, the methods for
199 documenting it are not easily translatable into specific steps. Yet a discipline without

200 exemplars is an ineffective one (Kuhn, 1981), so there remains the potential for developing
201 new and flexible frameworks that can develop the discussion on how to analyze interaction in
202 focus groups.

203 We ask the question: how can analysis of focus groups take account of, and present
204 for scrutiny, the interactive nature of the data? Blending Goffman's (1955) face-work and
205 Barton's (1995), Lazarsfeld's (1935), Becker (1970) and Warr's (2005) quasi-statistics into
206 our exploratory design, we provide a specific response to Morgan's (2010) ambitious three-
207 stage agenda by detailing our investigations, examining their value, and presenting the results
208 together with a supporting narrative discussion of why these are beneficial. The research
209 employs an exploratory design within a two-stage approach in order to encourage, capture
210 and evidence interaction. The application forms the results section.

211 *Participants and setting*

212 As a method, focus groups offer a framework such that the findings are not typically
213 generalizable. Replication is not possible as each group differs in its constitution.
214 Nevertheless, the research approach can be replicated and can follow certain parameters.
215 Discretion is required regarding voices that may dominate the discussion; similarly attempts
216 need to be made to engage the taciturn or reluctant participant. Focus group settings do not
217 conform to an ideal and should be flexible enough to adapt to the environment. There is no
218 such thing as a neutral or ideal setting; Fern (1982) points out that the setting can play a
219 significant part in influencing the discussion.

220 The researcher is accountable for their own intuitive choices around transcription; there may
221 be dilemmas when all participants speak together/over each other. By planning and
222 encouraging interaction this dilemma is amplified, in which case the researcher will need to
223 decide on how to record and document this.

224 *Location of Data Collection*

225 In order to describe the method, our own study was carried out following the same process in
226 each focus group. We collected data from eight such groups, involving 52 self-selected
227 participants. The participants came from two United Kingdom settings – five groups from
228 Newcastle upon Tyne and three in Edinburgh – both from branches of John Lewis &
229 Partners. As outsider researchers we obtained full ethical consent. Each focus group was
230 coded A to H, noting the location, Partner responsibility, and number of participants in each
231 focus group

232 *Two-Stage Framework*

233 One way of adding to methodological rigor is to subject data to a number of iterations
234 (Rothwell et al. 2016). Pratt (2009) suggests that the narrative be supplemented with plenty of
235 data summary devices. Our interaction analysis comprised two stages, replicated in all eight
236 of our focus groups.

237 *Stage One – Encouraging and Capturing Interaction*

238 Stage One creates the conditions for encouraging and capturing interaction and consists of
239 four steps:

- 240 1. Step One covers the development of a taxonomy of questions designed to encourage
241 interaction.
- 242 2. Step Two explores researcher integration (Goffman, 1955), referred to as a “warm-
243 up”.
- 244 3. Step Three examines interaction in action by asking research questions planned within
245 a taxonomy.
- 246 4. Step Four considers researcher extraction and departure from the interaction
247 (Goffman, 1955), referred to as “cool-down.”

248 We now explore these steps in turn.

249 *Stage One – Step One: taxonomy of questions.* Prior to the group commencing, semi-
250 structured focus group questions were constructed, drawn from the literature, and ordered
251 within a taxonomy (Bloom, 1956). These questions [Appendix 1 near here] were designed in
252 such a way as to stimulate both conversation and interaction between participants. They
253 began with how, who, and process-seeking questions (encouraging debate), before climbing
254 to higher-order questions, categorized as evaluative questions seeking internal evidence
255 (Tarman & Kuran, 2015). The question level descended toward the end, with lighter,
256 knowledge-based questions bringing the focus group to a close. As Goffman (1955) claims,
257 the maintenance of face is a condition of interaction. The moderator aimed to say little,
258 giving eye contact and encouraging nods as a replacement for narrative.

259 *Stage One – Step Two: researcher integration and warm-up.* The purpose of this step was to
260 make participants feel comfortable with the moderator being present, which is crucial in
261 developing interaction with participants. Visits were undertaken before the focus group
262 meeting. Early on in the research a decision was made to mirror how participants dressed
263 (Goffman, 1959., Kitzinger, 1995), providing a further opportunity to integrate and make
264 participants feel at ease. Broom (2005) advises that the first personal contact need not be
265 rushed, suggesting that 15 minutes should be invested in acclimatizing the group. Rinkus et
266 al. (2021) recommend spending time on introductions. This time is used in ensuring that
267 participants fully understand the purpose of the focus group in which they are participating.
268 Goffman (1955) concurs with Broom by stating that participation with others leads to
269 commitment and therefore interaction.

