

Videobased Reflection on Team Interaction (The ViRTI-method)

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This paper introduces a method within the Applied Conversation Analytic School of research that deals with organizational business communication as a distinct phenomenon that can be enhanced. The method is called Videobased Reflection on Team Interaction (ViRTI). The aim with the method is to help employees; teams and leaders in organizations interact with as few "bumps on the way" as possible, which may have positive implications for other issues regarding the overall relationships between participants. The paper describes how the method has been developed from the onset of the Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM, Stokoe 2011), how it departures from CARM, and how the method should be practiced. An example is provided in conjunction with some critical reflections regarding further development of the method.

Key words: Applied CA, Multimodality, organizations, teams, interaction

Organizations consist of interactions (Cooren, 2014). Employees communicate consistently with each other, sometimes with success and other times with "bumps on the way" – simply speaking. The method we propose has been developed as a tool for providing communication advice in organizations on the micro level of interaction, aimed at enhancing interaction among employees in different settings, e.g. doing teamwork in meetings. It should be noted that while the cases presented in this paper are meetings, we do not intend for the method to be only used for meeting interaction. The method is inspired by and has many overlaps with the framework CARM, which is grounded in Conversation Analysis (Stokoe, 2011). However, CARM has primarily been developed and used in a specific counseling context and as a tool for individuals in training sessions. We initially tried to use CARM in an organizational context giving feedback on team and leadership interaction, but in the process we discovered that CARM was an insufficient method for these kinds of situations (see section 5). Thus, this paper outlines some of the basic assumptions and methods we think are needed, when trying to help employees and teams communicate better in everyday, mundane situations within the organization. The method we propose follows the phases, as illustrated in figure 1:

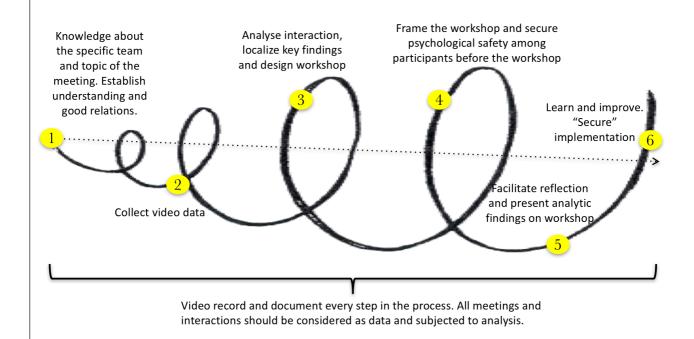


Figure 1: The loop-model showing the six overall important steps in the method. See section 6.0 for a discussion on this kind of model building.

The model in figure 1 will be explained later on. For now, it is sufficient to state that the method overall consists of establishing a pre-understanding of the setting and the employees involved, video data collection and detailed CA analysis, workshop preparation and facilitation and then reflecting and learning. We also build this paper on the following premises:

- Teams and leaders increase their chances of getting work done appropriately by clear, concise, sensemaking and goal oriented communication (Holmes & Marra, 2010) in a safe and trustworthy environment (Thomas, Zolin, & Hartman, 2009).
- Communication can be enhanced by focusing on aspects of boundary moments in interaction (Robinson & Heritage, 2014).
- Participants themselves have the suitable understanding of the context and resources to deal with appropriate interpretations and solutions to problems if guided properly (Antaki, 2011).
- Facilitator competencies and understanding and knowledge of the specific organization are key to success when doing an intervention – also from a CA perspective (Speer, 2002). See also (Cooren, Thompson, Canestraro, & Bodor, 2006) or for a broader perspective (Heisterkamp, 2006).

We begin by outlining the empirical setting for our discussion, and then move forward to discuss the organizational context and need for clear communication during meetings. We then shortly present the video-based reflection on employee interaction as an Applied Conversation Analysis method and then discuss it in relation to CARM. Before proceeding to the descriptions of the actual steps in the model we shortly consider how to build models.

1. THE EMPIRICAL SETTING

The method is applicable in organizations as a tool for interaction enhancement and development: by this we mean participant's own reflections on what to do better or different in the future. We do not imply or impose a specific model on what is objectively good or bad, but the method gives participants the opportunity to reflect on their own practice in order to choose whatever kind of interaction enhancement and development they prefer. In the method, team and employee interactions are recorded, their interaction analyzed, and participants are then presented to the findings in a facilitated workshop format. The fact that it is always the same people who are recorded who are provided feedback afterwards is one of the differences between this method and CARM. The method is aimed at the inner organizational life with a focus on employee interaction and meetings, thus providing an open reflexive space for talk about relations, interaction patterns, power, identity, leadership and different workflows regarding e.g. decision-making, idea development, etc. As a consequence, we have a strong focus on the "doing-being-facilitator" part of the process, where the researcher (or consultant) facilitates the feedback-workshop. By employee interaction we do not strictly mean specific types of groups that meet with any specific regularity, or that have any kind of well-defined competencies, type of work, or the like. But because employee interaction often takes place in some kind of teamwork-related activity during meetings, enhancement of employee interaction will often also involve enhancement of teamwork regarding roles, relations and practices and this will often apply to meeting settings.

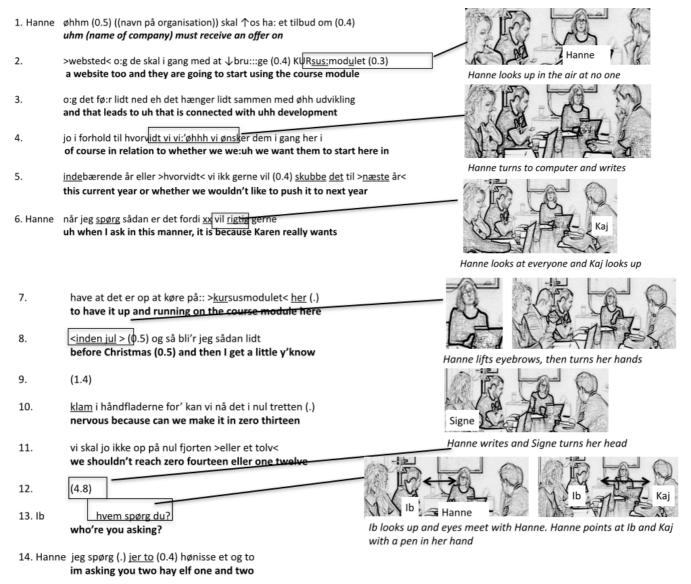
So far we have developed the method with help from five different Danish companies: A big international company, a small local company, a hospital, a business NGO and a humanitarian NGO. This paper is not a thorough analysis of all the different types of actions, turns, sequences, etc. across the different settings, but it provides an overview of the method, building on one short example of the five cases, and hence the specific topics which were analyzed, developed and presented for the employees in this particular workshop.

