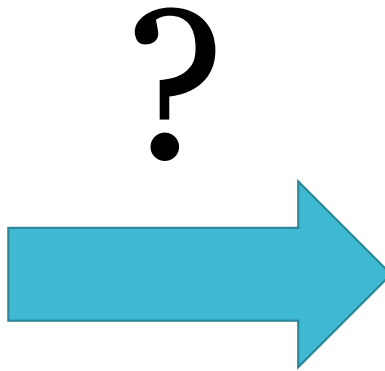
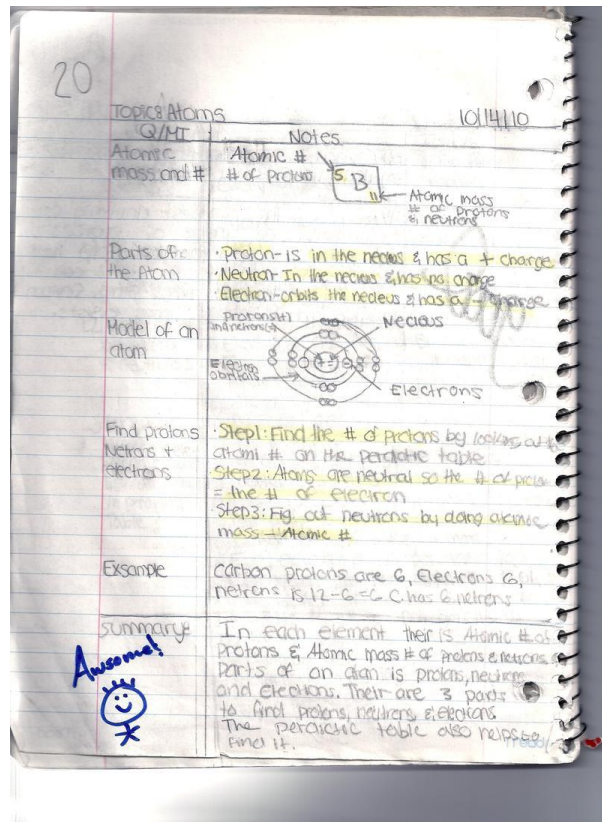


From Codes to Conclusions: Strategies for Analyzing Qualitative Data

Lindsay Bayham

Department of Sociology, UC-Berkeley

May 3rd, 2018



Article Title

John Smith, University of California

Here is some sample text to show the initial in the introductory paragraph of this template article. The color and lineheight of the initial can be modified in the preamble of this document.

Section 1

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Ut purus elit, vestibulum ut, placerat ac, adipiscing vitae, felis. Curabitur dictum gravida mauris. Nam arcu libero, nonummy eget, consectetur id, vulputate a, magna. Donec vehicula augue eu neque. Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas. Mauris ut leo. Cras viverra metus rhoncus sem. Nulla et lectus vestibulum urna fringilla ultrices. Phasellus eu tellus sit amet tortor gravida placerat. Integer sapien est, iaculis in, pretium quis, viverra ac, nunc. Praesent eget sem vel leo ultrices bibendum. Aenean faucibus. Morbi dolor nulla, malesuada eu, pulvinar at, mollis ac, nulla. Curabitur auctor semper nulla. Donec varius orci eget risus. Duis nibh mi, congue eu, accumsan eleifend, sagittis quis, diam. Duis eget orci sit amet orci dignissim rutrum.

Nam dui ligula, fringilla a, euismod sodales, sollicitudin vel, wisi. Morbi auctor lorem non justo. Nam lacus libero, pretium at, lobortis vitae, ultricies et, tellus. Donec aliquet, tortor sed accumsan bibendum, erat ligula aliquet magna, vitae ornare odio metus a mi. Morbi ac orci et nisl hendrerit mollis. Suspendisse ut massa. Cras nec ante. Pellentesque a nulla. Cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus. Aliquam tincidunt urna. Nulla ullamcorper vestibulum turpis. Pellentesque cursus luctus mauris.

Nulla malesuada porttitor diam. Donec felis erat,

congue non, volutpat at, tincidunt tristique, libero. Vivamus viverra fermentum felis. Donec nonummy pellentesque ante. Phasellus adipiscing semper elit. Proin fermentum massa ac quam. Sed diam turpis, molestie vitae, placerat a, molestie nec, leo. Maecenas lacinia. Nam ipsum ligula, eleifend at, accumsan nec, suscipit a, ipsum. Morbi blandit ligula feugiat magna. Nunc eleifend consequat lorem. Sed lacinia nulla vitae enim. Pellentesque tincidunt purus vel magna. Integer non enim. Praesent euismod nunc eu purus. Donec bibendum quam in tellus. Nullam cursus pulvinar lectus. Donec et mi. Nam vulputate metus eu enim. Vestibulum pellentesque felis eu massa.

$$A = \begin{bmatrix} A_{11} & A_{21} \\ A_{21} & A_{22} \end{bmatrix} \quad (1)$$

Quisque ullamcorper placerat ipsum. Cras nibh. Morbi vel justo vitae lacus tincidunt ultrices. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. In hac habitasse platea dictumst. Integer tempus convallis augue. Etiam facilis. Nunc elementum fermentum wisi. Aenean placerat. Ut imperdiet, enim sed gravida sollicitudin, felis odio placerat quam, ac pulvinar elit purus eget enim. Nunc vitae tortor. Proin tempus nibh sit amet nisl. Vivamus quis tortor vitae risus porta vehicula.

