Doctoral theses at NTNU, 2019:176

Tuva Schanke

Preparing for and entering school

Doctoral thesis

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ISBN 978-82-326-3948-9 (printed ver.)
ISBN 978-82-326-3949-6 (electronic ver.)
ISSN 1503-8181

NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

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Trondheim, June 2019

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Printed by NTNU Grafisk senter

Forord

Så kom endelig dagen for å sette det aller siste punktum i denne avhandlingen. Det har jeg virkelig lengtet etter det siste året! Avhandlingen har vært en stor del av livet mitt over en lang tid og har ført med seg mange lærerike og nyttige erfaringer, en del krevende stunder, men heldigvis flest fine perioder. På veien til ferdig avhandling er det mange jeg ønsker å rette en stor takk til.

En varm takk går til barn, foreldre og de ansatte ved de to barnehagene og de to barneskolene som ga meg lov til å ta del i skolestarternes hverdag i barnehagen og i hverdagen på 1.trinn. Uten deres åpenhet, samarbeid og tillatelse hadde ikke denne avhandlinga vært mulig.

En stor takk går til min hovedveileder Pål Aarsand for å alltid ha hatt stor tro på prosjektet mitt, og for utallige gjennomlesninger med nøye og konstruktive tilbakemeldinger. Takk for gode og lærerike diskusjoner og for ditt engasjement i prosjektet. Tusen takk til min biveileder Gøril Thomassen Hammerstad for verdifulle kommentarer og perspektiver til artiklene og kappa, og for oppmuntringer underveis i skrivingen.

Takk til Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring (IPL) som har vært min arbeidsplass i stipendiatperioden. Her har jeg blitt kjent med mange flotte og kloke stipendiater og kolleger som har vært med å gjøre hverdagen god og trivelig. Dere har vært en god støtte og en fin gjeng å le sammen med. En særlig takk til Ingvil Bjordal, Anne Lise Sæteren, Irene Haslund, Elin Moen, Kristine Øygardslia, Ida Malen Gabrielsen, Carla Chinga-Ramirez, Ingvild Kvale Sørenssen, Nassira Essahli Vik, Nora Sitter, Dagrun Astrid Aarø Engen, Marte Braseth, Mariann Doseth, Daniel Schofield, Odin Fauskevåg, Jan Arvid Haugan og Einar Sundsdal.

I løpet av stipendiatperioden har jeg vært heldig og hatt mange kolleger ved NTNU som har sett på prosjektet og tekstene mine. Takk til alle deltakere i seminarrekken «Child & Youth» og i «SIPP»-gruppa for tilbakemeldinger på artikkelutkast. Takk til alle deltakere i Diskursseminaret som har diskutert data sammen med meg.

I prosjektets tidlige fase var NATED (National Graduate School for Educational Research) en fin møteplass for å diskutere utdanningsforskning med kolleger ved andre universiteter. En særlig takk til deltakerne i spor 2 som har gitt nyttige innspill på tekster under skriveseminarene, og som har gitt meg innblikk i deres prosjekter.

I løpet av stipendiat-perioden hadde jeg forskningsopphold ved UCLA (University of California) i Los Angeles. Jeg ble tatt veldig godt imot av Charles og Marjorie Goodwin, som lot meg få ta del i lærerike seminarer, diskusjoner av data og inspirerende foredrag. Oppholdet var verdifullt for prosjektet og ga nye perspektiver på datamaterialet mitt.

Tusen takk til Irmelin Kjellaas og Polly Björk-Willen for gjennomlesing, innspill, og gode spørsmål i hhv. midtveisseminar og sluttseminar.

Jeg vil også rette en stor takk til Institutt for lærerutdanning (ILU) som la godt til rette i den aller, aller siste innspurten. Det har vært en glede å se igjen gamle kolleger og bli kjent med nye fine mennesker ved ILU. En særlig takk til Maria Øksnes som tok varmt imot meg etter tiden som stipendiat. Takk også til mine flotte lærerstudenter som jeg har fått være sammen med i vår og som har gitt jobbhverdagen ny mening.

Tusen takk til mine gode venner som har vært der og gitt meg morsomme, gledelige, sprudlende pauser fra jobblivet, men likevel alltid spurt om hvordan det går og vist sin støtte. En særlig takk til Unni, Solveig, Line, Cecilie, Oda, Silje og Marianne.

En hjertelig takk går til foreldre og søsken. Dere har heia på meg hele veien og vist forståelse for det arbeidet jeg til tider har vært veldig opptatt med. Takk til mamma og pappa for at dere har støttet meg i de valgene jeg har tatt. Takk til søstera mi Synne for alle koselige kaffepauser og for å ha vært på stipendiatlaget sammen med meg. Takk til broren min Erlend for å stille opp underveis.

Til sist vil jeg gi den aller største og inderligste takken til min egen familie. Uten dere hadde jeg ikke greid det. Tusen takk kjæreste Vegard for at du alltid er der for meg og for å ha støtta meg gjennom denne prosessen fullt ut. Takk for alt du har gjort for barna våre, familien min og verden rundt oss når jeg har hatt det som travlest. Du er min og ungenes superhelt! Og til dere Lykke, Leander og Lavrans. Tusen takk for at dere alltid minner meg på det som er det viktigste her i livet. Det er de små tingene i hverdagen med dere som gir den aller største meningen og gleden. Lykke og Leander har også vært skolestartere på hjemmebane underveis i dette prosjektet, og det har gitt verdifull innsikt fra et helt annet perspektiv enn forskerrollen. Heldigvis har vi en skolestarter igjen, deg Lavrans. Den tiden ser jeg også frem til. Takk til dere, de fineste fire, for at dere gir meg så mye kjærlighet, glede og kunnskap. Dere er best!

Tuva Schanke
Trondheim, Mai 2019

Summary

This thesis is about children's participation in school preparation activities (hereafter SPAs) in the last year of preschool and selected activities after the entry to school. SPAs aim at promoting a social community among the children, and strengthening the social skills, knowledge and abilities the children need when entering primary school. SPAs are considered an important means to bridge the gap between preschool and primary school, and all Norwegian preschools place an emphasis on SPAs. Class activities in the Norwegian primary school are either organized through individual work, small groups, or whole-group activities. The present study of first grade focuses on whole-group activities. Children's manners of interacting with other children and with adults in SPAs in preschool and in whole-group activities in the first grade, is explored through video recordings of situated interactions. In addition, the thesis examines how SPAs and first-grade activities were organized.

Ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA) inspire the methodological approach of this study to gaining knowledge about *in situ* participation by children and adults. EM focuses on the methods people use for understanding and producing the social order in their everyday lives. CA aims to discover how people understand and respond to one another in their turns at talking, with a central focus on how sequences of actions are generated. EM and CA provide an advanced methodological tool to capture in detail how children take part in, interact and contribute to activities in preschool and school. Children use talk, embodied action and material resources when participating in the activities and managing social relations. Stancetaking is seen as a useful analytical resource, and the in-depth studies focus on epistemic stance and affective stance.

The thesis draws on an understanding of participation as "action in interaction". Studying children’s participation means examining how they take part in and contribute actively to the activities, which further opens up possibilities of studying social organization among peers and their relations to adults. The multiple ways children exercise agency and social competencies are documented in the interdisciplinary field of childhood studies, and concepts like interpretive reproduction, peer culture, and peer talk are central to this research.

The data were from a fieldwork in two preschools and two schools from November 2013 to November 2014. I chose to video record the activities since much of children's actions are embodied, fast moving and highly complex, and video helped capture the complexity of the activities. 24 children were video-recorded when practicing SPAs from November to June. 45 children from two first-grade groups were video-recorded from August to November. The data collection generated more than 130 hours of video of children participating in various activities. With the aim to ensure quality in the study, video recordings and transcripts used in in-depth studies were presented and discussed in closed research groups and seminars in Norway and abroad. I also wrote about 60 pages of field notes, and these notes were helpful for organizing and contextualizing the video recordings.

The main research question for the thesis was as follows: *How do children participate in activities related to preparing for and entering school?* This research question was explored through three sub-questions.