The case we focus on in this paper is the small local company. The company is situated in the Copenhagen area, employs around 30 people and produces software solutions. All data was collected with the informed consent of those involved and is anonymized. The leader invited us to participate in the weekly status team meeting, and accepted that the research team could return with analysis and do a workshop which the research team did a couple of months later. Considerations regarding making contact, understanding the organization and securing psychological safety are important issues, which among other things will be discussed in this paper. However, we will begin by looking very briefly at an example from the first meeting.

The official purpose of the weekly meeting is for the team members to update each other on ongoing activities in the team and decide deadlines for future activities, e.g. delivering products to

and conducting workshops for clients. The two main activity types during the meeting we shall focus on are *reporting*, i.e. sharing information on the past week's activities, and *decision-making*, i.e. deciding on deadlines and workshop dates. The hurdles for these kinds of meetings have been described as ensuring effective and efficient meetings, ensuring participation and ensuring mutual understanding of decisions (Asmuss & Svennevig, 2009; Svennevig, 2012a). Example one is a good example of the reporting activity type of the meeting. As we enter example 1, Hanne, the leader of the team, is introducing a project that she needs some answers on:

Example 1



Hanne introduces the project at length from line 1 to 11, and there is clearly transition relevance after line 11, as Hannes contribution is arguably designed as a question, and she overtly accounts for her action as such ("when I ask in this manner", line 6). The meeting generally consists of sequences like this, where someone reports on or gives status on some project, and the participants give inputs and discuss the item on the agenda, going in and out of the agenda (Deppermann, Schmitt, & Mondada, 2010; Svennevig, 2012b). In this light, the expressed uncertainty about whom Hanne is addressing in line 13 ("who're you asking?") can seem a bit odd. Thus, this oddness was an issue we dealt with in the workshop – as described at the end of this paper. We shall not go further with this example at this point, as the aim at this stage only is to establish an understanding of the activity type (Levinson, 1992). We shall return to the example at the end of the paper. But first we shall proceed with some considerations about meetings as important organizational activities.

2. THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT AND THE CASE OF MEETINGS

Organizations in the western world have been described as post-bureaucratic (Heckscher, 1994; Barley & Kunda, 2001), and increasingly team organized (Salas, Goodwin, & Burke, 2008). Employees and leaders team up and meet on a regular basis with the aim of solving problems, developing new ideas, coordinating projects and decide on what to do next. Drawing on the following points and literature, we see meetings as constituting a considerable part of the organizational life mentally, temporally and functionally, and they are constituted by interaction between team members:

- Employees, teams and meetings are closely interwoven today and their communication is a focal point for the constitution of the organization and participants' everyday interaction (Cooren, Kuhn, Cornelissen, & Clark, 2011; Cooren, 2013)
- Meetings are a central arena for the construction of the modern organization (Boden, 1994; Cuff & Sharrock, 1985; Volkema & Niederman, 1996).
- Meetings are frequent and meaningful situations whereby participants make decisions and coordinate actions (Asmuss & Svennevig, 2009).

According to Drew & Heritage (1992), there seems to be some general structures in institutional talk, as for instance meetings: participants are teamed up because they share a common purpose and the interaction is bound by the task at hand and the norms of behavior. One of the obvious structures being the chairing of the meeting and the use of agendas (Day & Kjærbeck, 2008; Deppermann et al., 2010; Svennevig, 2012b). Meetings are also interwoven in ongoing identity work: Participants employ themselves and others in different membership categories during meetings (Sacks, 1989), e.g. doing being leader (Svennevig, 2008), doing being facilitator, doing being creative (Due, 2012, 2014b; Nielsen, 2012), doing alignment or disalignment (Kangasharju, 1996; Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009), etc. This research implies that participation in organizational contexts is never decoupled identity work. However, taken a step from the descriptive analysis of interaction and identity to the prescriptive assessments of what is the "best" thing to do in interaction is a complicated one, and one that has not been taken in the above referred publications.

2.1 WHAT IS A PROBLEM - OR THE CASE OF INTERACTIONAL BUMPS ON THE WAY

"Good", "effective" and "best" communication needs to be put in brackets because there is no clear and objective parameters for communication that can be implemented everywhere without taking the context into consideration. Although there is, of course, many who propose models and solutions for exactly this (e.g. Cleary, 2004; McKenna, 2000). However, it is the main observation in this paper that on the basis of microanalysis methods and structures can be given, which can be of great value for participants in organizations as ways of facilitating and supporting members' *own* analytically informed reflections.

The purpose of ViRTI is to help participants become aware of interactional 'problems' that challenge a 'smooth' communication with as few "bumps on the way" as possible. But how are such problems properly identified? Much research has, for example, proven that elements such as pauses, hesitations, interruptions etc. are not necessarily symptoms of problems, but can be analysed as actors' ways of dealing with delicate matters, getting the attention from another person and the like (e.g. Asmuss, 2008; Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009). Epistemologically speaking, to whom is a "problem" a problem? Our answer to this is threefold: 1) we define an interactional problem *not* as a psychological or inner mental state, but as an interactional issue participants themselves deals with in the situation – typically through embodied markers indicating some sort of

discomfort and 2) therefore also should be shown in each specific empirical case through the "next turn proof procedure" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and 3) finally we propose the term *delayed next interpretation proof procedure* as an analytical tool for securing clear understanding of what a problem is. By this term we mean participants' own interpretation of their own actions presented for them at the workshop. Whether we as analysts consider something to be a problem or not is irrelevant if the participants themselves do not. The provided example in the paper represents a somewhat clear case as the participants treat an analytically defined "problem" as a real problem when they are confronted with it again. That is; an interactional bump on the way that should be dealt with.

3. VIRTI AS AN APPLIED CA METHOD

ViRTI seeks, as a grounded method, to be a contribution to the scientific field that has been dubbed applied conversation analysis (see Antaki 2011 for an overview of the field), as the method seeks to utilize insights from conversation analysis to identify and address interactional patterns in organisations. "Applied" is to be understood in contrast to the classical CA-studies, whose goal was not "application", but rather unveiling the structures of mundane conversation, and thus contributing to the understanding of how human beings organize themselves socially through interaction. Historically, CA researchers have gone from solely describing the structure of mundane conversations towards also analyzing institutional interaction, which in time has become an area of interest in itself (See Drew & Heritage 1992 or Asmuß & Steensig 2003). There are consequently different foci of interest in the different branches of CA-research. Applied CA is a broad field of studies that seek to apply the insights of CA in very different professional settings, and within the field a special interest in *interventionist* CA-based studies has evolved, whereof our method is one.