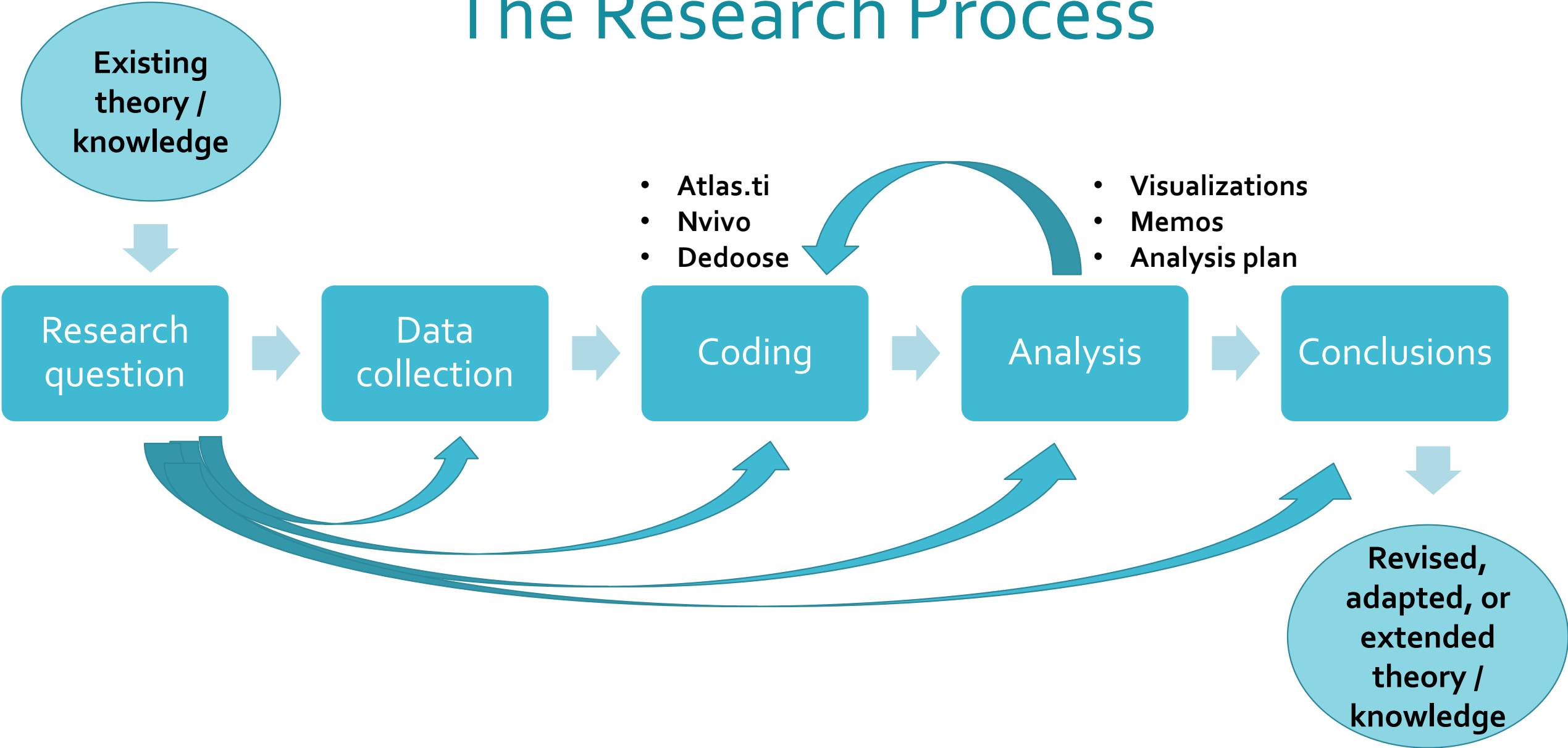
Subsection 1

Fusce mauris. Vestibulum luctus nibh at lectus. Sed bibendum, nulla a faucibus semper, leo velit ultricies tellus, ac venenatis arcu wisi vel nisl. Vestibulum diam. Aliquam pellentesque, augue quis sagittis posuere, turpis lacus congue quam, in hendrerit risus eros eget felis. Maecenas eget erat in sapien mattis

“Many ethnographers describe their analysis in somewhat mystical terms, suggesting that the themes and patterns emerge from the data as they read their fieldnotes over and over again, somewhat as hikers emerge from the mist on a foggy beach. Unfortunately, *how* those themes and patterns emerge, and what *causes* them to emerge, is left unclear.” – *LeCompte and Schensul, 1999*



The Research Process



Step 1: Research question(s)

What are you trying to learn after doing this research?

Research questions can be:

- **deductive** (testing a defined hypothesis)
- **inductive** (discovering new relationships/categories/phenomena or generating new ideas from the data)

In both cases, you build upon existing research!

AFRICA RISING

The rise of the middle class

2010



In 2010 the population of Africa was 1bn.

355m were considered middle class.

2060



By 2060, the population will more than double to 2.6bn

with 1.1bn expected to be middle class.



3 August 2015

Africa Rising: Now Is the Time to Invest in the World's Fastest-Growing Continent



By Lauren Foster

Categories: Equity Investments, Portfolio Management



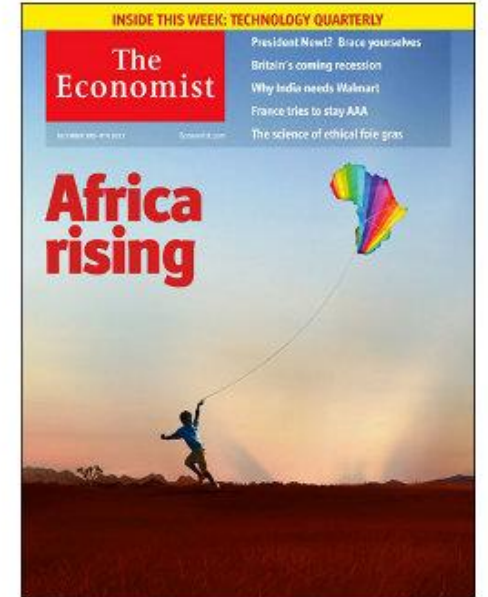
Investors bet on the world's newest middle class