How do children participate in SPAs in preschool? SPAs were done on a weekly basis at both preschools. The five-six-year-olds were gathered as a group for some hours or a whole day, and they did a variety of activities inside the preschool, outside the preschool, and in the local area. Four categories of activities were identified; shorter trips (e.g., forests and playgrounds), longer trips (e.g., school visits and museums), special projects (e.g., school starter area and energy), and regular activities focused on letters, numbers and drawing. All types of SPAs were carried out with the whole group of children and organized in public environments. The children oriented themselves toward activities in SPAs as a group, with different opinions, ideas, arguments, and requests. Values like inclusion, cooperation, and doing what was best for the group were important, and the children cooperated to influence the activities and to support each other. As shown in two in-depth studies, the visibility of the other peers' verbal and embodied actions was important for sharing, supporting, and accomplishing activities together. Due to a variation of participatory positions and active children, alignments were a central characteristic of children`s participation in SPAs. Moreover, children were allowed to influence and manage SPAs under adult supervision

How do children participate in whole-group activities in first grade? At both schools, rules and codes of conduct were a strong focus in the first period of the first

grade. The children had to learn rules of conduct in the class, in the coatroom, on outdoor days, and during individual work, group work and whole-group activities. The 'listening corner' was a recurrent whole-group activity that formed a pattern in the video data. The children sat in a semi-circle facing the teacher and the blackboard, and often the teacher spoke most of the time and asked known information questions. This made room for few participatory positions and children that had to wait for turn to speak. Many rules regulated the conduct of the children (sit still, raise hands, listen, speak one person at a time), and the children mastered these rules quickly. The study of verbal and embodied actions also showed that children challenged and broke the rules to take more active part in the activities. As shown in a fine-grained analysis of listening corners, the children whispered messages to each other, they added small words to show excitement or to get attention, they recycled each other's words to show competence and audience alignment, and they built arguments to support each other and create a shared understanding. The teachers were often quick to reinforce rules of conduct, but on certain occasions they allowed rules to be broken, e.g., when the children helped a peer or their actions were necessary to move activities forward. The visibility in the listening corner gave an opportunity for the children to coordinate their actions accordingly to what was going on, and the children created more active modes for participation and cooperation than the rules in the listening corner allowed.

How does children's participation in SPAs relate to activities in the first grade? The organization and rules of SPAs differed from those of whole-group activities at school, and these differences also had an impact on children's participation. The sharing of activities in which the children contributed together was less frequent in the first grade than in preschool, and children's performances were usually evaluated individually in first grade and as a collective in preschool. In preschool, the children often decided about content and were in charge to accomplish given tasks, whereas first-grade activities were adult-led and the children did not get to choose what to work with. Taking part in a social group offered the children various participatory positions in preschool, whereas many rules of conduct restricted children's opportunities to take initiative to participate in first grade. At the same time, an important finding in the study was that the children in some respects participated and cooperated in the same way in SPAs and at whole-group activities in first grade. In listening corners, for example, the

children related to each other as a whole social group and used each other as resources to find answers, build arguments, and create excitement. Although there were many rules of conduct in first grade, the children continued to use each other as resources, continued to take initiatives and collaborate, and made an influence on the participation frameworks.

In the extended abstract, and through fine-grained analyses of a letter activity, a number activity and listening corners, this study informs about some ways children engage in activities and how they accomplish tasks with verbal, embodied and material resources. Seen together the three sub-questions provide important insights to the main research question on children`s participation in activities related to preparing for and entering school.

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PART A: EXTENDED ABSTRACT

1 Introduction

The content and organization of the final year of preschool have become a subject of discussion in Norway. Nearly all children attend preschool the year before they enter the first grade, and every week, they prepare for school. School preparation activities (hereafter SPAs) are efforts to ease school entry. SPAs refer to a diverse range of activities done in the final year in preschool, and different aspects have been debated: To what degree should preschools emphasize SPAs? What should be the focus in SPAs? Do preschools spend too much or too little time on school-like activities and adult-led instruction? The content and organization of the first grade is also a subject of discussion. The L97 reform gave ten years of schooling, a new curriculum, and it lowered the age of school entry to six. The reform emphasized that learning in the first grade should be age related, play based, and consistent with preschool traditions to ensure a smooth transition (Ministry of Education, 1997). Two decades later, many scholars and teachers question whether there are enough play and physical activities in the first grade, whether the first grade is too theoretical, and whether educational practices in the first grade follow preschool traditions.

The focus of this thesis is children's participation in preschool and school. Children's manners of interacting with other children and with adults in SPAs in preschool and in selected activities in the first grade is explored via observation of situated interactions. In addition, I examined the content of SPAs as well as how preschool teachers organized SPAs. I also described the rules and organization of selected activities in the first grade.

1.1 School preparation activities

1.1.1 School preparation in Europe

For more than 50 years, many European countries have implemented strategies to ease school entry (Dunlop & Fabian, 2007; OECD, 2017). In most OECD countries, more than 90% of four- and five-year-olds attend preschools (OECD, 2017), and coherence and collaboration between preschools and schools are considered particularly important to ensure a good transition (Ackesjö, 2014; Broström, 2009; Lillejord et al., 2017; Pianta & Kraft-Sayre, 2003). Some efforts and activities take place in preschool, and SPAs are considered central to preparing children for the social and institutional context

of school (Barnett, 1996; Broström, 2009; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Hogsnes & Moser, 2014; Lago, 2014; Margetts, 2007; OECD, 2017). SPAs are activities meant to promote a social community among children and to forge the social competencies, knowledge, and abilities the children need to enter primary school (Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017a; b). Preparatory activities seem to be somewhat similar across countries and may include: visits to the school; meeting with the future teacher; aesthetic and thematic (long-term) projects; a focus on social, practical, and basic skills relevant to school; and the building of solid friendships (Ackesjö, 2013; 2014; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Einarsdóttir et al., 2008; Huf, 2013; Sivertsen et al., 2015). However, the age for beginning SPAs, the degree of emphasis on SPAs, and the educational purposes of SPAs vary among countries and among preschools in the same country. Some countries - such as Sweden and Denmark –have preschool class. This is a form of schooling intended to bridge the gap between preschool and school and introduce the children to the school environment and primary education (Ministry of Education Denmark, 2018; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). In most European countries, however, SPAs take place within the preschool/preschool context.

1.1.2 School preparation in Norway

This study concentrates on Norway, where preschool is a voluntary first step in the education system, and 98% of five-year-olds attend preschool (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017b). The Ministry of Education and Research has been responsible for preschools since 2006, but the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training took over some areas in 2012 to enhance preschool quality and strengthen the focus on coherence between preschool and primary school education. A well-organized transition and collaboration between preschools and schools are important education policy goals (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013; 2016).

Those involved in SPAs in Norway are five- to six-year-old children in their final year of preschool, often called school starters. The school starters form an exclusive group or "club" and participate in a broad range of indoor and outdoor activities, often for some hours, a day, or even two days each week (Lillejord et al., 2017; Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015). The activities include

practicing skills like waiting for one's turn to speak; receiving and following directions; getting dressed; practicing letters, numbers, counting, and drawing; and participating in long-term projects and field trips (Sivertsen et al., 2015; Zambrana, 2015). The preschools have much freedom concerning the organization and content of SPAs, and the guidelines in the SPA framework can be adapted to local conditions and needs (Rambøll Management, 2010).

In the context of the new Framework Plan from 2017, the content of the final year of preschool and SPAs was debated. According to the Framework Plan, preschools should care for children and support play activities while laying a foundation for lifelong learning and skill development. This dual expectation is central to debates surrounding the balance of play with structured activities in kindergarten, the testing and mapping of children's learning and development in preschool, and the seven learning areas in the Framework Plan (Haug, 2013; Lillejord et al., 2017; Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017a). Several policy documents have argued that the Framework Plan should offer clearer guidelines on content and organization so that SPAs are more standardized (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013; 2016). In the midst of the debate surrounding SPAs, some researchers and policy makers have proposed that preschool should be compulsory for five-year-olds, that there should be a norm for school starter vocabulary, and that a standardized curriculum could enable systematic teaching and control of the content taught in preschools (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017b). Other scholars, policy makers, and professionals have emphasized the importance of local freedom to make decisions concerning SPAs and of giving children time to play without any underlying aim of learning aim or adult supervision. They have argued that play and free time provide amusement, joy, and pleasure to children and are meaningful without being tied to any overreaching goal (Øksnes & Sundsdal, 2018).

1.2 From preschool to the first grade

1.2.1 Transition between preschool and school

There is an official guide for the transition from preschool to school (Ministry of Education, 2008), and the Framework Plan (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017a) includes a chapter titled "Transitions." These documents emphasize

preschools' responsibility to ensure that children have a safe, smooth transition from preschool to school; however, the Framework Plan is less specific concerning the content of SPAs:

> The oldest children shall be able to look forward to starting school and discover that there is a correlation between kindergarten and school. The kindergarten shall ensure that the oldest children have acquired experience, knowledge and skills to give them a good foundation and motivation for starting school. The kindergarten shall help the children to comfortably bring their time in kindergarten to a close and approach school with curiosity and faith in their own abilities. The children shall be able to familiarise themselves with what happens at school and in after-school day care (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017a, p. 33–34).