ViRTI is an addition to the CA-studies that supply different feedback and dissemination methods (e.g. *Discursive Action Method* (Lamerichs & te Molder 2011), *Interaction Therapy* (Wilkinson 2011), *CARM* (Stokoe 2011) or studies that reflect on how to communicate CA-results back to organisations (e.g. Finlay, Walton & Antaki 2011). In contrast to these studies the case presented in this paper is from a private company and not a public institution (e.g. in the health sector), and the method can thus also be seen as an addition to literature that argues for the worth of CA-studies in the realm of business communication, e.g. within leadership (Clifton, 2006, 2012; Nielsen, 2009,

2013), negotiations (Bennington, Shelter, & Shaw, 2003; King, 2010), decision making (Aritz & Walker, 2010), team work (Van Praet, 2009; Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009), meetings (Seibold, 1979; Volkema & Niederman, 1996; Asmuss & Svennevig, 2009) and trust (Thomas et al., 2009).

From a CA perspective meaning and understanding is constructed on an intersubjective turn-by-turn basis (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) where each action creates the context for the next relevant action, and so forth. This is done by different semiotic systems as for instance talk, embodied action and use of material structures in the environment (Streeck, Goodwin, & LeBaron, 2011). Communication is characterized by not only being talk, but it can also be an I-move-on-a-furniture-action, etc. This leads to an analysis of how the detailed organization and production of different actions, as an ecology of sign-systems, is built through interaction as it unfolds in locally organized sequences with a focus on the things that participants make relevant here-and-now for the construction of meaning. Video recordings of participants in multimodal interaction is one of the best ways to capture and understand what is going on (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002; Ochs, Graesch, Mittmann, Bradbury, & Repetti, 2006; Hindmarsh, Heath, & Luff, 2010; Mondada, 2008, 2009; Broth, Laurier, & Mondada, 2014), and we will argue that this is specifically the case in order to provide some sort of guidance towards better communication skills.

Of course, our method is not the first and only approach to be using video as a feedback tool. Others, and from a non-CA-perspective, have worked with video recordings as a counselling method, primarily in healthcare settings (Alnes, Kirkevold, & Skovdahl, 2011; Clayton et al., 2013), and specific concepts like the Marte Meo concept (Alnes et al., 2011) and among e.g. nurse/doctor-patient communication (Caris-Verhallen, Kerkstra, Bensing, & Grypdonck, 2000; Kurtz, Silverman, & Draper, 2005; Zick, Granieri, & Makoul, 2007), and in educational contexts (Kpanja, 2001; Fukkink, Trienekens, & Kramer, 2011; Rosaen, Lundeberg, Cooper, Fritzen, & Terpstra, 2008), but also in business related to design- and innovation practices (Buur & Soendergaard, 2000) and performance training when e.g. presenting on TV (Meisel, 1998).

We will not discuss these different video based counselling methods here, but instead state that none of these methods are grounded in detailed micro analysis and transcriptions, and therefore typically are unable to pinpoint the relevant features in conversation (an exception being Buur and Soendergaard (2000), which has a somewhat microanalytic approach). From a CA perspective, the

main idea is to look at social interaction *as* interaction, that is actions between participants. And the basic idea is that understanding and meaning-making is a co-constructed social phenomenon (Goodwin, 1979). Hence, it is the argument in this paper, that e.g. personal skills training in teams cannot do the job itself without taking the context into account. Enhanced, better and more effective communication needs to be based on common understanding and orientations among all the participants.

ViRTI can thus also be seen as a specific type of business anthropology as it is based on ethnographic data collection, analysis and feedback, which is a common thing to do in business anthropology (Denny & Sunderland, 2014) or organizational ethnography (Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg, 2009). However, ViRTI is a specific and conceptually strong method, which does not provide the researcher with a broad understanding of the organization, but a particular and specialized knowledge about interactional patterns in specific teams. This way of working has its inspiration in the method CARM (Stokoe, 2011).

4. INSPIRATION FROM CARM

The primary inspiration for ViRTI is The Conversation Analytic Role-Play Method that is better known under the acronym CARM. In order to explain on what basis our method has been developed we first offer a quick overview of CARM before we pinpoint the challenges we found with using the method on our case.

CARM has been described in several articles (Stokoe 2011; 2013a; 2013b; 2014). The description of CARM in this paper is based mostly on these articles and participation on the workshop "The Conversation Analytic Role-Play Method (CARM©): Training for professional and workplace communication encounters" held by Elizabeth Stokoe and Charles Antaki at Loughbourough University 8th - 9th February, 2014 (Stokoe & Antaki 2014).

CARM was developed by Elizabeth Stokoe and fellow researchers at Loughborough University, who have applied and developed the method to facilitate workshops in the UK and North America since 2008 (CARM website 2014). CARM was conceived out of the need to bring back solid results to the organisations Elizabeth Stokoe was conducting research within. The method was developed

as a critique of and evidence-based alternative to training communication skills through simulated role-play (Stokoe 2014). Role-play for communication training is used in a variety of settings and is defined by researchers in the field as simulations of real interaction between people (van Hasselt, Romano & Vecchi 2008: 251-252).

The basic notion underlying role-play is that the role-play mimics the target interaction situation so closely that the role-play can be used for training the interactional actions that comprise the target interaction situation. Stokoe criticizes this notion for several reasons (Stokoe 2011: 121). Firstly, CA research over the decades has shown that people do not possess the detailed vernacular familiarity with their own interactional practices presupposed in the role play-paradigm. Therefore the participants in role-play cannot be expected to produce interactional actions that are typical of the interactional situation the role-play is trying to mimic.

Secondly, as role-play is simulation, the participants in a role-play situation cannot be expected to orient to the same goals in the simulation as in the "real" interaction. Role-playing is often used for educational purposes, and therefore, Stokoe argues, a certain degree of evaluation will be present in the role-playing situations. This claim has been supported by a comparative analysis of role-played and actual police interrogations (Stokoe 2013b). The study shows that while the same sorts of actions where to be found in both the simulated and actual interrogations, the way in which the actions were performed - the linguistic packaging of the actions - differed significantly. The simulated interaction was found to be "exaggerated", meaning that the actions where made more salient and hence more evaluable to the supervisors, who where monitoring the role-play in order to assess the future officers' interrogation skills.

CARM seeks to mend the issues concerning authenticity inherent in role-play training by using the relatively fine transcriptions of conversation analysis (following Jeffersonian transcription) and the possibility to present the data as one would experience the actual interaction: through sound and possibly video recordings. The implicit argument that Stokoe seems to make is that the transcriptions of sound or video recordings to a greater degree can be said to be authentic imitations of the actual situations. Of course this claim can be questioned from an ontological perspective, since the sound and video recordings and the transcriptions of them are not *the reality* either, but

rather physical imprints or interpretations of *a reality*. With this caveat, CARM does overcome a number of the criticisms of classic role-play.

Because of its conversation analytic heritage, CARM basically has a different base for evidence, and therefore does not have to rely solely on the participants' retro- or introspective conceptions of their own interactional practices. In other words, CARM addresses the inherent problems with roleplay by offering an evidence-based alternative to role-playing, and on this basis one might object that CARM isn't a role-play method as such. Rather it is a method that is quite distinct from roleplay, and the nomenclature can rather be seen as 1) an explication of what it is CARM seeks to do away with, i.e. the problem of role-play as described above and 2) a rhetorical choice, that brands the method through the euphonious acronym homophonous with the English word "calm".