270 We used ‘face-work’ (Goffman, 1955) with a smile, direct eye contact, and a light
271 touch. Each focus group participant was personally welcomed by the moderator. Participants’
272 names were not featured, to preserve anonymity, as ethically agreed in advance because of
273 the nature of the discussions in this context. Serving refreshments provided integration,

274 creating a relaxed atmosphere for social interaction. Our intention was to encourage
275 participants to talk freely, to interact with the moderator, and, in particular, to commence
276 conversations with each other (sequential interaction).

277 Once we perceived that everyone felt at ease and comfortable, following Goffman's advice,
278 the purpose of the focus group was explained.

279 *Stage One – Step Three: interaction in action.* Positioning the moderator slightly apart from
280 the focus group allowed the interaction to be transferred from moderator–participant to
281 participant–participant capturing the conversation that takes place between participants. We
282 followed the advice of Kitzinger (1994, 1995), who suggests that the moderator should take a
283 back seat at first, accommodating a type of structured eavesdropping. Similarly, we adopted a
284 learner role (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992), with a style offering no emotion or encouragement
285 that could influence data.

286 *Stage One – Step Four: researcher extraction and cool-down.* The cool-down and extraction
287 stage (Goffman, 1955) involved a transfer from participant–participant sequential interaction
288 back to moderator–participant. Each participant was personally thanked, replicating the
289 process applied in Step Two, including for example a handshake.

290 *Stage Two – Evidencing Interaction.* The approach we adopted to record evidence involves
291 the collection of quasi-statistics. This comprises two separate iterations – quasi-statistics by
292 focus group and quasi-statistics by question – with each iteration consisting of three steps.
293 Stage Two centers on the analysis of interaction data captured in Stage One.

294 *Stage Two - Iteration One: quasi-statistics by focus group.* This consists of three steps:

- 295 1. The number of sequential interactions per group.
- 296 2. The average number of sequential interactions per question and per group.
- 297 3. The development of researcher-defined categories.

298 In Step One, the number of sequential interactions per group refers to the conversations that
299 take place between participants (Bratton & Liatto-Katundo, 1994; Kitzinger, 1994). The
300 count stops at the point of the next moderator intervention (be that asking the next question or
301 to prompt debate). Step Two refers to the average number of sequential interactions between
302 focus groups. Connecting the results from Step One to Step Two permits the researcher to see
303 what questions prompt patterns of sequential interaction to emerge. Finally, Step Three
304 allows further interaction categories to be added by the researcher. In our research we added
305 features of interaction such as laughs and pauses; pauses, for example, could indicate a higher
306 level of thinking (Albergaria-Almeida, 2010; Wilen & Clegg, 1986) prior to offering a
307 question response. The results of all three steps shed light upon the levels of sequential
308 interaction, and features of interaction which may differ across groups, thereby facilitating
309 comparison [Table 1 near here]. We acknowledge that by allowing participants to direct the
310 conversation, different groups may focus on different topics (see the discussion in Rinkus et
311 al., 2021). Where the purpose is to compare data across the groups, the moderator will need
312 to take a more active role in managing the conversation direction.

313 *Stage Two - Iteration Two: quasi-statistics by question.* This consists of three steps:

- 314 1. The number of contributing participants.
- 315 2. The range of contributing participants measured against the number of focus group
316 attendees.
- 317 3. Employing the data from steps 2 and 3 leads to the identification of the sequential impact
318 questions.

319 In Step One of Stage One we counted the number of participants who created the sequential
320 interaction in responding to a particular question. In Step Two, we looked at the range of
321 contributing participants, measured against the number of attendees [Table 2 near here].

322 Connecting the results from Steps Two and Three allowed us to explore the identification of

323 the sequential impact questions. Step Three was not in our original method design logic and
324 was added later, as we realized that quasi-statistics by focus group without consideration of
325 quasi-statistics by contributing participants was less insightful. To only map sequential
326 interaction conversations between participants means that there is no recognition of the range
327 of contributors, meaning that if only a few participants were to make up the sequential
328 interaction the count would become misleading. By introducing the quasi-statistical counts of
329 contributing participants, we can see a clear pattern between the sequential interaction and the
330 range of contributing participants, reflecting what prompted these reactions [Table 3 near
331 here]. The two iterations presenting quasi-statistics by focus group and by question are
332 achievable, clear, replicable, and transferrable [Figure 1 near here].