In educational settings, "transition" is the process of moving from one arena to another (Dunlop & Fabian, 2007). Transitions may be horizontal (e.g., the regular movements among the school, the home, and leisure activities) or vertical (e.g., the movements upwards in the educational system that entail increased demands on children) (ibid.; Broström, 2009). Some vertical transition studies have focused on the educational pathways that the students must follow, whilst other scholars have questioned the linear model of vertical transitions, claiming that transitions are complex and without fixed and marked shifts from one destination to another (Ackesjö, 2014; Dunlop & Fabian, 2007).

The complexity of the transition process is not the focus of the present study. In this study, I have conceptualized the transition from preschool to school as a collective practice that is prepared for and shared among peers and that involves a move from one institution to another (Corsaro, 2015). Children belong to a school starter group in preschool, and most of them enter school with some peers that they know from preschool and some new peers. The transition marks a change in the institution that the children attend. The focus of this study is children's participation in the SPAs that take place in preschool, as well as their participation in activities that take place in the first grade.

1.2.2 School entry

The organization and content of the first grade have been the subject of political discussion in all Nordic countries, including Norway (Ackesjö, 2014; Broström, 2009; Einarsdottir, 2007; Hännikäinen and Rasku-Puttonen, 2010; Lago, 2014; Lillejord et al., 2017; 2018). Norwegian children have started school in the year they turn six since the late 1990s, after which it was emphasized that learning in the first grade should be play based and consistent with preschool activities (Ministry of Education, 1997). A reform in 2006, LK06, resulted in clearer learning objectives, a greater emphasis on basic skills, a new assessment scheme, and reduced time for free activities and free play in the first grade (Ministry of Education, 2006). Recent empirical studies have found that the time for play in the first grade and primary school is scarce, that there is too much theory and too many learning objectives, and that educational practices in the first grade are seldom similar to what the children did in preschool (Gjerustad et al., 2016; Lillejord et al., 2018; Michaelsen & Palm, 2018; Verdens Gang, 2018).

School entry is a time of excitement and joy, but it can also include concerns and tensions for children (Dunlop & Fabian, 2007; Lillejord et al., 2017; OECD, 2017). Several researchers highlight the need for schools to adapt to children's needs and be ready for all kinds of children, with a diversity of academic strengths and weaknesses, sociodemographic characteristics and personality traits (Lillejord et al., 2017; OECD, 2017). Many researchers have concluded that connecting activities or working methods in preschool with those in primary school can contribute to continuity and security, and it is important for some educational practices in the first grade to be similar to what children did in preschool (Ackesjö, 2013; Hogsnes & Moser, 2014; Lago, 2014; Lillejord et al., 2017; OECD, 2017).

Preschools and schools have moved somewhat closer to each other with respect to objectives and methods (Broström, 2009; Germeten, 2003; Lillejord et al., 2017; Lillemyr, 2004; Zambrana, 2015). However, the two institutions have different historical traditions and mandates, and they are characterized by differences in structure, aims, materiality, and content (Haug, 2003; Korsvold, 2005; Lillejord et al., 2017). Education and learning are the primary objectives in school, whereas learning, play, and care are the most important objectives in preschool. Schools' content is largely bound by curricula related to subjects and adult-driven activities, whereas preschools traditionally

interpret each child's needs before choosing activities (Germeten, 2003; Korsvold, 2005). Students must perform individually in school, whereas a collective organization is typical for activities in preschool (Haug, 2003; Lillejord et al., 2017).

Taking part in a school class or group means taking part in a community over several years with the same children and often with the same teachers. Sometimes the teacher gathers the entire class to teach a topic with the intention of performing tasks with a shared focus of attention, and other times the teacher takes a supervisory position while the students work individually or in smaller groups (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Bjørnestad, 2009; Cazden, 2001; Fottland & Matre, 2005; Haug, 2003; Klette, 2003; Petterson et al., 2004). One common educational activity involving a shared focus among the entire class is the "listening corner", which is sometimes called "circle time". The listening corner is an activity in which students sit in a semi-circle facing the teacher and the blackboard; this practice of gathering the children in a circle or a semi-circle originated in preschools (Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2004). For many children, the listening corner occurs several times during the school day (e.g., as a morning routine or when new material is being taught), and it becomes one of the most repeated activities in the first grade (Bjørnestad, 2009; Fottland & Mattre, 2005; Moen et al., 2003; Petterson et al., 2004).

1.3 Studying participation

In this study, I aimed to investigate how children take part in activities in preschool and the first grade. Studying children's participation in different activities means examining how they take part in and contribute actively to a situation, an event, or a process (Corsaro, 2015; James & Prout, 2015). This examination presents opportunities to study social interaction, organization, cooperation, talk, and embodied action among the children and between the children and the adults (Goodwin, 2017; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Powell et al., 2006).

Insights from childhood studies are relevant to a study of children's everyday practices (James et al., 1998; James & Prout, 2015). Childhood researchers recognize that children's views, ideas, and actions can be a focal point of research, and studies on how children's competencies are acknowledged, expressed, or controlled in and through children's everyday practices and relationships are central to the field of childhood

research (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; James et al., 1998; Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup et al., 1994). Such studies demonstrate the importance of children's perspectives and views. Childhood researchers have adopted methods and ethical procedures that respect children as participants in research (Corsaro, 2015; James et al., 1998).

The thesis of this study is theoretically and methodologically inspired by ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA). EM and CA are used to examine how participants interpret and respond to talk and actions as interaction progresses in a sequential manner (Garfinkel, 1967; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). EM and CA focus on what the children actually do and how they interact. "Participation" is an analytical concept encompassing how participants organize and make sense of their activities and the context in which these activities are carried out (Francis & Hester, 2004; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). Talk, embodied action, and material resources are relevant for participating in activities and for managing social relations (Goodwin, 2017).

Studies of children in their everyday lives—as they are performed and done *in situ*—also provide a way to nuance the ongoing discussion about children's competence. Debates about children's competence can create a dichotomy in which children are either seen as in need of adult protection and regulation or seen as competent and capable of handling their lives by themselves (Björk-Willén, 2006; Sparrman, 2005). Studies of children's participation *in situ* provide an opportunity to account for contextual frameworks that might influence children's ability to be competent and to be perceived as competent (Danby & Farrell, 2004; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998). Children and adults perform different positions in preschool and school, and it is important to analyze how adults provide opportunities and set boundaries for children's participation.

1.4 Research questions and contributions

The objective of this research project was to study children's participation in selected activities in the final year of preschool and in the first grade. In this study, I explored how children took part in such activities *in situ*, and I illustrated similarities and differences between children's participation in activities in preschool and school. The main question that guided my research is as follows: How do children participate in

activities related to preparing for and entering school? This research question was explored through the following sub-questions:

1) How do children participate in SPAs in preschool?
2) How do children participate in whole-group activities in first grade?
3) How does children's participation in SPAs relate with activities in first grade?

This study contributes to the research field by giving detailed descriptions of how children take part in SPAs in preschool. Previous studies have described and given an overview of the content and distribution of SPAs in Norway (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015), but they have not provided any insight into how children participate in various forms of SPAs. This study also gives a detailed description of children's participation in whole-group activities in the first grade with the intention of a shared focus of attention. Previous studies of listening corner situations in the first grade have mainly focused on the position of the teacher (Bjørnestad, 2009; Fottland & Mattre, 2005); however, this study describes how children participated with peers and with adults in the listening corner.

The methodological approach of this study is another important benefit. EM and CA have not been applied in previous Norwegian studies of SPAs and the entry into the first grade. The use of ideas from EM and CA provides detailed knowledge about the social organization of children's verbal and embodied (inter)actions both in a group of peers and with preschool teachers and school teachers. There are, however, EM and CA-oriented video-based studies from other countries examining children's interactions in educational institutions, and the findings of this PhD project have been connected with these studies.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This PhD thesis consists of an extended abstract (Part A) and three journal articles (Part B). The extended abstract includes six chapters. Chapter 2 outlines research on SPAs in preschool and on selected first-grade activities. Given that there is little video-based research on the preparation for and entry into school, I also draw on video-based studies of children's participation in other activities in preschool, in primary school, and in leisure activities. Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework and explains the key

concepts used. Chapter 4 is dedicated to data and methods. Chapter 5 summarizes the main findings reported in the articles. The final chapter discusses the research questions raised.