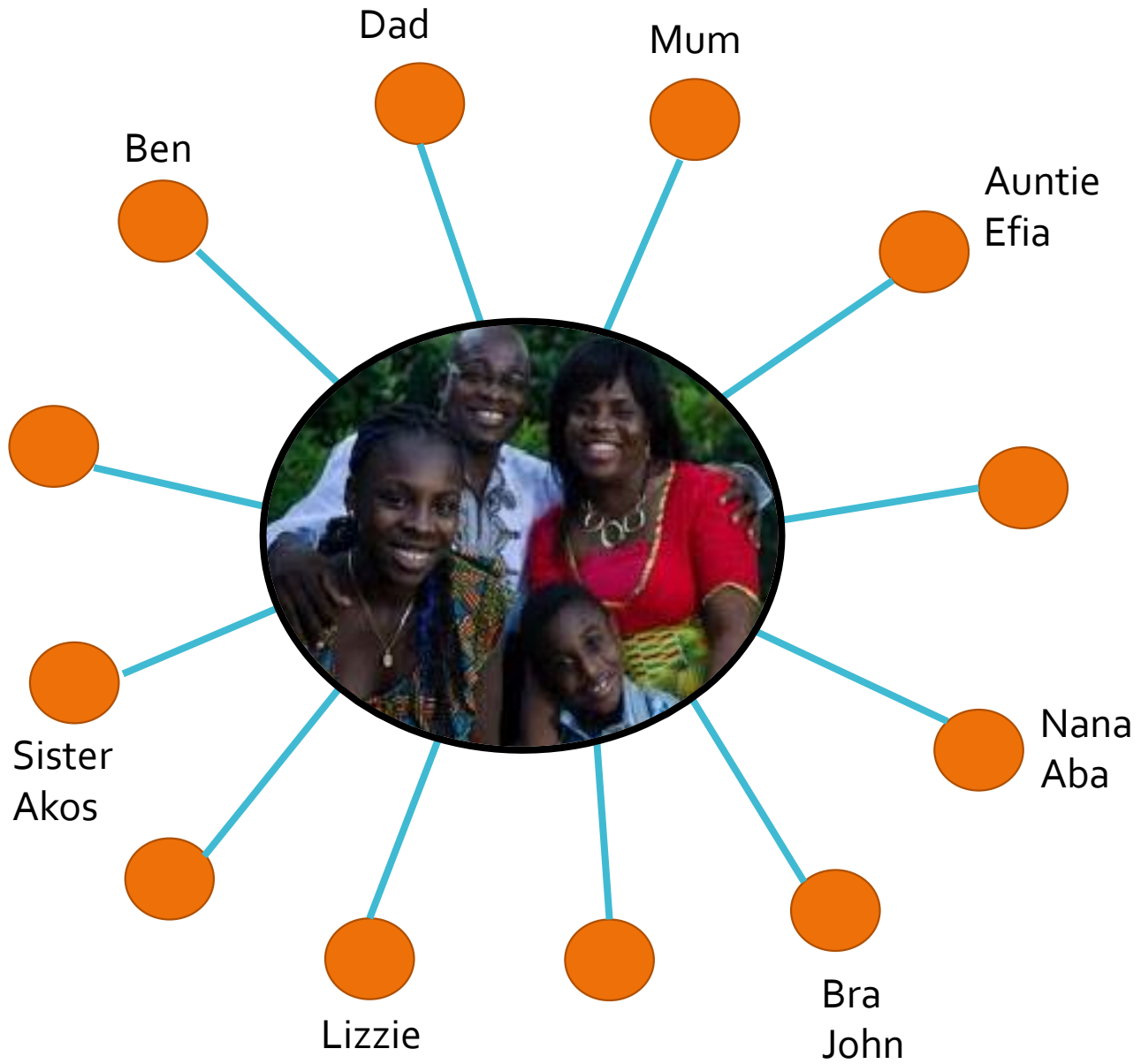
Hailey Lee | @haileylee139
Monday, 22 Dec 2014 | 5:00 AM ET



These days, oil, cocoa and precious metals aren't the only things that are attracting foreign investors to Africa.

A middle class has formed on the continent, and it's transforming Africa's investment landscape, according to experts. Instead of focusing on extracting commodities, investors are shifting gears to take advantage of Africa's increasing consumer demand.





Step 1: Research question(s)

Lots of people have studied family obligations—and their economic effects—in sub-Saharan Africa.

Fewer people have studied how people manage obligations.

Not many people have studied what “class” means in sub-Saharan Africa.



How does socio-economic status affect attitudes towards obligation in Ghana?



How do low-, middle-, and high-income Ghanaians feel about their responsibilities towards each other?

How do low-, middle-, and high-income Ghanaians manage requests from relations?

Step 1: Research question(s)

In some disciplines, you need *hypotheses* that you can prove or disprove with data

- May be explicit or implicit
- What do you expect to find in your research?
- What have other researchers found?

Hypothesis 1:

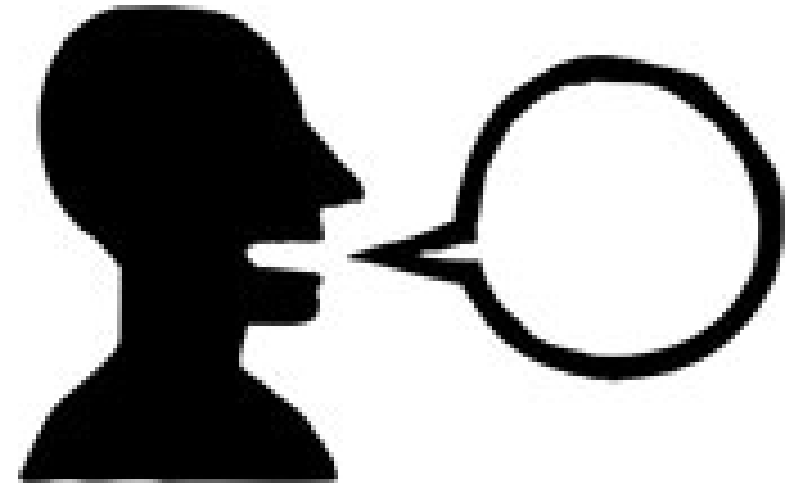
- Middle-income Ghanaians will strive to control requests from others more than poor or wealthy Ghanaians.

Hypothesis 2:

- Ghanaians will utilize certain strategies to avoid requests:
 - Moving away
 - Controlling social network

Step 2: Collect qualitative data

- Ethnographic field notes
- Interview transcripts
- Focus group transcripts
- Video or audio recordings
- Archival data
- Open-ended survey data
- Meeting transcripts
- Organizational documents
- Court proceedings
- Newspapers



Step 3: Code your data

What is “coding”?

- Categorizing and organizing data: breaking it down into analyzable parts
- Identifying ideas and concepts in your data that may apply across your different sources
- For a particular passage, you can ask:
 - What is going on here? (descriptive)
 - What is this an example of? What does this represent? (analytical)
- Can be done manually or using various computer tools
 - MaxQDA
 - Atlas.ti
 - Dedoose
 - NVivo

Step 3: Code your data

- Codes can be **deductive** or **inductive**

Emerge from the literature:

- Avoiding requests
- Reciprocity
- Risk/uncertainty
- Inheritance

Emerge from the coding and analysis:

- Mobile phones
- Religion
- Beliefs about banks
- Privacy

Step 3: Code your data

- Coding is an **iterative** process!
 - Start with a list of codes and apply them to a portion of your documents (open coding)
 - As you read further, refine and add codes if you think you're missing any big themes or ideas
 - Some codes may be dropped altogether
 - Some codes may be separated into two
 - E.g. "Religion" → "Christianity" and "Islam"
 - Some codes can be consolidated
 - E.g. "Asking someone to wait" and "avoiding phone calls" → "Avoidance Strategies"
 - You will often move from more *descriptive* to *conceptual* codes as you go
 - Keep track of your codes!