333 *Method Summary*

334 Focus group research does not assume ideal conditions. We allow for this by focusing on
335 what can be done with the data in order to create an exploratory framework, we posit the two-
336 stage design as our exploratory framework for sequential interaction analysis.

337 The two-stage method measures interaction analysis and was manageable across the
338 eight focus groups in this research, dealing with 2230 sequential interactions and 509 counts
339 of participants contributing to sequential interaction. More researcher-defined features of
340 interaction categories could have been introduced: for example, crying and body language.
341 Too many categories of interactions would be cumbersome if employing multiple focus
342 groups.

343 We decided to focus on the achievable, manageable, and replicable, with the two-
344 stage approach offering a fresh view. It is designed to be flexible, representing a transparent
345 process for capturing and evidencing sequential interaction, resulting in the identification of
346 the questions that created the most impact for each focus group. The application of sequential
347 interaction is dealt with in the Findings discussion. Responding to Morgan's (2010)

348 ambitious three-stage agenda, we aim to use these data to improve the understanding of the
349 role that interaction plays.

350 *Results*¹

351 Although there is agreement around the benefits of interaction, the issue we have explored is
352 how to operationalize sequential interaction within focus groups into an exploratory
353 framework that can be utilized by practitioners and researchers. By listing possible stages and
354 iterations, we have provided a base for other researchers. However, the research is not
355 without its issues. Even in our own study we could not necessarily identify all aspects of
356 sequential interaction. For example, in focus group F all participants were talking together,
357 and we were unable to count how many participants contributed to the sequential
358 conversation.

359 *Capturing Features of Interaction*

360 Stage One was specifically designed to create the conditions for and encourage sequential
361 interaction between participants. It was important to capture how each of the 18 research
362 questions engaged the participants. It was useful to capture the features of interaction, for
363 example, groups A and F laughed the most, C the least; A also paused the most, while F and
364 H did not pause at all when answering questions. Our findings offer deeper meanings,
365 requiring us to synthesize the results with the number of contributing participants, which we
366 do later in this paper.

367 Making comparisons by question mirrored our planned question taxonomy. Question
368 10 created the most pauses (see Appendix 1), was ordered as a high-level question, and was
369 placed in the center of the taxonomy. It required participants to think about sharing examples,
370 so the pauses might have indicated that participants were thinking about which examples to

¹ Additional tables are available from the first named author.

371 select and link to the benefit of giving. In contrast, Question 1 was designed as an
 372 introductory question based on knowledge of the organization's giving activities, and it
 373 generated the highest number of laughs. A possible reason for this is because the responses
 374 generally related to storytelling. Early questions were designed to encourage sequential
 375 interaction and other responses such as laughing.

376 In the groups conducted we found that the sense of social occasion and learning
 377 outcomes aligned with benefits reported in the literature. For example, Bristol and Fern
 378 (1996) claim that there is evidence that participants in focus groups find the experience
 379 stimulating. Sequential interaction captures the knowledge transfer between participants in
 380 the form of conversation, further advancing reported benefits. At the cool-down stage, several
 381 participants registered their experience of focus group benefits, providing support for these
 382 observations:

383 *'I was nervous at first, but it was a relaxed, fun and comfortable session.'*

384 *'Really helped to remind me just how special we are.'*

385 *'This has been a great thing to be part of.'*

386 *'Excellent session, very engaging. I thought I was aware of all that went on and was
 387 wrong.'*

388 *'I actually realized I knew more than I thought and learnt a little more, so it was
 389 beneficial.'*²

390 This process resulted in the development of new knowledge among the participants and an
 391 awareness (on the part of the moderator) of which particular questions prompted pauses,
 392 laughter, and tears. Although initially unexpected, we recorded 17 occasions of tears
 393 throughout the eight focus groups.

394 ***Evidencing Sequential Interaction***

² Although the quotes used have been edited for grammatical errors, the meaning remains unaltered.