Part B of the thesis consists of three empirical articles analyzing video-recorded data from the fieldwork. The article *Children's participation in a school-preparation letter activity* explores children's participation in an indoor activity focused on puzzling out names and learning letters. The article *Doing numbers in preschool: Children's cooperation in a number activity* provides an analysis of how children in preschool prepare for and perform an outdoor activity focused on numbers and counting. The article *Children's participation in first grade: Mastering, challenging and breaking rules in listening corners* uses examples from listening corners with a focus on letters and numbers at two schools.

The articles discuss whole-group activities in preschool and whole-group activities in school. I chose to focus on activities about letters and numbers because such activities are emphasized in SPAs and in the first grade. The preschools that took part in the project focused on letter activities and number activities, and a majority of Norwegian preschools prioritize the study of letters and numbers (Rambøll Management, 2010; Zambrana, 2015). About half of the time in the Norwegian first grade is dedicated to the study of Norwegian and mathematics, and at both schools taking part in the project, the children spent much time learning letters and numbers in the listening corner.

2 Previous studies

The thematic focuses of the literature study are SPAs in preschool, whole-group activities in the first grade, and video-based studies of children's participation and social interaction in various activities. The first subchapter gives an overview of previous studies of SPAs in a preschool in Norway. The second subchapter discusses a selection of studies from the Nordic countries on preparation for and entry into school. The third subchapter presents findings from previous studies of whole-group activities in primary school, and particular attention is paid to studies of listening corners in Norway. The fourth subchapter discusses video-based studies of peer talk in preschool and school.

The literature study established the need for a video-based, in-depth study of children's participation in SPAs in preschool and in whole-group activities in the first grade.

2.1 School preparation in Norwegian preschools

This subchapter presents five studies that mapped the distribution, organization, and content of SPAs in Norway. These studies among preschool managers and pedagogical leaders were important in the early phases of the PhD project because they provided an overview of how many preschools practiced SPAs, how often SPAs were practiced, and the aims of SPAs.

Winsvold and Guldbrandsen (2009) conducted a postal survey among 700 preschool managers on the quality of preschools. The study found that 96% of preschools reported that they practiced SPAs, 72% reported procedures for knowledge transfer between their preschool and relevant schools, and more than 50% reported procedures to ensure coherence and progression in learning content between preschools and schools.

A comprehensive evaluation of the previous Framework Plan (Østrem et al., 2009) included surveys to 470 preschool managers and 1,500 parents. Almost 80% of the parents of school starters reported that their preschool cooperated with connected schools on the transition, and almost 70% found it important for the preschool to provide SPAs. School starter groups were common, and the areas of "Communication,

language and text" and "Numbers, spaces and shapes" were a focus in preparation activities.

The evaluation also included interviews with preschool teachers and children (ibid.). Preschool teachers agreed that the focus on learning had increased with the Framework Plan, and some described the expectation of providing "school-ready" children. Most children were enthusiastic about their experiences in school starter groups. Some preschools had school starter rooms with a whiteboard, a flipchart, and letters and numbers on the walls, and the children stated that these rooms were for "sitting and learning" letters, spelling, and counting. Other preschools focused on outdoor activities and activities related to natural science. Some preschools offered primarily adult-led activities, and some preschools focused more on children's contributions in SPAs.

The content of SPAs was the focus of a survey by Rambøll Management (2010), which was distributed to 870 preschool managers and preschool teachers. The results of the study indicated that almost all preschools did SPAs from one to five hours each week, and the respondents confirmed a large degree of freedom to determine the content of SPAs. The respondents considered "Communication, language and text" and "Numbers, spaces and shapes" particularly important for SPAs. The understanding of SPAs was broad, and social competencies, language, writing/spelling, and numbers/figures were key areas. The children became acquainted with central rules at school (following directions, raising their hands, waiting their turn), trips (after-school activities and visits to schools, forests, playgrounds, museums, or libraries), and activities encouraging spelling, writing, and mathematics. The study also found different models for children's participation in SPAs. In preschools inspired by the Reggio-Emilia pedagogy, the children's initiatives, interests, and engagement were to a large degree considered in the planning, execution, and evaluation of SPAs. In some other preschools, children's participation mainly entailed allowing children to choose among different activities.

In a national survey of preschool managers, Sivertsen et al. (2015) found that 99% of preschools practiced SPAs, that 92% of preschools had routines for cooperation at the municipality level, and that 77% of preschools reported routines for ensuring coherence and progression in learning content between connecting preschools and

schools. In a survey about SPAs in Eastern Norway, Zambrana (2015) found that social skills (e.g., including and respecting each other), practical skills (e.g., raising their hands and waiting their turn), letter and spelling skills, and language skills were prioritized. Concentration skills and numbers and shapes were also prioritized in SPAs.

The previous Norwegian studies about SPAs were mainly quantitative studies about the distribution and content of SPAs. The studies did not provide insights into children's participation in SPAs or into how preschool teachers organized and facilitated SPAs. Thus, the empirical data in the present research project will answer research questions - overlooked by previous studies - concerning how SPAs are practiced and how children take part in and influence SPAs.

2.2 School preparation and school entry in the Nordic countries

A range of international studies examined social and demographic factors that could influence children's adjustment to school, such as a child's age, gender, socioeconomic status, parenting practices and social skills (Dockett & Perry, 2009; Dunlop & Fabian, 2007; Margetts, 2007). Experiences with preschool and other forms of early childhood education and care also mattered for the entry to school, and various preparatory activities took place in European preschools. Central to a successful transition seemed to be ensuring that children got to know the school context, that they prepared for practical, social and academic skills relevant for school, and that they belonged to a social group in which relationships with peers were established (Broström, 2009; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Einarsdóttir et al., 2008; Huf, 2013; Margetts, 2007).

Similar preparation activities to those found in Norway were studied across Europe. Since there were many similarities between the national education systems in the Nordic countries, I chose to limit my focus on qualitative and longitudinal studies on school preparation and entry from Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Sweden. Antikainen (2018) argued that equity, participation, and welfare were the major goals of the Nordic model in education, and the publicly funded comprehensive school system was the major form. Einarsdóttir (2013) pinpointed that the Nordic countries share full-day integrated preschool and a social pedagogy approach to early childhood education and care. The main aim of early childhood education in Nordic countries were the

integration of care and learning and support of children's development and interests (see also Moss, 2013; OECD, 2017).

I found several relevant studies on school preparation and entry from Sweden. Preschool class was introduced in Sweden in 1998, and it is a voluntary year at school that nearly all Swedish children attend the year they turn six. Preschool class is often located within the compulsory school and shares the school's curriculum. SPAs in Sweden take place in preschool class, and many studies have followed children from preschool class to the first grade (Ackesjö, 2014; Heikkilä, 2006; Karlsson et al., 2006; Lago, 2014; Svensson, 2009).

Ackesjö (2014) found that children engaged in several border encounters and border crossings among preschool, preschool class, and the actual entry to school. In these transitions, children constructed identities, such as ex-preschoolers, playful preschool class children, future students, and responsible students. During this process in which the children defined themselves, the preschool teachers played an important position in facilitating the children's disengagement from preschool. The study also implied the need for teacher collaboration to make the transition transparent and explicit for the children. Data was collected through participant observations, video recordings, children's drawings, and structured conversations with children.

Lago (2014) studied children in preschool class and in the first grade, and she collected data in the form of field notes and interviews with the children. She argued that preschool class raised questions about expectations, about being and becoming a student, and about the relationship between leaving preschool and starting school. Moving from preschool to the first grade is the first of a series of educational transitions, and this transition covers important categories in meaning-making, including time, progress, students, age, place, after-school activity, and summer holiday.

Heikkilä (2006) investigated how preschool, preschool class, and the first grade created conditions for learning. By analyzing more than 100 hours of video recordings, she illustrated that children used different forms of communication depending on the present activity and the physical place and space for the activity. Moreover, the children had to continuously negotiate their participation when they moved between the institutions. Adult-led activities were more common in school than in preschool, and the

forms of communication in school were more often oriented toward individual participation.

Karlsson et al. (2006) compared how children learned letters and numbers in preschool and primary school. These researchers focused on the work of teachers, the relationships among children, and the parents' views about activities in preschool and school preparation.

Svensson (2009) identified some ways that children experienced and handled difficulties in circle time (the listening corner) in preschool classes. Interactional analyses showed that children's participation was limited and that children's perspectives were not given sufficient attention. The interaction had a negative impact on some of the children's self-esteem and ability to learn. The data was collected in the form of video recordings and observations from 15 preschool classes, as well as interviews with the children.