5. CHALLENGES IN APPLYING CARM

While CARM is a didactically promising and practically doable framework for creating communication workshops for some cases, we encountered several challenges in trying to apply the method to our team interaction enhancement cases. The challenges were both of a theoretical and practical nature, and we evaluated that – as a whole – they made it necessary to develop a new similar method rather than try to expand the CARM concept – which also relates to the fact that CARM is a trademark, and that we legally couldn't expand on the concept. The four most crucial points are first listed and then explicated below. We found that a suitable concept should expand on the following points:

- 1. Reflections on multimodality and the semiotically rich environment.
- 2. Metareflections on what pre-understanding of interaction participants in a workshop need in order to make sense of the workshop.
- 3. Metareflections on the presentation situation and the role of the workshop facilitator.
- 4. Ethnographicly gathered knowledge about the organization and frequently interaction with key stakeholders, like e.g. a leader, in order to secure psychological safety and real impact.

Compared to CARM our method thus seeks to be a more holistic CA-based organizational approach, as shown in figure 2.

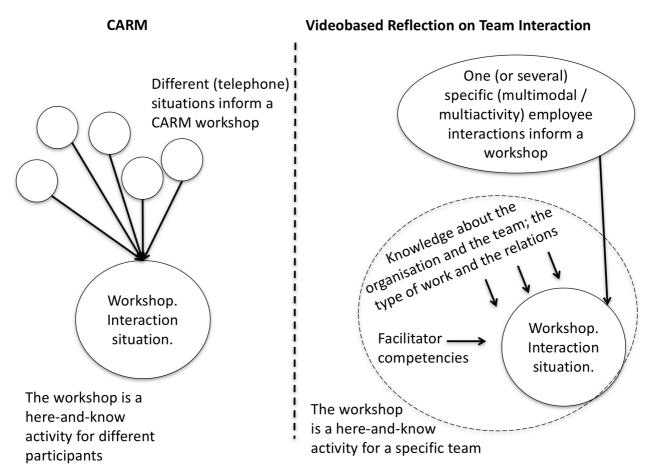


Figure 2: Some of the differences between CARM and ViRTI.

5.1 REFLECTIONS ON MULTIMODALITY

So far the literature on CARM is not explicit about how an analyst should deal with other modalities than spoken language. This is a significant limitation, as several CA-inspired studies over the last 3 decades have demonstrated how different modalities are interlinked in the production of meaning in interaction. It may be a logical choice in CARM where the (original) data source is telephone calls, but when operating with face-to-face meetings in organizations, interaction is embedded in a rich semiotic environment. Multimodal studies are occupied with describing how visual orientation; gesture and other forms of bodily conduct within a network of things, objects and material structures, are used as semiotic resources in face-to-face interaction. Examples of such resources could be how non-fluent speech and hesitation in face-to-face interaction is not to be ascribed to production problems on the part of the speaker, but rather as a resource for the speaker to obtain the gaze of a collocutor (Goodwin 1981).

Initially, multimodal studies where focusing on participants' orientation towards the body, i.e. gaze, gesture and other movements (e.g. Goodwin 1979, Schegloff 1984), and later on, on how material artifacts and tactile experiences play a role in interaction (Nishizaka, 2011; Streeck et al., 2011). Lately, new suggestions on how to investigate other modalities such as taste and smell has emerged (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2013). In principal, numerous modalities can be included in a sequential analysis, and within our method we do not delimit what actions could or should be included in an analysis of interaction. Furthermore, as has also been thoroughly shown within the ANT-community (e.g. Latour, 1979, 1996, 2005), things and objects must be considered nonhuman participants (actants) with agency that can, if somehow oriented to, act in the world and thus create and course effect. See also Nevile et al. (2014) on this point.

We will point to some insights on multimodality that an analyst within our method can use as a minimal guideline. Instead of only looking at *the spoken* modality two other main modalities must at least be considered: *the bodily* and *the material* (Heath & Luff 2012):

- By spoken resources we understand the participants' linguistic expressions that can be described through linguistic disciplines such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, etc.
- By bodily resources we understand the participants' bodily expressions, e.g. (shifts in) gaze, hand movements, nods, body posture and placement, facial expressions, and also other embodied modalities like smelling, tasting, feeling and touching.
- By material resources we understand the inclusion of artifacts and technologies that are present in the interaction situation, e.g. pens, cups, paper blocks, mobile phones, etc. but also the material surrounding like buildings, rooms, lighting, doors, tables, etc.

We suggest that analysis of e.g. a given gesture or use of an artifact should depend on what social action it is produced in context of (Streeck 2009). In other words, our method takes the whole semiotic ecology of meaning making within the organization seriously, but only as something that is analyzable on the basis of the "next-turn proof procedure" (Sacks et al. 1974), which we interpret in this way: The understanding of a prior action (verbal, bodily, material) is displayed somehow (verbal, bodily, material) by another participant within the next sequences of actions. When

preparing a workshop, analysts can squint to what action sequence a given spoken, bodily or material action is part of, and thus work and understand the concept "sequence" in a broader sense than in classic CA-studies.

In our approach, we seek to incorporate knowledge and reflections on multimodality in interaction, and this also has an impact on transcription practices. The data in CARM is transcribed following the standards known from CA research, the "Jefferson notation" (Jefferson 1985, 2005). An important point that is not explicated in the CARM procedure (or in other CARM-literature) is that the details of transcriptions are usually connected to the specific research topics. Furthermore, Jefferson notation is not a well-established standard for transcribing video data – and therefore there are more considerations concerning representation of the data when using video data. How to represent data in a meaningful way is therefore a real issue to be dealt with. At least, researchers should aim for a transcription practice that allows for denoting spoken, bodily and material resources utilized by participants in the interaction studied.

5.2 METAREFLECTIONS ON WHAT PRE-UNDERSTANDING OF INTERACTION PARTICIPANTS NEED IN ORDER TO MAKE SENSE OF THE WORKSHOP

The second area, where we found that the CARM-method couldn't be applied to our case, is that the articles on CARM hardly contain meta-reflections on the participants' ability to 1) engage with the transcribed data and 2) engage in the analytical task that they are faced with during a workshop. Elizabeth Stokoe mentions en passant how participants are prepared to grasp the transcribed data in the workshop that forms the basis for reflection on their own professional practice:

"Before moving on [...] I want to briefly explain how participants come to understand the data and its presentation in the standard CA format using Jefferson transcription. It is perhaps surprising that, once they do understand it, they quickly see its benefits in understanding how, and where, troubles can arise in interaction. To 'train' mediators to understand the system, I use several examples [...]" (Stokoe 2011: 129)

Stokoe goes on to show such illustrative data examples, and describes how the participants begin to grasp the relevance of different conversation analytic concepts. But it is not explicated *how* the

concepts (e.g. *turn constructional units* and *transition relevance*) are presented through the examples – only that the participants can easily understand them, and that the facilitator does not need to use the technical terminology of CA for explaining the different phenomena. Stokoe does not explicitly reflect upon what kind of knowledge the participants in the workshop receive through her examples. Stokoe uses several similar examples that are shown to the participants before the actual workshop (Stokoe & Antaki 2014).