Codes for Transcripts

- I know the future / I know who will help me
- Might help my children
- "Found \$ for those people" vs. "He might not have \$ b/c he helped 3 people"
- Son should learn a trade
- Make the child know the cost (leave him out of school, make mum suffer by paying back)
- God will return what you give"
- "Giving is a blessing"
- Wealthy people = stingy (same level)
- wealthy people "tell you stories"
- more \$ - I stress a person
- more \$ - my level I have
- same level - person will understand me
- person who understands me
- I want others to know
- I show face if you I pay → embarrassing when you pay back
↳ I ask again if you I pay back
- I borrowed \$ to give to someone else
- Someone else borrowed \$ to give to me
- Feels bad when you are turned down
- Borrowing/asking = embarrassing
- Give w/o asking

Codes:

Religion:

- God manages reciprocity
- Giving is a blessing
- Bible tells us to give

Uncertainty:

- "Can't tell tomorrow"
- "Can't know human beings"
- Personal economic uncertainty - e.g. I know how business will fare
- National economic uncertainty - e.g. I know interest rate

Obligation:

- General family obligations in Ghana/SSA
- I/she/he has a personal responsibility to care for X

Relationships:

- Family/Kin:

- Family as justification for help → "He/she is family"

- Friends

- Friendship as justification for help → "He/she is a friend"

Perceptions of wealth:

- If the person gave to others, has \$
- If the person gave to others, he may not have \$
- Wealthy people = stingy
- Wealthy people “tell you stories”
- Wealthy person won’t understand you / will judge you
- Someone at my level doesn’t have \$

Perceptions of risk:

- “You can’t tell tomorrow” / Can’t see the future
- “Have to look after self” or “Have to look after business”

Reciprocity:

- You can’t tell who will help you in the future
 - He/she might help my children
 - God will return what you give
 - Person has helped me
 - Someone won’t help me unless I help them
 - Look after children so they look after me / children will help me
-

Religion:

- Giving is a blessing
- God will return what you give
- ISLAM or CHRISTIANITY
- God helps one person, and he/she takes care of the rest

Avoiding Obligations:

- Give someone a loan so that the person doesn’t come back
- Give someone a loan so that you have money to give the person next time
- Will actually be a gift, but will say it’s a loan

Religion

Christianity

Islam

God will return
what you give

God sends
"helpers"

Giving is a
blessing

God helps one
person in order
to help the rest

Ways of avoiding obligations

Proactive

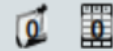
Reactive

Moving away from family

Giving "allowances" to family members

"Tokenizing" help

"Telling stories" or "poormouthing"



I: is there anyone who is supporting you regularly?

R: I have three people supporting me regularly.

I: Please, who are they?

R: You want their names?

I: No, their relations to you.

R: They are God-sent.

I: God-sent.

R: Yes, they're Jonathans. My Jonathan – you understand Jonathan.

I: If you can explain it for the purpose of the ...

R: [Laughs]. Jonathan is somebody God has given to you to help you. That's a Jonathan.

I: So how did you meet this...

R: God. That's why I said, God-sent.

I: So are they like friends?

R: They are more than. One is like a father to me – two are like fathers. One is like my own brother.

I: And they're supporting you regularly.

R: Yes.

I: But then they're not your relatives. They're just God-sent.

R: No, they're not blood. Not blood-related.

I: Okay, they're not blood. So how do they support you?

R: Money-wise. They give me money.

I: And what else?

R: Money.




I: And by regularly – how regular is it?


R: It depends. One, semesterly. One, as and when; and another one, monthly. The third one, monthly. And this is like I said, they're God-sent. They are my Jonathans. I prayed to God to give me Jonathan, and he has given me three Jonathans.

I: So why do they support you?

R: Why? No, let your question be clear, because I said, I asked God to give me a Jonathan; and he gave me three Jonathans. So if you ask me why – I've explained what Jonathan means. Jonathan is somebody sent by God to help you. Do you understand?

I: Okay



(471-1839)



God sends helpers


- 
Religion
- Giving brings blessings
- God sends helpers

Figure 9.1 Examples of Fieldnote Coding from the Charmaz Study of People with Chronic Illness

Line-by-line coding	Fieldnotes	Focused coding
<p><i>shifting symptoms, having inconsistent days</i> <i>interpreting images of self given by others</i> <i>avoiding disclosure</i></p>	<p>If you have lupus, I mean one day it's my liver; one day it's my joints; one day it's my head, and it's like people really think you're a hypochondriac if you keep complaining about different ailments. . . . It's like you don't want to say anything because people are going to start thinking, you know, "God, don't go near her, all she is—is complaining about this." And I think that's why I never say anything because I feel like everything I have is related one way or another to the lupus but most of the people don't know I have lupus, and even those that do are not going to believe that ten different ailments are the same thing. And I don't want anybody saying, you know, [that] they don't want to come around me because I complain.</p>	<p><i>avoiding disclosure</i></p>
<p><i>predicting rejection</i> <i>keeping others unaware</i> <i>seeing symptoms as connected</i> <i>having others unaware</i> <i>anticipating disbelief</i> <i>controlling others' views</i> <i>avoiding stigma</i> <i>assessing potential losses and risks of disclosing</i></p>	<p>If you have lupus, I mean one day it's my liver; one day it's my joints; one day it's my head, and it's like people really think you're a hypochondriac if you keep complaining about different ailments. . . . It's like you don't want to say anything because people are going to start thinking, you know, "God, don't go near her, all she is—is complaining about this." And I think that's why I never say anything because I feel like everything I have is related one way or another to the lupus but most of the people don't know I have lupus, and even those that do are not going to believe that ten different ailments are the same thing. And I don't want anybody saying, you know, [that] they don't want to come around me because I complain.</p>	<p><i>assessing potential losses and risks of disclosing</i></p>

Adapted from Charmaz 2001, pp. 343, 344.

Step 4: Analyze your data

What is “analysis”?