In Denmark they also have preschool class. Broström (2007; 2009; 2016) wrote extensively about transitions, preschool, preschool class and entry to school. He disclosed educational differences between preschool and school and a lack of communication between the two institutions. A main point to him was the need for more continuity between activities in preschool and educational practices at school. Several transition activities reflected cooperation, and practical organizational activities helped children become more familiar with the school setting.

In his research over the past decades, Broström (2016) also looked at how children viewed school and the transition. He found that most children in the final year of preschool had begun to take upon the role as student and expressed a school-oriented expectation. Still, he argued, one also needed to reflect on developing the child`s thinking and conscious reflection, and the scope of their motivation to learn. In that respect, Broström (2007) created an educational play model that could help bridge preschool and school, informal and formal education, and play and learning. He argued that the introduction of various forms of play as transitory activities could serve as tools helping children to cross the boundaries from the activity system of play (preschool) to the activity system of learning (school).

Rasmussen and Smidt (2002) studied Danish children`s views on preschool and primary school. The children viewed the preschool teacher on the sideline supporting

the children, whereas the school teacher was involved with direct teaching. At both institutions children were in charge of play, and play was an important mode for communicating with other children. Teachers at preschool and school decided on most other activities than play.

In Finland, SPAs take place in preschool. Hännikäinen and Rasku-Puttonen (2010) observed interactions between teachers and children in whole-group activities in preschools and primary schools. The findings from preschool suggested that teacher support of active participation and friendly relationships - together with creative and playful activities - enriched children's curiosity and nourished their motivation for academic learning. In primary schools, the emphasis was more clearly on academic learning.

Odenbring and Lappalainen (2013) compared educational practices in preschools and primary schools in Finland and Sweden. The study disclosed that children's actions were assessed by the adults in terms of their future position as students, and what was thought of as "ideal" behavior often rested upon essential differences between girls and boys.

In Iceland, Einarsdóttir (2003; 2013) has done a number of relevant studies. Among other, she was interested in listening to children`s perspectives on the transition from the preschool setting to primary school. From group interviews with children aged 5-6 years in their last year at preschool, she found that many of the children described school as a place where children learnt how to read, write and do mathematics, and that they sat quietly at their desks. The children were preoccupied with differences between preschool and school, and many of the children were excited to start school. Still, some children were anxious about not being ready for school and meeting school expectations. Moreover, the children found learning codes of conduct at school, and how to behave at school, to be an important part of what they would do in first grade.

2.3 School entry and whole-group activities in the first grade

This subchapter presents studies, both quantitative and qualitative, on school entry and whole-group activities. Research on teaching and learning in primary school is a very broad field, and there are numerous studies of life in classrooms and the relationships

among content matter issues (the what), instructional activities (the how), and the teachers and students involved (the who) in Norway and abroad (Klette, 2007). This section of the literature study focuses on selected Norwegian studies about school entry and about listening corners, a particular and widespread whole-group activity in primary school.

School entry was a topic in the annual school leader survey in 2017 (Gjerustad et al., 2016). This study indicated that 98% of school leaders wanted preschools to teach children social skills, and 83% wanted preschools to teach children language skills. Moreover, 85% of school leaders reported that there were common meeting places for teachers in preschools and school. However, only half of the schools reported that they had plans and routines for ensuring the continuity of learning content to smooth the transition from preschool to school.

Hogsnes and Moser (2014) studied the transition from preschool to school in a municipality in south eastern Norway through the use of a questionnaire and focus group interviews with preschool teachers, first grade teachers, and after-school employees. Their study confirmed that many schools were less attentive than preschools to ensuring continuity in educational practices and learning content. The study showed that, in comparison to preschool teachers, first grade teachers and after-school managers put less emphasis on all forms of continuity (philosophical, physical, social, and communicational) for the children transitioning from preschool to school.

In addition to the mentioned surveys and focus group interviews, Hogsnes (2016) also followed 15 children from three different preschools to three schools and after-school programs in her PhD-work. The study pointed to three important factors and suggestions for a good transition. First, the importance of dialogue and trans-contextual participation, e.g. that preschool teachers familiarize themselves with school settings and after-school programs and that schoolteachers and after-school program workers could participate in transitional activities like SPAs. Secondly, that activities in after-school programs can provide the child an opportunity to draw on experiences from preschool, and that is important for aspects of continuity in the transition. Thirdly, recognizable objects could function as boundary objects that give children room for interpretation, dialog and trans-contextual participation.

In general, there are three main types of organization in school classes and groups: whole class/group, grouping, and individualized. Please note that I use the term "whole-group" in the present study (as some schools are organized in groups and not classes), but the literature on classroom studies refers to "whole class" for the most part. Thus, whole class is used in the presentation of literature.

Studies from different grades in Norway have shown that children were organized in smaller groups or worked at separate desks for most of the time, but whole class was also a frequent form of organization (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Bjørnestad, 2009; 2013; Haug, 2003; Imsen, 2003; Klette, 2003). Whole class was also a common form of organization in other countries (Burns & Myhill, 2004; Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979; Hardman et al., 2003). A number of studies have investigated the relationships between teachers and students in whole class activities, and they have found that teachers talk most of the time, and the students spend most of the time listening and answering questions (Alexander, 2000; Bjørnestad, 2013; Cazden, 2001; Hardman, 2008; Mehan, 1979). The students' participation could involve the teacher giving them permission to speak (after a student raised their hand) or the student speaking independently (self-selection), but the input from students was often limited (Bjørnestad, 2013; Cazden, 2001; Lindblad & Sahlström, 1999). Moreover, studies on whole class activities have investigated whether teachers close the dialogue after the response from students (initiation-response-evaluation) or may provide opportunities for more dialogue (initiation-response-feedback) (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Cazden, 2001; Hardman, 2008; Mehan, 1979).

In Norway, the listening corner (or circle time) is an activity that transferred from preschools to schools (Bjørnestad, 2013), and it is a common activity in primary school in which all students in the class or group gather together (Flem et al., 2004; Fottland & Mattre, 2005; Moen et al., 2003). In listening corners, students sit in a semi-circle facing the teacher and the blackboard, and Norwegian children spend a great deal of time in listening corners in the first grade. The teacher often gathers the children in the listening corner when starting and finishing school days, and the listening corner is frequently used when new material is being taught or the teacher is drawing focus to a particular topic (Bjørnestad, 2009; 2013; Flem et al., 2004; Fottland & Matre, 2005; Moen et al., 2003). Most previous research has focused on the position of the teacher in

listening corners (e.g., Fottland & Matre, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004), and some studies have provided insight into the interactions between teachers and children in such situations (Bjørnestad, 2009; 2013; Flem et al., 2004).

Flem et al. (2004) examined what teachers did to facilitate a good learning environment and adaptive education. The study provided insight into how a teacher managed to include children with special needs in ordinary classrooms, but the empirical examples also illustrated many important characteristics of listening corners and the interactions between teachers and children in such situations. Each morning started with a morning assembly in the listening corner, and the teacher introduced the topics they were going to work on over the next hours. The children also gathered in the listening corner after the long break, and the teacher instructed them in a new subject. There were clear rules of behavior in the listening corner; for instance, the children were required to find their places in time, sit still, raise their hands when they wanted to speak, and only speak when addressed. In the selected examples, the teacher gave instructions in mathematics and English, asked known information questions, and gave enthusiastic responses to the children's answers (e.g., "wonderful," "exactly," "bravo"). The teacher gently indicated when the children broke the rules (e.g., someone forgot to raise their hand), and she allowed many children to participate.

Bjørnestad (2009; 2013) compared circle time (listening corner) in the first grade in Norway to preschool class in Sweden. The data was collected in the form of field notes and observations of six classes in Norway and four classes in Sweden. Each circle time was organized with similar procedures and content, and each class began the day with circle time for 20-45 minutes. Circle time was located away from the children's regular seats, with children sitting in a semicircle on the floor, carpet, or benches. The teacher sat on a chair in the middle of the circle and in front of a blackboard. Bjørnestad understood circle time as a form of interactive whole class teaching, and she identified eight components of circle time: singing, roll call, review of the calendar or schedule for the day, children's narratives, storytelling, general information, topic and disciplinary subjects, and instruction or demonstration prior to the next lesson. All classes in her study used circle time to work with content related to the main disciplinary subjects: mathematics and language (Norwegian, Swedish, and/or English). There were subject matter and task management instructions. Moreover, Bjørnestad (2013) argued that it

would be of interest to study how interactions and dialogue occurred between the children and the teacher.