395 In Stage Two, we addressed quasi-statistics by both focus group and question, identifying the
396 number of sequential interactions (conversations) between participants, and the interactive
397 features that occurred. The number of sequential interactions alone could be misleading
398 without reference to the number of participants. For example, in a focus group of ten, if only
399 two participants contribute to the conversation and the other eight are silent, this is different
400 from all ten taking part in the sequential interaction. Quasi-statistics need to account for this
401 and record the range of contributors in order to obtain full meaning from the data. Results are
402 more meaningful when the sequential interaction is reported in conjunction with the relative
403 number (or percentage) of contributors. For example, the questions identified as having the
404 highest levels of sequential interaction did not have the largest range of contributing
405 participants. Question 14 was noted to have the highest sequential interaction, with 163
406 interactions, but only 28 engaged participants contributed to the sequential interaction, which
407 was relatively low when compared with other questions. This means that the contributing
408 participant range was low. Therefore, we developed two quasi-statistic measures which we
409 viewed as more meaningful. In combining these (sequential interaction and the number of
410 contributing participants), we identified the highest and lowest sequential interaction
411 questions, the combination of which helped us to determine the questions that created the
412 most impact in this research.

413 Sequential interaction measures (i.e. quasi-statistics) helped identify how impactful questions
414 were (in our case, four were high and two low impact). We also noted that not one of the low-
415 impact questions generated any of the identified interactive features of laughs and pauses.

416 Our results indicated that both groups A and B identified Q10, “What are the various
417 ways the community can benefit from giving? – Can you give examples?”, as the question
418 that had the highest number both of sequential interactions and of contributing participants.
419 We therefore classed Q10 as the question that created the highest levels of impact in this

420 research [Table 3 near here]. We believe this was because those attending the focus groups
421 had strong views about corporate philanthropy and who should benefit from that giving. Q9
422 was planned as a higher-order question; “How does John Lewis make decisions on which
423 charities/community groups get support (when there are so many competing for help)?”
424 However, surprisingly, different groups had different reactions to it. We believe that a
425 potential reason for the difference could be that a new organizational giving initiative was
426 initially piloted in the Edinburgh store.

427 **Discussion**

428 Earlier findings and previous insights agree that sequential interaction analysis and the
429 presentation of results is an unappreciated area of focus group research. Rinkus et al. (2021),
430 Cyr (2016), Duggleby (2005), Halkier (2010), and Kitzinger (1994) all concur that research
431 papers often fail to expand on how to capture and analyze interaction, with reporting of the
432 conversations between participants rare. Wibeck et al. (2007) consider interaction to be a
433 hallmark of focus groups, but state that it is seldom evaluated, often ignored in analysis, and
434 rarely discussed in empirical research. We argue that researchers should go beyond merely
435 extracting and applying quotes to participants as they might with an interview.

436 Responding to Morgan’s (2010) ambitious three-stage agenda for improving our
437 understanding of the role that interaction plays, we have provided a detailed, reflexive
438 investigation into how interaction could be conducted through a method of capturing and
439 evidencing sequential interaction. By analyzing interaction, researchers can distinguish
440 between the responses of different focus groups, make connections between a taxonomy of
441 questions and the associated contributors, and identify those areas of most significance within
442 group discussions (impact).

443 Our purpose was to develop a “framework” through a two-stage approach, designed
444 to capture and evidence sequential interaction. The aim was to advance an approach that is

445 easy to follow, and replicable yet also adaptable. The reporting of quasi-statistics (Barton,
446 1995; Lazarsfeld, 1935; Becker, 1970; Warr, 2005) allows for comparison between focus
447 groups and offers a more complete approach to analyzing interaction results (incorporating
448 what we term “sequential interaction”). Using the approach described, researchers and
449 practitioners alike will be able to encourage and generate more interaction between
450 participants and also record additional features of interaction information (referred to as
451 quasi-statistics), such as pauses, tears, and laughter. Following the two-stage approach
452 identified here, researchers will be guided to locate the particular questions that create the
453 highest interaction impact in focus group research. To achieve this, we have employed quasi-
454 statistics by both focus group and question, supported by a transparent audit trail designed to
455 capture and evidence sequential interaction.

456 There is consensus that the reporting of sequential interaction is a key dilemma in
457 focus group research. One of the core questions is why researchers start analyzing at Q1, then
458 work methodologically “question by question” as if no sequential interaction has taken place.
459 By highlighting different interactions and responses within groups and examining these
460 results, we can explore reasons why differences occur between groups and what meaning this
461 may have for our and future studies in the area.