A helpful contribution to the field of interventionist applied CA – and thereby to any researcher doing interventionist projects in professional organisations would be to make explicit what a workshop participant needs to know before the actual workshop starts; how much should the participants know about the transcriptions in order to spot "problematic" sequences in the data and thereby their own practices – during the workshop. Stokoe indirectly outlines a description of her communication in the workshops by highlighting several metaphors that serve to explain things in an engaging way to participants at workshops (Stokoe 2014: 258). One specific analogy is that "interaction is a racetrack" (Stokoe 2014: 258). This metaphor highlights that conversations have a certain architecture and are organised in a certain way – a basic principle in CA that goes back to Harvey Sack's "order at all points" (Sacks 1984: 22). To make use of metaphors of this sort is didactically sound, since such metaphors can make abstract, academic concepts more concrete. However, instead of using an antagonistic metaphor we would - on the basis of our type of organizational data - suggest using a more cooperative metaphor, as for instance "interaction as a hike or a route". A group of participants may follow a trail or use a map for the purpose of going from A to B in a landscape – just as team members are involved in the same project within a meeting. Which metaphors one uses to think with are, as Lakoff and Johnson has shown (1980), not trivial but an important part of the social meaning making processes.

The participants in a workshop have to acquire some kind of CA-approach to data in order to be a part of the activity in the workshop, and a further explication of metaphors and other didactic reflections would be a significant help to any researcher preparing a workshop in an interventionist CA project. In other words, we find that before making a workshop, the practitioner needs to spend some time specifying and elaborating on what pre-understanding of interaction participants in a workshop need in order to make sense of the workshop and then design the workshop accordingly.

5.3 METAREFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENTATION SITUATION AND THE ROLE OF THE FACILITATOR

The third area where we found that the CARM method could be further developed is concerning meta-reflections about the presentation situation and the role of the workshop facilitator. Within the field of CA, studies in different settings have shown how people have shown resistance to receive advice: e.g. first-time mothers during visits from health visitors (Heritage & Sefi 1992), patients during HIV-counselling (Silverman 1997), or master and PhD students in guidance sessions (Waring 2005, 2007). These insights cannot be translated directly to a workshop situation in a given organisation, but they do point to the benefit of contemplating the situational possibilities and limitations that face any workshop facilitator. To take these considerations seriously, we seek to make workshop facilitation into an object of research in itself, and in this article we present data from our facilitation of a workshop.

We hope that over time, the explicit focus on workshop facilitation will improve the method significantly. It is outside the scope of this article to discuss this theme at length, but one place to start when reflecting on the presentation situation could be within the theoretical framework *the rhetorical situation* (Bitzer 1968). Especially Bitzer's concept the rhetorical situation's *audience* and *constraints* could prove to be valuable tools to meta-reflect explicitly on the presentation situation when preparing the presentational parts of the workshop. Likewise, one might consult literature that describes the consultant and facilitator role extensively. One might start with Edgar H. Scheins 10 principles for process consultation (Schein 1999). How to be a "good" facilitator is of course a complex question, and our on-going research will over time contribute with a pool of facilitator-data. For now it is sufficient to hypothesize, that doing being a facilitator is all about being able to establish psychological safety and trust (see below), and securing relevant discussions and progress (Caro-Bruce, 2000; Frey, 2006; Kolb & Rothwell, 2002; McFadzean, 2002).

5.4. PSYCHOLOGICAL SAFETY AND STAKEHOLDER MANAGEMENT

The last issue we would like to pinpoint is the need for establishing trust and psychological safety in the whole process going from the first contact with the organization to the end. This may be thought of in implicit terms in CARM, but when operating within an organization this has to be an explicit element in the method. Providing feedback to a team, that has been video recorded, is on several levels a potential face threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Securing psychological safety is a key task in organizations as employees' ability to be creative, cooperative, relations building, etc., is built on trust (Edmondson & Mogelof, 2006; Edmondson & Roloff, 2009). Doing ethnographic research, placing video cameras in the organization, and talking about how the gathered data will serve as background for discussions of team interaction, may naturally cause concerns. This has to be mitigated in different phases of the project (cf. Hindmarsh et al., 2010).

We think of this framing work as a stakeholder management task (Freeman, 1984). Stakeholders are employees who somehow have a connection with the project. This is primarily the leader and her employees who are recorded and participate in the workshop. But others can be relevant. It is thus important to do a stakeholder analysis during the project in order to identity the primary and secondary stakeholders. When identified, it is essential to treat the stakeholders in "the right way" during the different phases of the project in order to secure a psychologically safe environment. In the first phase (see figure 1), it is all about establishing good contact with the project leader, framing and securing that he/she understands the process and the type of workshop, so that the project leader may communicate the purpose, the goal, the process and the format further to relevant employees. In the second phase it is all about communicating clearly and open-mindedly with employees when engaged in data collection. And in the third workshop phase it is important to

present noteworthy but not obvious deep face threatening examples and analyses, and to facilitate in a trustworthy way.

5.5. SUMMING UP

So, as illustrated in figure 2, and described in the sections above, ViRTI is similar but also different to other applied CA research methods like e.g. CARM. The above reflections on multimodality; meta-reflections on what pre-understanding of interaction participants in a workshop need in order

to make sense of the workshop; metareflections on the presentation situation and the role of the workshop facilitator; and the need of ethnographically gathered knowledge in order to secure psychological safety, are key considerations within the method. Before we outline the method in more details, we want to briefly discuss the very nature of building a methodical model.

6.0 A NOTE ON HOW TO BUILD A MODEL

Following Duranti (2005) we do not apply for the term *theory*, with its requests for a complete ontology and epistemology, but instead think of models as entities that are good to think with. They are worth pursuing if they provide us with a conceptual apparatus that can be used to describe, and thus (better) understand or explain a given range of phenomena. As Duranti states: "Models are often thought of as representations but only in the very general sense of 'standing in' or 'standing for' the phenomena themselves or the logic of their functioning" (2005: 419). The model we propose has been illustrated already in figure 1 and 2 and will be described in detail below. It is, however, important in the first place to stress the fact that this model is not only descriptive and thus concerned with what is going on, but also prescriptive and thus concerned with what should be going on.

The descriptive type of modeling is described by Duranti as "models of", as opposed to the prescriptive, which may labeled "models for". The metaphor for conversation we earlier described as "the hike", is such a model for thinking of team interaction. Another metaphor is the one we used to describe the whole process in figure 1: The loop-model. We consider the video based reflection as a model that has broad potentials but also limited scope within an organization regarding e.g. tracing and following action through its networks (Latour, 2005).