The listening corner is a common activity in Norwegian preschools and in the lower grades of Norwegian primary schools (Bjørnestad, 2013; Flem et al., 2004; Moen et al, 2003). Listening corner situations in the first grade have mainly been analyzed from a teacher perspective. Thus, this PhD project will contribute to a growing body of knowledge on how children participate in listening corner activities in the first grade, and how teacher–children and children–children interactions appear in these activities.

2.4 Studies of peer interactions and talk

Using video recordings, the empirical data in this PhD project can answer other research questions about how children take part in and influence SPAs in preschool and whole-group activities in the first grade. This Norwegian PhD project builds on studies from other countries that have focused on children's participation in activities in preschool and primary school and on exploring the social interactions unfolding among children and between children and adults.

Research on children's interactions with other children encompasses a wide variety of interests. Peer interaction has been studied experimentally, through participant observation of naturally occurring interactions, and through diverse frameworks, including socialization theory, social-psychological perspectives, sociolinguistics, cognitive development, and educational perspectives. The growing body of work examining the interactions of children and how they co-construct their social world includes studies of children's competence, development, interactions with other children and adults, disputes and organization of their everyday lives (see e.g., Aarsand, 2007; Gardner & Forrester, 2010; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Danby & Theobald, 2012). Within the broad field of childhood studies, many researchers have examined children as participants, their competencies and practices, their cooperation, and their means of organizing and arranging their daily activities and social relations (Björk-Willén, 2006; Corsaro, 2015; Danby & Farrell, 2004; Evaldsson, 2003; Goodwin, 1990; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Melander, 2009; Theobald & Kultti, 2012).

Detailed studies of peer interactions have discussed what children seek to accomplish socially in their peer groups, and audio and video studies have discussed how language allows children to accomplish these goals. The research field of peer talk is a subcategory of peer interaction. Peer talk researchers have found that the child acts as a member of a culture that is different from that of the adult world, that language has a role in children's cultural production, and that language helps create reality (Corsaro, 2015; Gaskins et al., 1992).

This PhD project builds on a number of video-based studies focused on the language and interactions of children participating in preschool and school activities. An Australian study showed how children (aged 5-6 years) in a preparatory year co-constructed social order and imposition of their own forms of rules (Cobb-More et al., 2009). The children manipulated materials and places to claim ownership of resources within the play space; developed or used pre-existing rules to control the interactions of their peers; used language to regulate the actions of those around them; and created and used membership categories to include or exclude others. Other Australian studies have examined competition and collaboration in a peer group, and how teachers and children engage and interact within the preparatory year (Theobald & Kultti, 2012; Theobald & Reynolds, 2015). Analysis from the peer group interaction emphasizes the key role of members' contributions, assessments and receipts in a series of second stories that enact a simultaneously competitive and collaborative local order (Theobald & Reynolds, 2015). In the preparatory class teachers asked for the children's opinion and involved them in decision-making, but child participation was at times constrained by the context and institutional categories of "teacher" and "student" that were jointly produced in their talk (Theobald & Kultti, 2012).

A Swedish preschool study investigated peer interaction among children (aged 3-5 years) at the computer during free play (Bevemyr & Björk-Willén, 2016). Whereas many of the activities could provide for goal-oriented learning, socialization seemed most important from the children's point of view. In Israel, preschoolers displayed both discursive conventions from the adult culture and child-unique argumentative techniques (Zadunaisky-Ehrlich & Blum-Kulka, 2010). Such findings illustrated the integration of a cultural and a developmental approach within one model of peer talk discursive events. A study of everyday communication among black children in the

United States provided a very comprehensive analysis of gender differences in interaction (Goodwin, 1990). The topic of the study was that language constitutes a powerful tool for organizing social groups, and the study showed that peer conversations built both social organization and argumentation competencies.

A Swedish study collected data in an immersion classroom for refugee and immigrant children (aged 7-10 years) and second-language conversations (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004). In line with prior studies, it was found that playful recyclings were recurrent features in the classroom. Joking events often involved activity-based jokes and meta pragmatic play, and they created play zones or 'time-out' within classroom activities. Another Swedish/Australian study explored children's language use in combination with other semiotic resources in play and instructional activities, and how such resources brought about participation in the daily activities of the preschool (Björk-Willén, 2006). Among other, the study explored interactional phenomena like 'shadowing' and different forms of language choice, resources that children used in combination with embodied action to gain and sustain participation in peer play.

Moreover, several studies have investigated how children cooperate and what they gain or lose via cooperation (Damon & Phelps, 1989; Evaldsson, 2003; 2009; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004; Melander, 2009). Damon and Phelps (1989) investigated how peer cooperation contributed to several achievements, such as willingness to share and care, exchange of new ways of thinking, and development of communication skills and critical thinking. Melander (2009) examined different interactions, such as a group of children reading a book together and how children collaborated in a jump rope activity in the schoolyard. She demonstrated how trajectories of learning were oriented to, established, and sustained in embodied interaction. Kyratzis (2004) found that children's peer talk maintained peer culture, that children constructed their own norms and valued identities in the peer group, and that peer talk was central to building relationships and developing social competencies. Finally, Goodwin (1990) examined peer interaction when three girls played hopscotch. The interaction between the peers was built through the simultaneous deployment of a range of semiotic recourses, such as speech, pointing, gazes, nods, and embodied movements. The analyses highlighted how talk contained multiple sign systems and how the body was used to perform gestures and to get in position for actions and to see

what was going on. Material resources (here the grid of squares) in the surround also played a crucial role for the actions taking place and were incorporated in the girls' talk.

3 Theoretical frameworks

This chapter presents the key theoretical perspectives and a discussion of central concepts for this study of children's participation in activities in preschool and in the first grade. The first subchapter outlines some of the main aspects of social constructionism as a theory of knowledge and how social constructionism relates to this study of children's participation. The second subchapter presents ethnomethodology and its focus on social interaction. The third subchapter introduces CA and its focus on the use of language in the study of social interaction. The concepts of participation and stancetaking are presented in the third part. The fourth subchapter discusses children's agency and their competencies, as well as how these concepts are understood within childhood studies. The final part presents the concepts of interpretive reproduction, peer culture, and peer talk. These concepts are central to many studies involving children (Corsaro, 2015) and also to the present study.

3.1 Social constructionism

This study is situated within a constructivist perspective. The three main directions within a constructivist ontological position are constructivism, radical constructivism, and social constructionism (Benton & Craib, 2001; Delanty & Strydom, 2003). This study draws on social constructionism, a term first used by Berger and Luckman (1966) in their study on human communication. Social constructionism is used in fields such as anthropology, education, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, and sociology (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009).

Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge that focuses on social interactions and social practice. Social constructionism rests on the following assumptions: (1) People rationalize their experiences by creating a model of the social world and how it functions; (2) constructions of reality are relational, and all knowledge is derived from viewing the world from a particular perspective; and (3) language and communication are central to the construction of reality (Burr, 2015; Delanty & Strydom, 2003; Hacking, 2002; Potter, 1996).

Hacking (2002) argued that ideas are socially constructed; they operate as labels that we use to identify, advise, and control the practices that stem from these ideas. We

are born into a world in which the conceptual frameworks and categories used by the people in our culture already exist, and these frameworks and categories are constructed constantly (Hacking, 2002). The "truth" varies historically and cross-culturally, and it refers to the currently accepted ways of understanding the world (Burr, 2015; Hacking 2002). Moreover, social constructionism argues that people achieve different forms of knowledge through daily interactions (Benton & Craib, 2001; Burr, 2015). Communication, language, talk and embodied action are central to the interactive process through which we understand the world and ourselves, and these interactions depend on the context or situation (Potter, 1996).

As argued by Spyrou (2018), the recent years have seen a renewed interest in ontological issues concerned with the relationality and materiality of social life. Such approaches take as their starting point the assumption that the world is constituted through social relations. What has been called posthumanism emphasizes relationality and interconnection. Instead of focusing on human beings as the focus of analysis, the posthumanist perspective is interested in the larger networks of forces, both material and discursive which constitute them (ibid.; Braidotti, 2013; Ferrando, 2013). Within posthumanism, new materialism encompasses a number of diverse orientations that have in common a theoretical and practical 'turn to matter'. New materialists consider that the world and history are produced by a range of material forces that extend from the physical and the biological to the psychological, social and cultural (Braidotti, 2013).