462 In order to demonstrate our framework, we carried out a study of corporate
463 philanthropy working as outsider researchers with the organization John Lewis & Partners. In
464 our research we reduced a series of eight focus groups containing 64572 words of
465 transcription into 2230 sequential interactions with specific high-impact questions. The
466 identification of high-impact questions can be used as a starting point for new findings and
467 insights, developing new hypotheses and subsequent theorizing (Bratton & Liatto-Katundo,
468 1994). Our study also identified issues of practical relevance, which we discuss in the next
469 paragraph.

470 Practitioners can appreciate deeper insights into meanings and explore areas of
471 difference and consensus through the signposting of high-impact questions. For instance,
472 differences in the identification of the high-impact question across a series of focus groups
473 leads to insightful knowledge. In our study, the results highlighted some interesting
474 differences. Groups A and B identified Q10 as the question that had the highest number both
475 of sequential interactions and of contributing participants. In contrast, in Q9, in different
476 locations produced different levels of sequential interaction. This provides practical relevance
477 for the organization to explore reasons for difference. The framework leverages and promotes
478 the use of focus groups while adding rigor to the method, revealing a new understanding to
479 identify questions of impact and leads us to an increased point of knowledge for the
480 researcher to commence qualitative theorizing. We believe those questions that generate most
481 discussion within a focus group (and hence interaction) are among the most important when
482 analysing the results of a discussion (however, we do not claim that they are the *only*
483 important questions). This helps researchers in identifying the key issues which arise during
484 group meetings. It could be used for piloting questions for future groups, or it could be used
485 to identify issues which are most important to employees. For example, it could be used to
486 identify which charities are most important to employees of specific branches of a company
487 and thus used to determine corporate philanthropy policy within an organisation.
488 Comparisons could also be made between the viewpoints of different offices or branches of
489 an organisation as determined by their respective focus groups and their interaction with
490 different questions.

491 Future research is required to evidence, report, and present focus group interaction
492 within different organizational settings. There may also be other ways of considering and
493 documenting sequential interaction.

494 **Study Limitations**

495 McGrath (1981) indicates that all studies inevitably contain some flaws. The aim of our paper
496 is to encourage interaction between participants because this is where we believe key issues
497 are identified within focus groups. To this end, we have suggested various interventions such
498 as careful design of questions, the moderator adopting a facilitator/ learner perspective and
499 careful planning including the consideration of room layout. However, despite these
500 interventions there remain other variables than may determine the amount of interaction
501 within a focus group, for example, the way a group gels together, the existence of dominant
502 or passive individuals within groups. Not all variables can be planned, anticipated, or
503 controlled for. However, we are interested in generating discussion in the literature so as to
504 further address these limitations in such a way to maximize group interaction.

505 Focus groups often do not subscribe to ideal settings. In our study, a particular issue
506 was evidenced in focus group F, where participants were talking over each other in an
507 animated way, including some using a strong dialect. This made it difficult to work out what
508 was being said and also to record quasi-statistics. The number of contributing participants
509 was not tracked and was therefore discounted from the quasi-statistics. This was an important
510 issue for those contributing and clearly contributed to a stimulating or emotive question,
511 which resulted in the lively sequential interaction between participants which we observed
512 but could not adequately document.

513 Sequential interaction leads us to the identification of the questions that promoted the
514 highest- and lowest-impact conversations, alongside other features of interaction such as
515 laughs and pauses. A dominant voice or lengthy sequential conversation between only a small
516 number of participants was also of concern. We attempted to address this by introducing the
517 range of contributing participants' measure as a quasi-statistic.

518 The number of researchers as moderators dedicated to conducting focus groups is also
519 a limitation. One moderator is not sufficient to set the conditions for interacting, observing,

520 and capturing non-verbal interactions, while simultaneously asking questions. Using two
521 moderators is a possible solution to this.

522 In analyzing this sort of data, it is useful to consider using software (e.g., NVivo) as
523 part of the process. We chose not to use this technology, remaining as close to the data as
524 possible. Introducing technology as a data analysis tool for sequential interaction analysis
525 may have a cost implication and place the researcher at a distance from the data, but it can
526 also be time efficient.

527 **Conclusions and Future Research**

528 It is important in focus group work to consider exactly how to encourage, capture, evidence,
529 and present sequential interaction between the various participants. Without an attempt at
530 investigating interaction, analysis in such research lacks completeness and rigor, missing out
531 on useful data. Morgan (2010) affirms that failure to quote interaction in focus groups
532 devalues the interaction process that produced the data. Different questions and different
533 groups may give rise to different levels of interaction, so any approach to focus group
534 interaction needs to take this into account.