Our model is not static: it has been developed over time through research, data collection, experiments, etc., in five different organizations and in the way we present it, it is working as a practical tool for actual team interaction enhancement – but each step in the model, needs continuously more data, analysis and reflection. In other words the process is iterative, which we have sought to communicate graphically through the loops in our model (figure 1). Although we do not aim to make a holistic grand theory, it is nevertheless important to stress how our thinking and model-building is conducted on a phenomenological, ethnomethodological and thus social

constructivism foundation, which presumes that practices, organizations, culture and interaction are changeable constructs (Berger & Luckman, 1967). As a consequence, the development of the model is also based on the double-loop learning process (Argyris, 2002), where each step in the process must be documented and reflected upon, thereby treating all kinds of experiences as data, and especially encouraging to make video recordings of all the steps in the model so as to turn the method itself into a study.

7. ACTUAL STEPS IN THE MODEL

In this section we outline the concept of the model. This will be done as a step-by-step exercise where we introduce each step in the process while at the same time adding theoretical and methodological reflections. The step-by-step process has been illustrated in figure 1. We will outline the model as a practical method by showing excerpts from our data.

7.1 PREPARATION OF THE INTERVENTION

As has been described earlier the preparation is of utmost importance regarding framing the whole situation and securing psychological safety throughout the organization regarding the data collection and especially establishing understanding of the kind of workshop feedback that will be given. It is important to contact the project leader in the organization regularly and securing backing of the project and its focus. This part of the research has a lot to do about being a skilled consultant. Securing understanding and backing from all the key stakeholders will to a great extent determine the success of the workshop. Figure 3 is an example of a mail exchange between the researcher and the leader (read from below and up).

Brian Due Ø 29. jan. 2015 M. 10.1 Tit: Bendt - KU E Bendt - KU E Vacid: deltageteel mindre forskningsprojekt? Bendt - KU E Bendt - KU E	
Heij gen Jeg Kom lige I sivil om jeg har sagt, at vi også gerne vil filme workshoppen - men håber det er ok?	Filming of the workshop being ok.
Den 18/01/2015 kl. 20.42 skrev L	initial of the workshop being ok.
Hej Brian	
Det lyder spændende – og jeg har sørget for et lokale.	
Desværre kan ikke alle fra sidst møde deltage, men hovedparten kan.	
Hilsen	
From: Brian Lystgaard Due (mailto:bdue@hum.ku.dk) Sent: 18. januar 2015 08:19 Ter.	
CC Simon Bierring Lange Subject: Re: detagelse I mindre forskningsprojekt?	
Hej Super. Det vil sige vi har en aftale d. 4. kl. 10-12. Kan I selv booke lokalet?	
Her er lidt yderligere forklaring omkring werkshoppen: De studerende og ieg og en ande ekstem lektor Simon Lange, CC), der har været inde over projektet (og vil facilitere workshoppen), har analyseret på det filmode mede, og pointen til workshoppen er følgende: Overordene hander det om at give premiljend for at tale igennem hval 1 evel vense fungerer god/ idtigt på den slag mede fra der materiale som vi præsenterer. Så det Erzevez, at du og modtrejdere har byst til at gå lidt i helikopterprepender på jerze- praksis og reflektere over den. Hålber i studig har mod på det. Det er vigigt at sigs, at det ikke handler om at skigge på nogens personlige kommunikationsform, men om at kigge på livordan bestemte organisationshandlinger gøres. Nogle af de temær vi fundet interesante ær.	purpose of the workshop
Hvordan man træffer beilunninger Hvordan man undelder unlenner Nordan and exabes fremdricht // leddise på mødet ift til fx dagsordenspunkter Nordan både tale men også kropssprog bruges	Description of the thems, that will be adressed during the workshop with request for the leaders
Kort drejebog 1. Vi starter med at sætte rammen for hvad vi skal lave. Vi har fire eksempler, vi gerne vil gå igennem.	accept
 Vi a fullier et videokilo ge stopper undervejs nogle gange, hverefler vi spenger jer om at indi om, hvad I tore der sker bagefter 5. Vi spiller kingen ferdige ga II furmingheft om at tale beid kingent igennem ift hvad I synes det handler om, og hvad I synes fungerer / ikke fungerer Vi fortieller hvad vieller og derudover også har flæt ud af klippet Vedrigere samale om vorse skara pointer. G. (samne procedure med tre andre klip) Simter opaminig Med regeren der start klip Jense vuederning af, om der er nogle ting I vil lave om på fremadertet. 	— — — — — — · Detailed plan for the workshop
Hvis I / du synes, dette fungerer, er jeg meget åben overfor at køre det igennem med nogle af dine andre teams	
vh brian	
Hej Brian	
Der spärges lidt til indholdet? Nu da jeg har flyttet mødet.	Leader asks about a program for the workshop
From: Brian Lystgaard Due (maito:bdue@hum.ku.dk) Senth 16, Januar 2015 12:06	
To: Subject: Re: deltagelse i mindre forskningsprojekt?	
Hej W er løbet ind i lidt kalenderproblemer, sli jeg ska labre lige høre om det kan lade sig gøre med vores miniworkshop d. 4. om formiddagen kl. 10-12 i stedet for 13-15? vh brian	Re-negotiating time for workshop
Den 22/10/2014 kl. 12.20 skrev Brian Dus < <u>bdus@hum.ku.dk</u> >:	
Climende Vi satter ske tæyds og møder frem d. 4.2. Mere information følger når vi nærmer os. Hvis du bare sørger for medarbejdere og lokale er booket, sk klærer vi resten. ses	Confirming agreement about time for workshop

Figure 3. Example: a mail exchange between the researcher and the leader in the company. The exchange is purposefully made very small and names and emails have been obscured in order to secure anonymity. The most important part is the description of what the workshop themes will be, and the leader's acceptance.

Regarding researching and improving the method it is important to treat all kinds of interactions as data in the process. The contact points with the organization must be reported using different kinds of ethnographic methods like field notes, interviews, contextual inquiry, photos, and it is optimal to video record the pre-meetings with the organization representatives in order to constantly improve the method on the backdrop of analysis of one's own practice. We have done this in several cases, and hope to describe this work in the future. For now we will proceed to the next step in the method, the primary data gathering.

7.2 RECORD AND ANALYZE INTERACTION

As illustrated in figure 2, our model is based on knowledge about the organization and the specific employees or teams whose interaction is being investigated. The degree of background ethnographic knowledge about the type of work, the type of organization and the type of employees may vary from case to case, depending on the scope and the existing amount of the researchers' knowledge, but should often at least involve doing several interviews with key stakeholders like the leader and some participants of the team. However, the primary data source is the video recordings of meetings or other recordable situations where employees interact.

Identity understood as different membership categories may shift on the discursive level, but is often on the situational level reproduced over time and context (Zimmerman, 1998). With respect to this, it is our experience that conducting interviews after a meeting, asking about the participant's experience of the meeting regarding it being somewhat normal or not, is an extra important source, that can validate the analysis.