The present study of children's participation in different activities relates to social constructionism. This study emphasizes verbal and embodied actions to discover how children construct meaning in activities, cooperate and accomplish tasks with other children and adults. Relational aspects in the interaction are seen as central, as the participants produce action to make sense of the situations together. Further, the study highlights the relevance of context, and it explores how participation changes when children move from preschool to school, with other rules, materials at hand and organizations of activities. The in-depth studies discuss some of the ways children make use of their verbal language, bodies and material resources to take part in SPAs and first grade activities.

3.2 Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology (EM) and CA have inspired the methodological approach of this study to gaining knowledge about *in situ* participation by children and adults. EM is an approach of sociological inquiry that is consistent with and stems from the idea that language and social interaction make up social life (Francis & Hester, 2004; Garfinkel, 1967). Social interaction refers to any situation in which a person produces an action addressed or directed toward another and/or that invites or makes possible a response from another (Francis & Hester, 2004). Social interaction takes place everywhere -at home, on the playground, in school, and in preschool - and within EM, the topic of study is the social practices of "real" people in "real" settings. EM is a descriptive discipline that studies the methods people use to understand, cooperate, negotiate, and make decisions in situated activities.

All social interaction is intrinsically socially structured (Garfinkel, 1967). This means that the actions of the participants are tied together in understandable and suitable ways: An action from person A projects the kind of thing that can or should be done next by person B, and this in turn fits with what has been projected. Those engaged in the interaction do not invent the structures involved spontaneously, but neither do they reproduce them mechanically. Through social interaction, the participants produce action to make sense of the situations together, and ethnomethodology has been called the study of people's methods for conducting social life in an answerable way (Garfinkel, 1967; Potter, 1996).

The concepts of indexicality and reflexivity are vital when studying social practices and social orders (Garfinkel, 1967). The main idea of indexicality is that the meaning of a word or utterance is dependent on its context of use (Potter, 1996). One must recognize the context to comprehend the meaning behind interactions (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Goodwin, 2017). Although people behave as if meanings are clear, one cannot take for granted that any meaning is fixed or clear (Francis & Hester, 2004). To grasp the meaning of an utterance, one must understand the occasion of the utterance. Occasion refers not only to the gross institutional features of the setting of talk - for example, in a classroom or in a preschool - but also to the specifics of the interaction in which the participants are engaging. This could include verbal and embodied actions such as gestures, cues, and other information sent and received by interacting parties

that have meaning in a particular context (Potter, 1996). EM looks at shared procedures or methods for generating meaning in context through which actual conversations are constructed, their occasions and uses.

Reflexivity attends to the fact that descriptions are not just about something; they are also doing something, and they evolve with ongoing activities (Garfinkel, 1967; Potter, 1996). The participants shape action in relation to context, while the context itself is constantly being redefined through action. In the present study, when a preschool teacher states that a letter activity is not a competition, her description of the activity influences how the activity progresses. Reflexivity is thus a fundamental part of social interactions, and it is the arrangement of being both about and a part of the interaction to which reflexivity is drawing attention (Potter, 1996).

Most actions are performed in and through talk and embodied actions (Goffman, 1981; Goodwin, 2017). Through talk and embodied actions, people ask and answer questions, request help, give instructions and feedback, report problems, make jokes, and explain who they are (Goodwin, 2017). When people interact with each other, they do not simply recite pre-determined linguistic formulae or embodied actions independent of the circumstances of the situation. In ordinary interactions, people spontaneously produce talk and embodied actions that fits the situation they are in, including the talk and embodied actions of others, and together it displays a particular understanding of what is happening "here and now" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). An example can be given of the children's action in the letter activity, when they respond to each other's suggestion of how to make a playful shift with the letters. They produce talk and action that fits to the given situation, which move the activity forward and makes the playful shift possible.

The focus on talk and embodied action in social activities and as a vehicle for communication is central to EM (Francis & Hester, 2004; Garfinkel, 1967). The act of speaking always emerges within complex contextual configurations that also encompass embodied action. A variety of relevant embodied actions - such as gazes, gestures, nods, smiles, and small steps - can contribute to a display orientation toward others and the action in progress (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). Thus, action is organized through the structured exchange of different kinds of signs, some related to language and some

expressed through the visible organization of the participants' bodies (Streeck et al., 2011).

EM is employed to discover how persons communicate to accomplish the social activities that they engage in; both talk and embodied action are of interest, and context is essential. For example, in the present study, the teachers at both schools used clapping as a signal to get the children's attention, and not as applause. Before delivering a message, the teacher clapped a rhythm of three to five claps, and the children were to stop working and repeat these claps. Moreover, at one of the preschools, the clapping worked as a tool to hear how many syllables each child's name had. In addition, the clapping served as something funny to do as the children decided whether to clap on their heads, their backs, or their cheeks.

3.3 Conversation analysis

Closely related to EM is Conversation analysis (CA), an approach to the study of social interaction and the natural use of language (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Sacks, 1992). Conversation analysis (CA) aims to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talking, with a central focus on how sequences of actions are generated (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Language is seen as a means for social action that can be studied in its concrete particulars, and human interaction is seen as a site of immense organization and order (Heritage & Stivers, 2012).

The works of Garfinkel (1967); Goffman (1981); and Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) have been important for CA. Garfinkel made sense-making central to the study of social interaction (1967; 1984). Goffman created a framework for situating interaction processes and showed how the interaction order could be situated among other social institutions (1981). Sacks et al. (1974) and their simplest systematics theory had considerable influence on the organization and analysis of turn-taking (i.e., the coordination of the activities of speaking and listening in a conversation so that at any given moment there is only one speaker). These scholars contributed to the creation of a new sociological direction in which the analysis of social action could be developed (Heritage & Stivers, 2012).

As a direction within sociology, CA consists of four pillars. The first pillar states that all social action should be examined under the assumption that it is orderly,

communicatively meaningful, and distinctive in terms of the construction of social action (Heritage & Stivers, 2012; Sacks et al., 1974). The second pillar is the principle that social actions are produced by reference to their immediate local interactional context, and that all social interaction should be analyzed in terms of the particular local environment and of the previous social action (Heritage & Stivers, 2012). Thus, it is argued that only recordings of precisely what, when, and how the interaction occurred are acceptable. The third pillar concerns that that interactants are understood to produce and recognize one another's social actions via a rule-guided system, the terms of which they hold one another accountable to (Goffman, 1974; Heritage & Stivers, 2012). The fourth pillar underlines the importance of treating the participant's own understanding as having primacy relative to the researchers' understanding (Francis & Hester, 2004; Heritage & Stivers, 2012). Proof procedure is a central principle of CA, in which the analysis of the purpose of a conversational turn is based on (or refers to) how another speaker responds to that turn.

The four pillars of CA form a thorough and careful approach to the study of social interaction and the many underlying structures of the processes of social life. This is relevant in everyday conversations and educational settings. It must also be noted that many CA studies are not limited to an extensive discussion of one or a few fragments of talk; they take on the systematic examination of larger collections of instances (Have, 2007).

EM and CA provide an advanced methodological tool to capture the participants' perspectives when they are engaged in talk and embodied interaction. Being engaged means taking part in something, and "participation" is a key term in studies drawing upon EM and CA, including the present research project. The next section presents the concepts of participation and participation framework.

3.3.1 Participation

Within the context of this research project, I understand participation in activities in preschool and school as interactive work among children and between children and adults. This thesis draws theoretically on the texts of Goffman (1974; 1981) and Goodwin (2007; 2017), as well as an understanding of participation as "action in interaction."

To understand how people, interact and take part in social situations, Goffman (1981) argued that the traditional speaker – hearer dyad was too simple. Goffman claimed that those witnessing talk and action are co-participants in a social situation, and that speakers modify what they say and how they speak to account for the hearer (e.g., raising one's voice to reach all participants or speaking more quietly to address a few). Goffman (1974) revealed that interacting participants bring their frames to an event or activity and contribute to "a participation framework." Using frames, people adapt how they participate in various activities - including speaking, listening, and acting - based on the understanding of their involvement and others' involvement (Goffman, 1981). Within such participation framework is the foundation for the concept of footing (ibid.).

"Footing" refers to significant shifts in the alignment of the speaker with the hearer, and it is central to the participation framework (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Goffman, 1981). To explain footing, Goffman (1981) expands the speaker–hearer dyad to include different kinds of participants. Speakers may fulfill one of the following three positions, but they do not have to: the principal is the person who is responsible for the message, the author originates the content and form of an utterance, and the animator is the person who actually produces an utterance. Hearers of a conversation may be ratified (have an official place in the encounter) or unratified (someone who has access to the encounter, but not an official place within it).