- Analyzing means interpreting, synthesizing, and looking for patterns in data in order to draw a conclusion
- Which aspects of your data will best answer your research question?
 - You will never use all of your data!
 - Identify which units of analysis, codes, and comparisons or relationships are most important

The Analytic Process



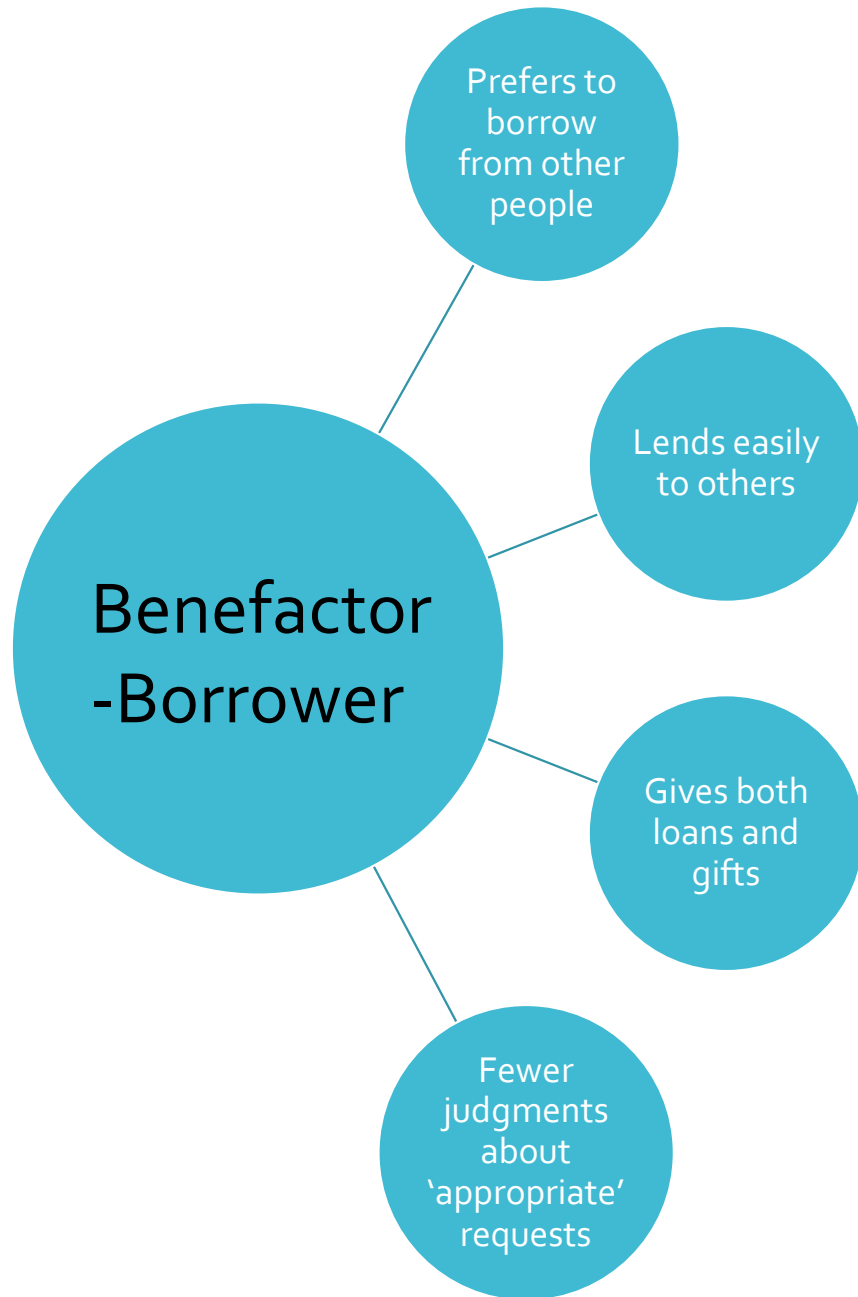
Coding

Analysis

Step 4: Analyze your data

- What is your **unit of analysis**?
 - Documents
 - Individuals
 - Includes attributes like age, race, gender, job, attitudes and beliefs
 - Organizations
 - Locations
 - Time periods
- E.g. individual attitudes and behaviors are the unit of analysis in my research

- You may have “sub-units”: relevant groupings of data that facilitate comparison and analysis
 - Can be both deductive and inductive
 - “Sub-groups” are groupings that emerge from prior research
 - E.g. “gender” or “socio-economic status” applies to different individuals
 - “Typologies” are theoretical groupings that emerge from data itself, and may cut across sub-groups
 - E.g. “givers” vs. “non-givers” may not be pre-determined, and could include people from all different socio-economic groups



Step 4: Analyze your data

- Sub-groups facilitate **comparisons**
 - Help you see forces at work in your data
 - Look for similarities, and differences, and connections between categories
 - Which codes and categories frequently co-occur? Which codes and categories *never* co-occur?
- You may look for particular relationships between codes and categories
 - Relationships of time (B precedes A)
 - Relationships of similarity (A and B both say X)
 - Relationships of difference (A says X but B says Y)

Chart Selector



- + Media Charts
- + Excerpt Charts
- + Descriptor Charts
- + Code Charts
- + User Charts
- + Quantitative Charts
- Qualitative Charts
 - Packed Code Cloud
 - 3D Code Cloud
 - Code Co-Occurrence
 - Code Application**
 - Code Weight Statistics
 - Code Present / Absent
- Mixed Method Charts
 - Codes x Descriptor
 - Descriptor x Code
 - Descriptor x Descriptor x Code
 - Code Weight Frequency x Field
 - Code Weight Descriptor Bubble Plot
 - Code Frequency Descriptor Bubble
 - Descriptor x Code Count Table