The observer's paradox is of course always prevalent (Labov, 1972; Nafus & Anderson, 2006) when collecting data, but as has been reported numerous times, participants actually tend to forget video recording equipment (Mondada, 2008). It is of course important to make as valid video recordings as possible regarding securing clear visuals and hearable sound quality (see e.g. Hindmarsh et al., 2010).

One of the central tasks in the analysis process is to choose the appropriate examples. As these eventually will be shown to the participants and serve as conversation and reflection starter, they must be carefully selected. This selection-process is one of the most important but also hardest analytical tasks because the examples have to balance the following considerations: on the one hand not being Deeply Face Threatening Acts (DFTA) but on the other hand still be able to facilitate conversations about the real issues in interaction like power and identity, and then, of course, be intuitively understandable for participants. By DFTA we build on the literature on FTA's (Face Threatening Acts) (Brown & Levinson, 1987) but expand this by stating, that DFTA are those situations that are not just challenging the normal "doing being ordinary" and the "preference for agreement", which relates to the social and moral politeness in interaction, but those issues that can surely upset people. This could be examples showing how an employee displays concealed contempt or disgust towards another participant. This is not a FTA or DFTA in the situation, as it is

(possibly) not registered, but it is surely a DFTA if it is showed at a workshop. Each project and analysis must consider how to define a DFTA in its own data.

In the selection of the examples we propose to focus on boundary moments where participants seems to be confused, dissatisfied, ineffective, very happy or not understanding; situations where participants seems to disagree or disalign/disaffiliate and hence there seems to be facework going on; situations where actions like orders, questions, decision makings, idea developments or instructions occur or there are long pauses or a lot of repair – that is situations that imply some sort of "bump on the way".

A very important part of the analysis and feedback process begins with this careful selection of examples. And it should be mentioned that we find it important to distinguish between what is analytically interesting and what is suitable for use in a workshop. In workshops, examples cannot be too complex with e.g. to much talk in overlap (unless that is the point) and may not be too face threatening in the DFTA-way. The best examples for workshops are those that intuitively prompt talk because of it being funny, weird, surprising, (a)typical – that is: some kind of boundary moment.

The goal with the examples in the workshop is not just to discuss the issues in each of the specific examples, but also to prompt discussions about broader issues, that are important to the specific participants in the workshop. The examples must be thought of as conversation starters and thus the facilitator's tools for helping the employees be aware of their communication patterns. Therefore, when finding and choosing the examples, the researcher must ask himself or herself the question: "what kind of conversation do I hope the participants will have when they see this example?". Finally, when finding and choosing examples, it is also important to make sure, that each and every example prompts different topical conversations. The conversations may be connected by an overall topic like e.g. "to be better prepared for the meeting", but in order to prevent tiresome repetitions; the examples should be clearly differentiated.

Like described in the section before, it is also regarding this analytical step in the process important to improve the method by video recording the data analysis phase – at least when it is performed as

a social practice (data session). Optimizing the analysis phase through self-analysis may improve the researchers ability to choose the "right" examples.

7.3 PREPARE AND CARRY OUT THE WORKSHOP – AND REFLECT UPON IT AFTERWARDS

There is a lot to say about the workshop situation regarding preparing the multimodal setting with powerpoint, tables, chairs, light, heat, food, etc. – all this boils down to the facilitator competencies (Due, 2014a). We shall however only focus on the workshop steps, which are very similar to CARM, except that we focus on 1) the same team, 2) video clips and 3) multimodal practices (cf. figure 2). The steps are as follows, when facilitators and employees are gathered at the workshop:

- Introduce the format for the workshop and the facilitators job during the workshop. Explain how their approach to the potentially "dangerous" issues (e.g. power and identity) is determining for how the workshop will unfold. They will all gain more from the workshop if they are prepared to deal with "the real issues". This is more likely to be the case if the initial stakeholder management has been thoroughly conducted, e.g. by preparing participants before the workshop about the issues that is going to be presented at the workshop and the format of the workshop.
- Explain the method shortly by a general straightforward example. Make sure everyone is on the same page regarding understanding of the very basic CA-way of working, e.g. explain how a transcript should be read.
- Show a short uncomplicated example of their own practice, that reveals some kind of successful interaction. State that the team does really well, when they are at their best, acknowledging that while there may be a room for reflection and improvement, the team does certain things really well. If possible, this should also be an example that stimulates laughs.
- Then introduce the 4-5 topics that have been discovered in the analysis. Introduce them in a rather vague way, so that participants don't know what might be a "correct answer" in each case. But make sure they fully understand the setting and context and what they are talking about in the clip before showing the clip.

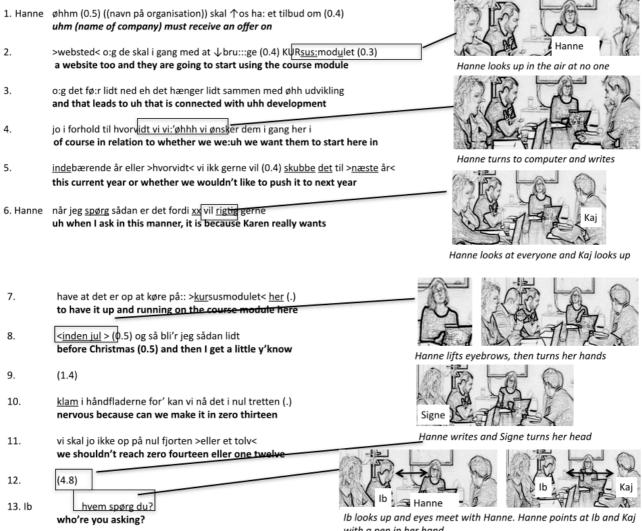
- Start the first topic (e.g. unclear decision making but don't say this is the topic). Play the video clip with (or without) running transcripts. Unless the video clip is very clear and easily understandable just by watching it, transcripts are needed in a readable Jeffersonian variation. Clips may be up to two-three minutes whatever necessary in order for participants to understand the situation they are looking at. Play a clip. Stop. Then facilitate participants conversation. The facilitator may ask: What do you think of what you just saw, and how do you think they (you) respond to this? or should respond to this. Play another clip, etc. If the clip is a bit complicated you may need to explain more and show it several times.
- After employees' conversation about the video clip the researcher adds his prepared analytical points. This may very well and for didactic reasons be presented as graphical models if possible.

The introduction of a topic with one or more short video clips and the subsequent conversation may typically last about 15-20 minutes. About 4-5 topical issues with a maximum of about 10-12 clips is appropriate for a 1-2 hours' workshop.

As is the case with the double-loop learning, it is important to document and reflect upon the research and practice. Therefore we always record the workshops, and make analysis of them afterwards in order to improve the method. We will shortly go through the case that we introduced in the beginning of the paper, showing it from two perspectives:

- The prepared workshop on basis of a recorded meeting (example 1).
- The actual workshop where examples from the first meeting is shown (example 2).