535 This paper has been devoted to developing an exploratory two-stage framework to
536 capture and evidence interaction in focus groups, creating new discourse previously not
537 entertained. We have detailed how we applied our “framework” to our own particular study
538 of philanthropy. The extent to which the researcher operationalizes and evidences sequential
539 interaction analysis into achievable iterations and steps is inevitably subjective; there is little
540 precedent regarding choices and analysis. However, there are three main stages to be
541 undertaken prior to the commencement of the qualitative analysis:

- 542 1. The initial stage is to design the questions in such a way as to maximize interaction.
- 543 2. The second stage involves the collecting of quasi-statistics which can help identify
544 areas of impact. The researcher (and practitioner) can decide exactly what quasi-

545 statistics they capture: not all will be useful, and this area may involve an element of
546 trial and error.

547 3. Finally, our research has suggested ways of monitoring impact based around the
548 amount of sequential interaction.

549 Whilst we want to underplay the content/qualitative understanding the significance is
550 attributed to the disclosure of nuances between focus groups, establishing a point of increased
551 knowledge for the theorizing approach. We acknowledge that, although interaction is a
552 relatively simple concept, it is quite difficult to capture.

553 ***Future Research.***

554 This could take the form of a number of different avenues. First, suggestions for altering or
555 adding to the framework (or even devising alternative frameworks) would be useful. Second,
556 it would be useful if different researchers tested the framework in different contexts. One
557 advantage is that the framework can always be adapted to the circumstances. In our study we
558 did not expect participants to become so animated. The norms of not speaking over each
559 other were compromised, and, while this only occurred in one group, if it became a common
560 occurrence, it would have been fairly easy to add to the framework and as a result help
561 identify questions of particular impact.

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Appendix 1 - Focus Group Questions

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1. Are you aware that your company gives to the community? – Yes/How?
2. Do you know how this operates?
3. As a Partner, how does it make you feel to be part of a company that engages in giving?
4. What do you know about the giving activities John Lewis is involved with? – What are they? How does it work? Are there any other forms?
5. What are the benefits to John Lewis in terms of the giving?
6. What is your attitude toward John Lewis giving time, money products, and services? – Why?
7. How does John Lewis communicate the giving to you as a Partner?
8. Do you know which charities approach you and what the competing charities/community groups are?
9. How does John Lewis make the decisions on which charities/community groups get support when there are so many competing for help?
10. What are the various ways the community can benefit from the giving? – Can you give examples?
11. In terms of making the decisions who is involved? – How does this happen?
12. What process would John Lewis expect to follow before a decision is made?
13. As a Partner, what do you consider to be priorities when making community giving decisions?
14. Should customers be involved in community decision making? – Why? How?
15. Would you want to get involved with the community-giving programme? – Are there any barriers to doing this?
16. Is there any pressure to be involved? – What would be your reasons for being involved/not involved? – (business/personal)
17. What does John Lewis know about your views as a Partner in relation to the giving and the giving decisions? – Is there a two-way communication process?
18. What, if anything, would you change to enhance the giving programme?

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Figure 1 - Two Stage Framework