Code Applications

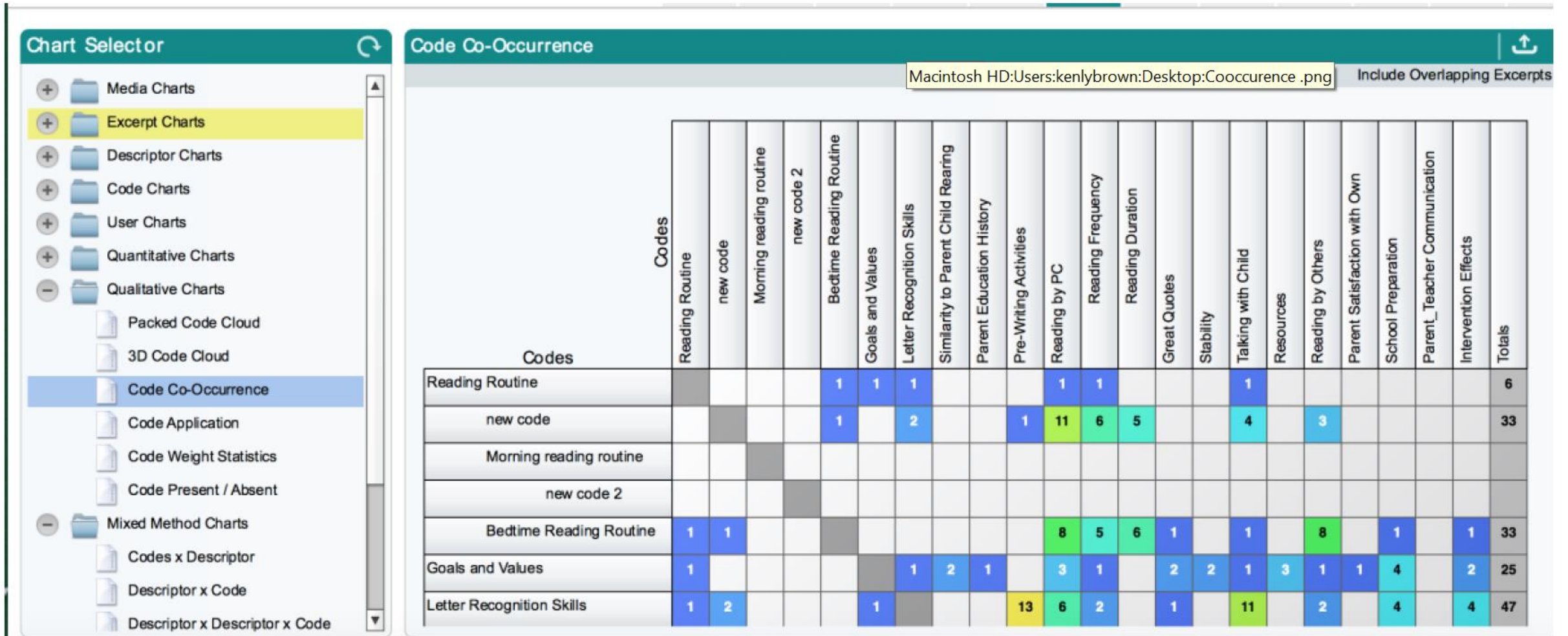


Sort Field Title (Down)

Media	Codes																Totals							
	Reading Routine	new code	Morning reading routine	new code 2	Bedtime Reading Routine	Goals and Values	Letter Recognition Skills	Similarity to Parent Child Reading	Parent Education History	Pre-Writing Activities	Reading by PC	Reading Frequency	Reading Duration	Great Quotes	Stability	Talking with Child		Resources	Reading by Others	Parent Satisfaction with Own	School Preparation	Parent_Teacher Communication	Intervention Effects	
SampleDedoose_How to Read Out	1					1																		2
4.22_pre		1				1	1		1		2		1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1			17
4.22_Post										1								1						2
4.22_post					1		2			2	2	1	1			2		1		1		2		15
4.21_pre						1		1	1	1					1	1	1		1	1				8
4.21_post		1					2			2	1	1			1	3	1	1		2		1		16
4.20_pre		1					2		1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2	1					14
4.20_post		1					1			1	2		1		1	2	1	1		3	1	2		17
3.27_pre		1				1	1		1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2		1	1				14
3.27_post					1	2	1			2	3	1	1	1	2	2	2	3		2		2		25
3.23_pre		1					2		1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2	1					14

Macintosh HD:Users:kenlybrown:Desktop:Analysis_Code Application .png

Visualizations



Coding lists

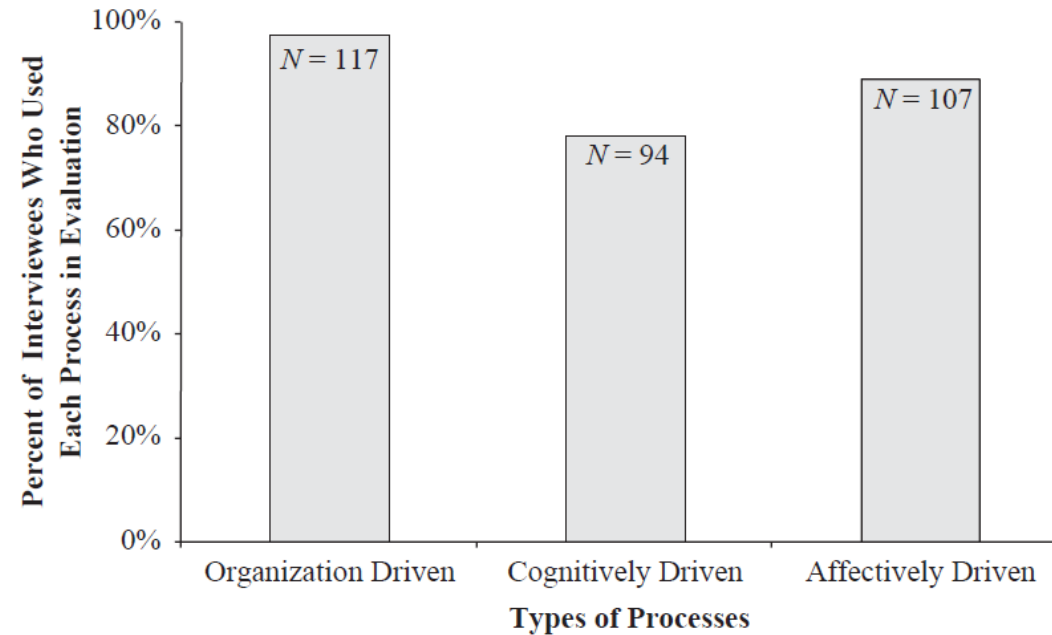


Figure 1. Relative Prevalence of the Processes through Which Cultural Similarities Affected Candidate Evaluation ($N = 120$)

Note: The graph refers to the percent of participants who spontaneously used cultural similarity in a particular way when evaluating any candidate (i.e., recently interviewed, ideal, or mock profile) in research interviews.

Memos

- **Importance of reciprocity**
 - Nearly everyone verbalized the importance of reciprocity, but some also noted that their friends and family people didn't necessarily follow this rule
 - About 1/3 of respondents said that they would have difficulty finding someone to ask for \$, even if the respondent have given money to others
 - Reciprocity is not necessarily tit-for-tat: about 1/2 of respondents saw themselves as part of a generalized exchange system where reciprocity is managed by God (i.e. "God will reward you" if humans don't)
 - Oscar: "I'm only doing my duty for blessing, not for anything. Only for God." And "God will reward you. Once you are a Christian, you cannot turn your back [on others' suffering]."
(Note: Oscar also said that his younger brother got \$ and didn't share it with Oscar, but now that his brother's money is gone and he needs help himself, Oscar helps him even though he wasn't helped himself.)
 - Rashida: "Sometimes it's getting tiring when you give \$ with no reward, but God is the only reward, so he [Kwabena] should still give [Akos] the \$."
 - David: He gives out whatever he has, and has faith that it will come back to him somehow
 - Faith in a system of generalized exchange doesn't necessarily track onto income or class status (e.g. David and Oscar are both entrepreneurs, but one is much wealthier than the other)
 - Those who don't give out much \$ to others note that they would have a hard time asking people for help as well.
 - George: Would be difficult to find someone to help him b/c "he doesn't depend on people"
 - Oscar: If he needs help, he'll go to someone who would come to him.
 - Theresa: "If you always ask people for money, then they will also ask you. I don't want to get involved in those money relationships."