Example 1: The recorded and analyzed meeting



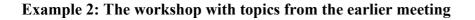
14. Hanne jeg spørg (.) jer to (0.4) hønisse et og to im asking you two hay elf one and two with a pen in her hand

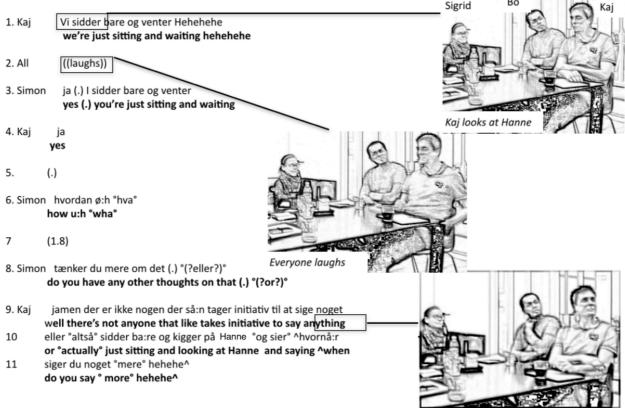
We presented this example in the beginning of the paper. Analytically we chose this example for several reasons. There are some obvious leader-actions: Hanne is chairing the meeting at this point showing epistemic and deontic rights (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015). This is accomplished through different types of actions: 1) she has the floor and keeps it throughout an otherwise interpretable transition relevant place (1.9), 2) she is sitting at the end of the table, which is a more hierarchical contextual configuration than e.g. a round O-space (Kendon, 1990), 3) and she implies common knowledge by e.g. using the particle "jo" (l. 4). She is addressing her co-participants with actions that are accountably designed to be questions (1. 6), but it is seemingly unclear to the

employees who she actually is projecting to be the next relevant speaker, which is clear from the long pause after the transition relevant place (l. 12) and afterwards the account from Ib (l. 13).

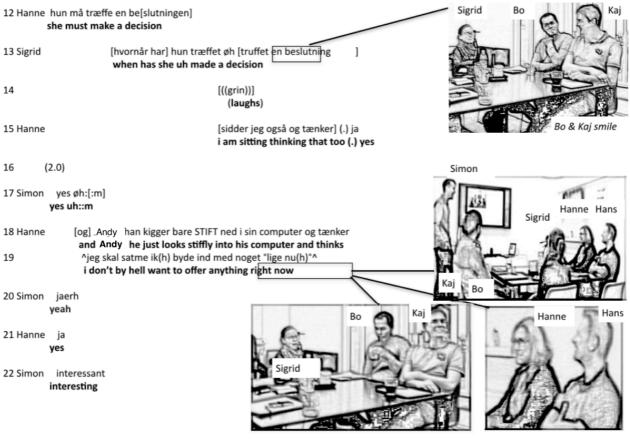
We also observe how participants use very diminutive embodied actions. Nobody is accounting for this in the situation, but compared to other types of similar meetings, it is clear that these participants seem to be somehow bodily disengaged by literally speaking not moving their bodies and particular not gazing at the speaker.

Thus, this example may prompt reflections about roles (being leader versus employee), question design and disengaged embodied action. We presented this example on the workshop, and example 2 shows what happened. In the transcript, Simon is the facilitator.





Heads are turned towards presentation



Hanne, Kaj & Hans smile

We will not go through this example in detail but make some overall reflections: After the video clip was played, the participants immediately replied: Kaj observes their own practice by stating: "we're just sitting and waiting" (l.1), which may be understood as an indexical reference to the long pause (l. 12 in ex 1). His turn is produced in a laughable way thus framing the further treatment to be within some kind of humorous sequence type. And they all confirm it by laughing (l. 2). The facilitator treats the team laugh as a transition relevant place, and responds to Klaus turn by reformulating it (l. 3). The facilitators bodily action may be interpreted as inviting the participants to further elaborate on the theme. However, this is not responded to by the participants, and the facilitator expands his turn into a more open fishing question: "do you have any other thoughts" (l. 8), thereby allocating the turn back to Kaj as the next speaker. Given the floor, Kaj takes a multiunit turn explaining how he understands the situation – again produced with laughing markers (l. 9-11).

Hanne, who primarily produced the actions which was shown in the clip, then takes a turn giving her interpretation of her own actions by addressing herself as "she" (l. 12). Hanne seems to reproduce and reformulate Kajs interpretation of the situation. That is: the long pause in example 1

(1. 12) – is *not* an open transition relevant place, where co-participants should respond, but it is Hannes slot and it is filled with her personal thought process. Sigrid further reproduces this interpretation when she in overlap says: "made decision" (1. 12), thus confirming Hannes interpretation by using the same wording. Hanne also address the issues of disengaged embodied actions in line 18: "jesper he just looks stiffly into his computer", which the other participants responds to with an aligning laugh.

Interestingly, the participants in the workshop (ex 2) treat the production of the long pause (in ex 1), as a part of Hannes turn, which is why (due to their own interpretation) they don't respond in the situation. Thus, on this background, the participants had a very fruitful discussion about leadership, the leaders open thought processes and habit of "thinking aloud" versus how to design questions and project the next relevant speaker, and they also touched upon how to secure more engaged meetings by e.g. more engaged embodied interactions. They eventually agreed on changing some of this behavior.

Although we did not have the space to unfold the analysis of this excerpt in more details – or include other examples – it is nevertheless clear from just this brief example, that the videobased reflection enhances participants awareness of some potentially misfortunate patterns of conduct,e.g. Hanne's reluctance to address the relevant next speaker. So, this clearly demonstrates the value regarding enhancement of particular interactional patterns.

However, the benefits go beyond "just" this value. Much more can be gained from such raised awareness. ViRTI can lead to less 'bumby' interaction. But it may also lead to more egalitarian patterns of conduct, possibly better decisions made during processes of decision-making and possibly to better relationships between participants. Whether these end goals are actually reached with the ViRTI method is still unclear, and the method needs to be evaluated especially regarding implementation and effect of the workshop. A part of this will need to invoke discussions about whether possible change and interaction enhancement is due to the specific discussions of interactional patterns or just the fact, that participants have a renewed focus on their own practice - as stated by research like the Hawthorne experiment (Holden, 2001).

Conclusions

The method has potential for being used by consultants as well as researchers, as it has many advantages explicating the tacit taken-for-granted knowledge and routines in everyday interaction (Schön, 1983). We see the method as an important tool for the facilitation of self-reflection among employees and leaders. It is not about what actually happened or did not happen, but simply a comprehensive tool for team development. We emphasize the importance of providing organizational legitimacy through continuing stakeholder management, as we know that the workshop may open up discussions in the group that has been suppressed for a long time and hence may be psychologically threatening for the members of the group. We also want to make it clear, that the facilitator's primary job is not to draw attention to problems for their own sakes but to facilitate even better communication.

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