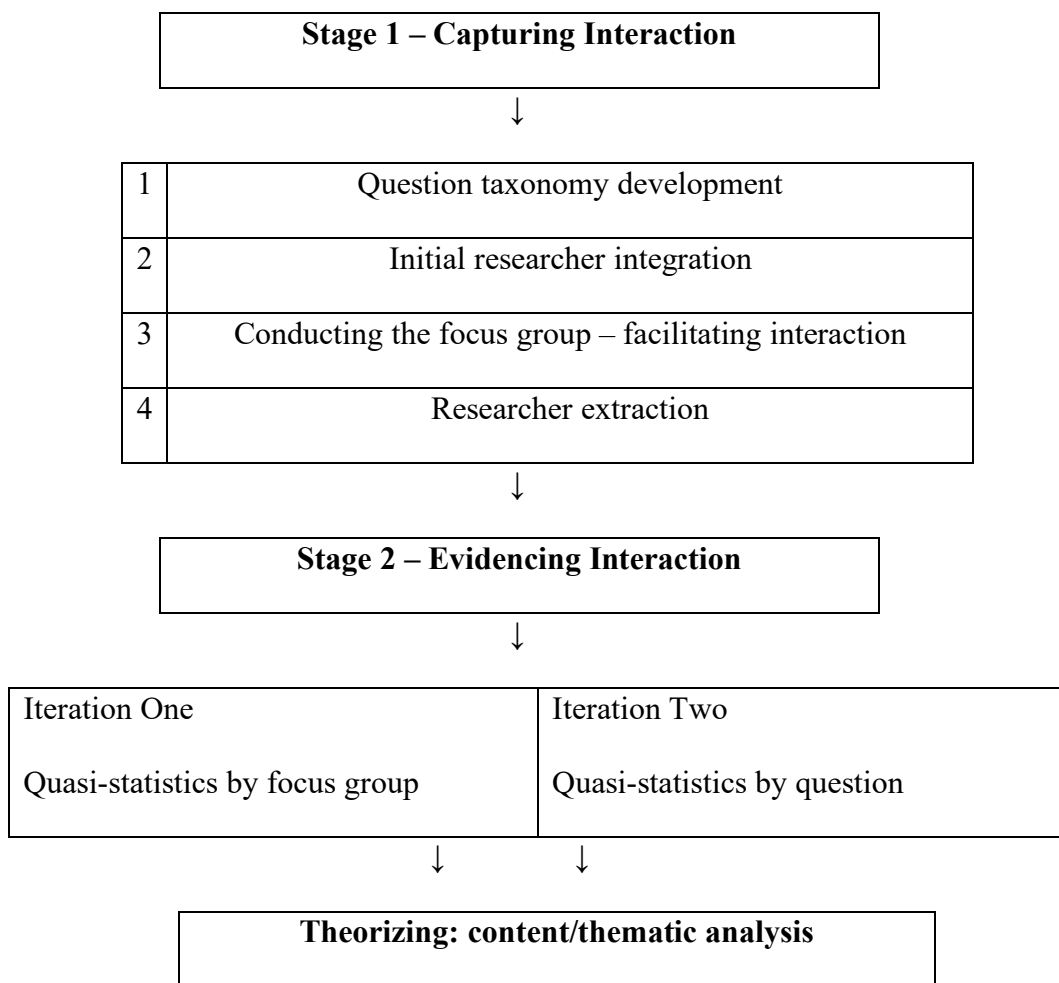


Table 1. Quasi Statistics by Focus Group624
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Stage Two - Iteration One - Quasi Statistics by Focus Group

Groups A-H – 8 focus groups 2 UK locations	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
Number of sequential interactions per group	254	297	249	234	586	264	290	56	2230
18 questions - Average number of sequential interactions between contributing participants (excluding moderator).	14	16	14	13	32	15	16	3	123 2230/123=18
Number of pauses– measured wait time 5 seconds before answering	10	5	6	4	6	0	1	0	32
Number of laughs	22	11	2	6	8	22	21	6	98

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628**Table 2. Quasi Statistics by Question**

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Stage Two - Iteration Two - Quasi Statistics by Question

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Total
Number of sequential interactions per question	134	116	158	134	133	84	138	134	106	158	111	98	94	163	110	93	98	168	2230
Number of contributing participants	28	30	35	29	30	29	24	28	25	35	27	28	26	28	28	25	29	25	509
% share of 52 participants	54%	58%	67%	56%	58%	56%	46%	54%	48%	67%	52%	54%	50%	54%	54%	48%	56%	48%	54%
Number of pauses	0	2	2	2	3	1	0	2	1	5	2	0	3	0	2	1	2	4	32
Number of laughs	17	3	2	3	15	7	4	3	7	5	1	2	4	5	10	5	2	3	98

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Table 3. Identification of Impact Questions

Identification of Impact Questions

Group	Highest Number Sequential Conversations	Highest Number of Contributing Participants	Highest Interaction Impact Question
A	10	2, 10, 11	10
B	2, 10	10	10
C	8	3	Inconclusive
D	4	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	4
E	18	*all except 2	Inconclusive
F	1	* ?	Inconclusive
G	5	6, 9, 10, 15, 17, 19	Inconclusive
H	9	4, 9, 12, 13	9

*? = Participants were talking over each other and unable to extract the actual number accurately

Identification of the impact questions

- Focus group A question 10 appears in two out of two highest columns
- Focus group B question 10 appears in two out of two highest columns
- Focus group D question 4 appears in two out of two highest columns
- Focus group H question 9 appears in two out of two highest columns

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