Step 5: Draw conclusions

- What is the “big picture” of your research question, data, and findings?
- What kind of story are you trying to tell?

Descriptive

Describes a particular event, trend, group, situation

X is a letter made of of two intersecting lines

Relational

Assert one thing's relationship or position relative to something else

X exists in relation to Y

Causal

Say that one thing is caused by or causes another thing

X causes Y or X is caused by Y

Theoretical

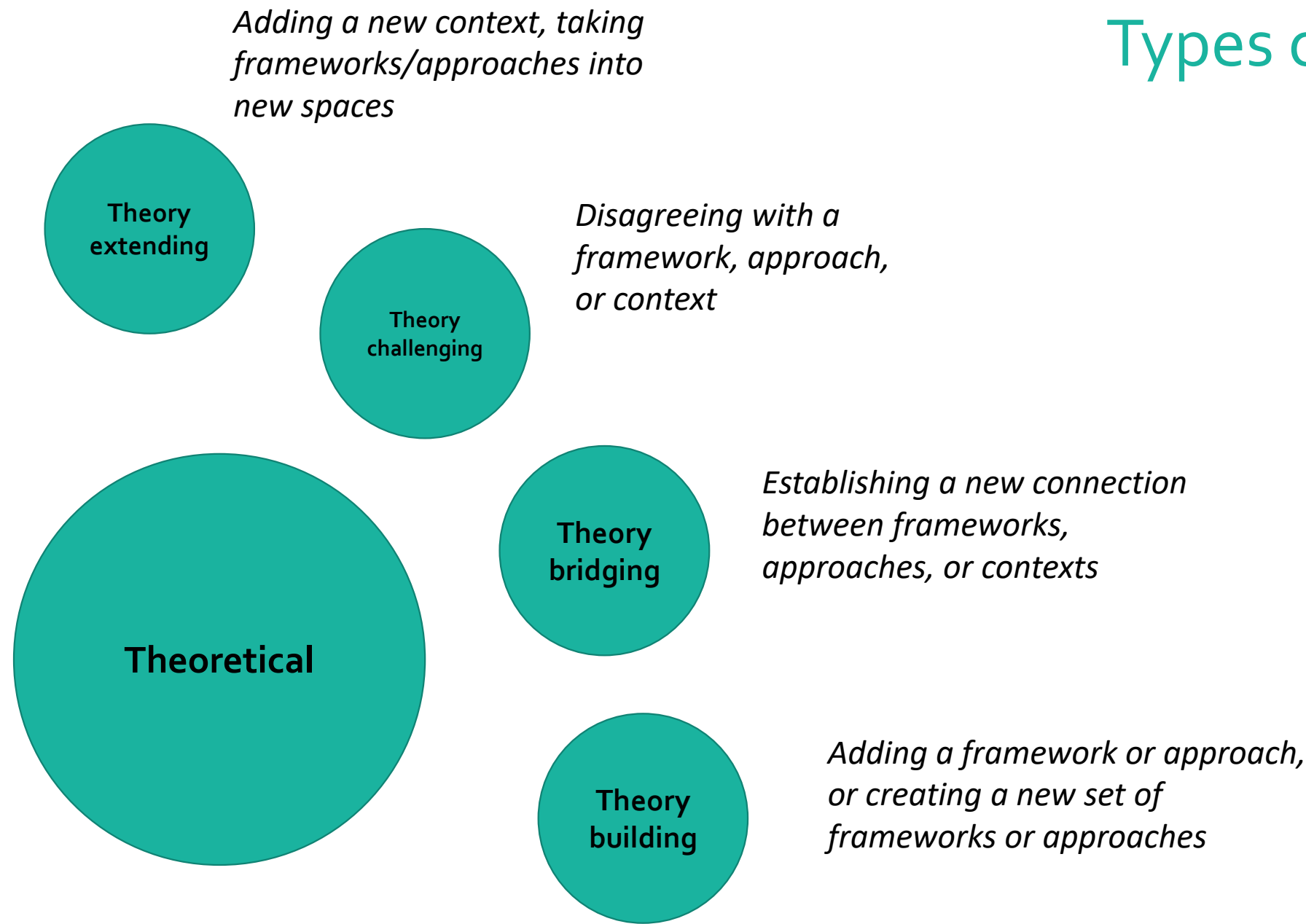
Contributing to a set of frameworks and approaches that underlie an understanding of the world

X is part of a particular alphabet

*Slide adapted from Shelly Steward

Types of conclusions

Types of theoretical conclusions



*Slide adapted from Shelly Steward

Figure 1. **Parallel Strategies of Commitment**
A Neoliberal Spirit of Capitalism

A General Framework:



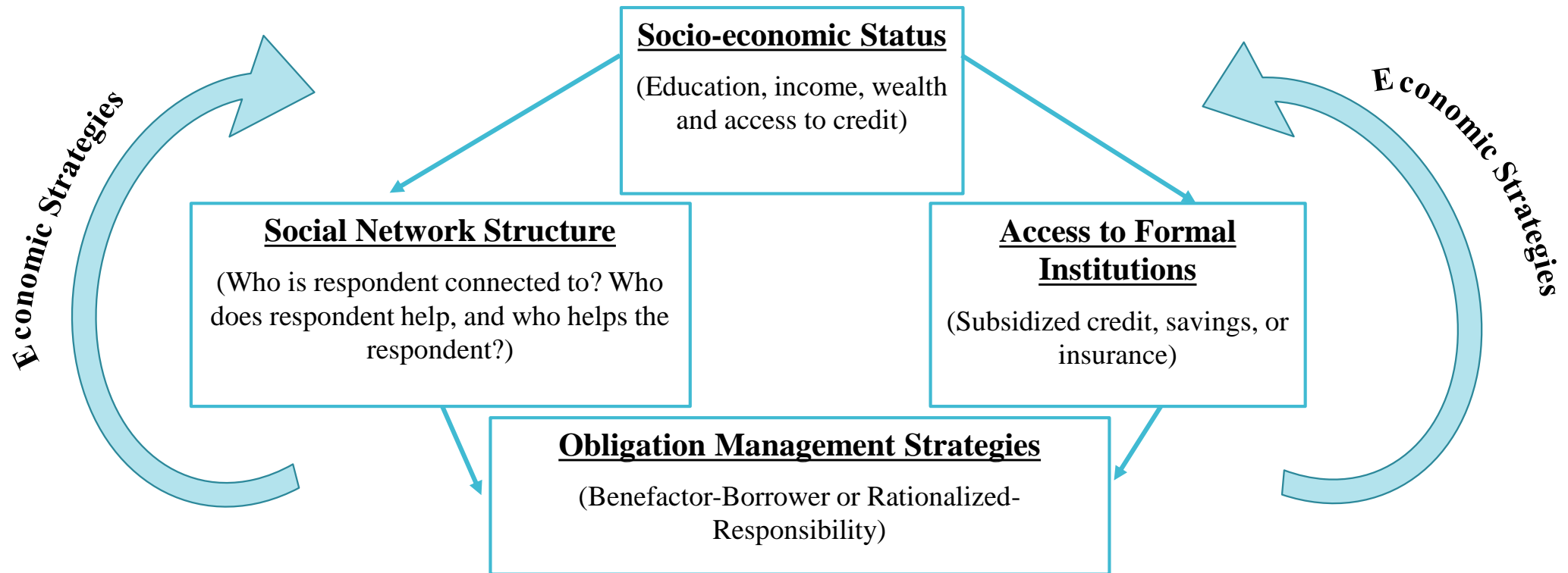
In the Oil Industry:



In the Tech Industry:



Diagram 1: Relationship Between Socio-economic Status and Obligation Management Strategies



**Financial Inclusion as Network Exclusion: Social Credibility and the Interpersonal Politics
of Credit in Urban Ghana**

Lindsay Bayham
University of California, Berkeley

October 2017

Keywords: credit, social support, social networks,
micro-interactions, development, culture, Africa

DRAFT – PLEASE DO NOT CIRCULATE. Intended for submission to *American Sociological
Review*

* Please direct all correspondence to Lindsay Bayham (lindsay.bayham@berkeley.edu; 410 Barrows Hall, Berkeley, CA, 94720). I am sincerely grateful to Ann Swidler, Sandra Smith, Neil Fligstein, Katherine Hood, and the Berkeley Center for Culture, Organizations, and Politics for valuable comments on prior drafts.

Obligation Management, Structure and Agency

How do people manage all of the obligations that they face?

In this paper, I demonstrate two things: first, there is substantial variation in respondents' feelings about their obligations to financially support friends and family members. Second, this variation creates the opportunity for respondents to practice "obligation management strategies" to balance requests from others with their own socio-economic interests. I typologize these strategies, showing how they work at three different levels: interactional, situational, and at a distance. I also indicate who follows which codes. Finally, I use this data to advance a theory of obligation management as a process of *layering semiotic codes*. I end by discussing other contexts in which these obligation management strategies could apply outside of asking respondents for money.

One final caveat: the discussion below could be taken to imply that respondents universally felt negatively about their social responsibilities, perceiving them "Obligation" is not necessarily *only* pejorative, however: as some psychologists have suggested, obligations may provide individuals with responsibilities that affirm their role and social position, giving meaning to their life (). Indeed, many of my respondents reported feeling good about assisting their relations, and would have liked to support more, but felt that they could not on a limited budget. Respondents' intentions, in other words, were not usually _____. As I show below, however, the mismatch between intentions and perceptions of others was precisely what respondents worried about in managing requests. <Nor are all obligations perceived as negative, as suggested by the negative ties literature and the recent Small paper. Sometimes obligations are constitutive and identity-confirming (psych paper)>

Lit review: Obligations and Financial Outcomes in Developing Countries

Although generosity is often seen as an unqualified good, a perceived *obligation* to give may have contradictory effects on individuals' emotional and financial well-being. On the one hand, research in both American and African contexts suggests that a sense of obligation to others can boost feelings of belonging and personal meaning (Greenfield 2009; Post 2005; Scherz 2014). Supporting others may create a cycle of generalized reciprocity that underpins community cohesion and resource-sharing (Stack 1997; Uehara 1990, 1995).

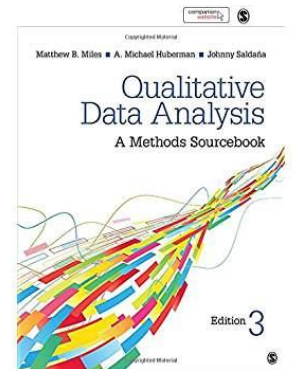
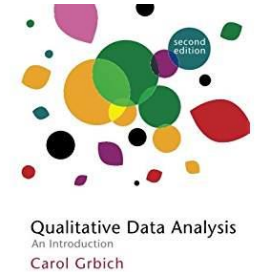
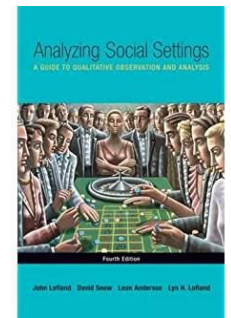
On the other hand, requests for support may become overwhelming if they are too frequent. Strong *solidaristic* ties may lead people to sacrifice their scarce resources for others, strengthening social cohesion at the expense of personal savings (Portes and Landolt 1996;

One final note on “objectivity”

- Don't think of making your data analysis “objective,” but rather *transparent*: allow other researchers to see how you reached your conclusions
- Some journals now request or require that researchers submit examples of coded documents to indicate how they interpreted their data

Additional resources

- Analyzing Social Settings, by John Lofland and David Snow
- Qualitative Data Analysis: An Introduction, by Carol Grbich
- Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook, by Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman
- The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers, by Johnny Saldana



Thank you!

Lindsay Bayham

lindsay.bayham@berkeley.edu

APPENDIX

Examples of coding lists in publications

Frye

Page 48

TABLE 3

Responses to the Question: What Might Stop You from Achieving Your Goal?

	Personal Failures	Structural Constraints	No Response	Row Total
DSS	11	4	3	18
CDSS	9	5	2	16
Out of school	2		1	3
Night school	1	2		3
Total	23	11	6	40

Note.—Examples of personal failures include being distracted by boyfriends, lack of confidence, insufficient effort, and succumbing to peer pressure. Examples of structural constraints include lack of school fees, death of parent, and inability to study due to family responsibilities.

CDSS = community day secondary school; DSS = district secondary school.

Review

- Make an **analysis plan**: what relationships, comparisons, categories and codes will best help you answer your research question?
- Return to the categories that are important for your research question
 - What units of analysis are you looking at? Are there important sub-categories or comparisons that you are making?
 - What codes / concepts / tags / themes help you make conclusions about these categories?
- What kind of relationships are you looking for between codes and categories?
 - Relationships of time (B precedes A)
 - Relationships of similarity (A and B both say X)
 - Relationships of difference (A says X but B says Y)