Goodwin & Goodwin (2004) supported Goffman's analysis of the speaker category, but they questioned Goffman's focus on the hearer. As pointed out in the subchapter on EM, Goodwin (2007; 2017) highlighted the hearer's influence and her or his non-verbal contribution to communication. When interactants build action together, talk does not always stand alone, and participation must therefore include more than just speech events (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Streeck et al., 2011). In addition to the importance of embodied action, Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) argued that material resources in the local environment are of importance in the construction of social action because people's interactions are always situated within a material context.

Providing a detailed and complex framework for the analysis of talk, embodiment, and social practice, Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) shed light on the multi-modal environments within which children and adults act linguistically and socially.

Their work offered a way to analyze and understand participation in a detailed way, so that speakers and hearers construct meaning and action together:

> The term participation refers to actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk… When we foreground participation as an analytic concept we focus on the interactive work that hearers as well as speakers engage in (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004, p. 222).
> (Note that "talk" refers to both verbal and embodied action)

This definition of participation matches the aim and purpose of this research project. The term "participation" is related to different ways of taking part and being involved in activities and social interactions. It is seen as interactive work between those who participate. As an analytical concept, it can be used to explore children's agency, competence, and accomplishments in interactions (Goodwin, 2017; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

3.3.2 Stancetaking

When studying social interaction among school starters and their participation in preschool and school activities, stancetaking proved to be a useful analytical resource (Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). Stance offered a way to study different participant positions and participation frameworks in detail, as well as how they were performed *in situ*. Within a sociolinguistic perspective (i.e., the study of the relationship between language and society), stancetaking is about taking a position with respect to the form or content of an utterance (Jaffe, 2009). Speakers make sociolinguistic adjusted choices and display orientation to the sociolinguistic meanings associated with forms of speech, and the concept of stance is a way of conceptualizing the process of indexicalization (ibid.).

The sociolinguistic approach to stance is concerned with positions. It is important how speakers position themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts, interlocutors, audience, and with respect to the context that they respond to and construct linguistically (Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). A primary goal is to explore how stancetaking is habitually and conventionally associated with positions (social characters, identities, and notions of personhood) and social relations (including relations of power). A second goal is theorizing the relationship between acts of

stancetaking and the sociocultural field and analyzing the role these acts play in social reproduction and change (Jaffe, 2009).

The study of stance is wide ranging and heterogeneous and refers to various analytical traditions (ibid.). Du Bois' definition of stance is useful because it underlines the interactional perspective of taking stances and that it is a public act. Here stance is defined as follows:

> … a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).

This definition stresses the socially-grounded nature of stancetaking and how it occurs in interaction with others. Stance is visible to others and it is dialogical, which means that a stancetaker's words engage with the words of those who have spoken before (Du Bois, 2007). Stance is an important act to show *affect,* position oneself according to *knowledge, values and interests*, and *align* with others. Taking a stance also evokes an *evaluation* of some kind, and the value of any stance utterance is shaped by its framings through the collaborative acts of co-participants in dialogic interaction. “I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you” (Du Bois, 2007, p.163). Here the term alignment represents a point along a continuous scale or range of values. This makes alignments more flexible and delicate, and can be seen as convergent or divergent to some degree instead of a common usage which forces a binary choice between a positive pole (referred to as aligned) vs. a negative pole (disaligned) (ibid.).

Du Bois focuses on verbal utterances when analyzing stances, but stancetaking can also be displayed through participants’ embodied actions (Goodwin, 2007; Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012). Participants position their bodies in relation to other participants or to the material resources they have at hand (Goodwin, 2007). In social interaction the body is made publicly visible as the site for a range of structurally different kinds of displays (Goodwin, 2000). It is crucial for the organization of action, and for stancetaking, that other participants are able to see how a co-participant’s body is doing specific things. With their bodies participants can take a *cooperative stance* by

positioning their bodies in a way that display orientation towards certain participants in a way that brings the activity forward (Goodwin, 2007). When taking an *affective stance* emotions are displayed either through talk or embodied actions like prosody, facial expressions, laughter, crying, touch and other movements (Cekaite, 2016; Goodwin, 2017; Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012).

In addition to the other forms, *epistemic stances* are one of the most studied forms of stancetaking (Heritage, 2012; Stivers et al., 2011). Epistemic stances can be displayed when participants are positioning themselves so they can appropriately experience, properly perceive, grasp and understand relevant features of the events in which they are engaged (Goodwin, 2007). In social interaction the display of, negotiation about and sharing of knowledge are ever-present (Stivers et al., 2011). What often is at stake, especially in educational settings, is whether participants have *epistemic access* to given questions or tasks and how they use their knowledge to position themselves as knowing participants and to accomplish tasks (ibid., Heritage, 2012) Of interest is also how knowledge is shared and in that way seen as a dynamic entity that participants construct and negotiate about through their interactions (Goodwin, 2017; Stivers et al., 2011).

In this study, the participation framework used to analyze children's participation in various activities focuses on hearers and the speakers, including their verbal actions, embodied actions and the material resources in use (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). The given understandings of stance is used as an analytical tool to describe in more detail how the children interacted when they took part in activities in preschool and in the first grade. Stancetaking is seen as a public act and socially grounded, and stances are taken both verbally and with embodied actions.

3.4 Children, agency, and competence

The theoretical framework presented above focuses on the participant's talk in interaction, embodied action, and use of material resources. As I worked my way through the data, it became clear that I needed an additional theoretical framework to discuss children's interactions, contributions, and negotiations. The interdisciplinary field of childhood studies offered a broader understanding of children's participation.

3.4.1 Children and agency

Childhood studies emerged in the 1980s as a response to the theorization of children and childhood from developmental psychology and functionalist sociology. Scholars in the field argued against traditional developmental psychology and definitions of children and childhood as natural and universal phenomena (James & Prout, 2015; Qvortrup et al., 1994). They also assessed socialization theories to be normative and evaluative according to preconceptions originating in the standards and customs of one's own culture (Jenks, 1996). Moreover, scholars in childhood studies argued that developmental psychology and socialization theories focused too much on children's futures as adults, leading to a lack of attention to interactional and collective processes among children themselves and examinations of the children's current lives (Corsaro, 2015; James & Prout, 2015)

Childhood studies argued that childhood should be seen as a socially constructed phenomenon with multiple expressions and descriptions depending on time and space (Corsaro, 2015; James et al., 1998; Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup et al., 1994). As a result, scholars talked about childhoods instead of a universal childhood, and they claimed that childhood was a specific structural and cultural component in all types of societies (James & Prout, 2015). Children did not passively inherit cultural representations, norms and structures, but they did actively reproduce and interpret their surroundings. Children were social actors with agency and with social relations that could be studied apart from adult beliefs and perspectives (James, 2007; James & Prout, 2015). Childhood studies aimed to give children a voice of their own in research and to grasp children's perspectives and meaning-making in their own lives (James & Prout, 2015; Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup et al., 1994). The “being child” was constructed as a response to the “becoming child”, and the point was to emphasize that it was meaningful to study children and their social relations in their own right (Christensen & James, 2008).

The activities children were engaged in preschool and school were related to their social relations, and a theory of agency was necessary to discuss their participation in detail. "Agency" refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own choices (James & James, 2012). It is debated to what degree and in which settings agency is possible (Tisdall & Punch, 2012), and it is argued that agency must be seen and understood relationally (Jamieson & Milne, 2012). The multiple ways

children exercise agency and social competencies are well documented in childhood studies, and they include the following: Children are capable of expressing their points of view; children influence their surroundings; and children show their resistance, adaptation, or understanding in various situations (Christensen & James, 2008; Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup et al., 1994). The emphasis on a self-governed, self-regulating child can lead to expectations that the child will be able to handle too much and make decisions demanding adult responsibility (Alderson, 2013); however, childhood studies have never intended to make children act as responsibly as adults. Childhood studies have focused in part on children as active explorers and meaning-makers, and children are perceived as strong, determined, and powerful. At the same time, childhood studies have also pointed to children's vulnerability; to how the structural factors and adults influence children's everyday lives in the family, in educational settings, and in leisure activities; and to children's need to have specific rights (James & Prout, 2015; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). Contemporary theorists within childhood studies claim that agency is context bound and relational in character (Hammersley, 2017).

For the purposes of this research project, it was useful to reflect on both a future-orientation and children's agency. SPAs are partly future-oriented phenomena that aim to prepare children for school entry and to strengthen their skills and self-confidence (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017a). The interactional and collective processes among the children themselves in such activities are less focused. I aimed to investigate this. In addition, children are influential to various degrees in SPAs and in activities in the first grade, but they are also exposed to institutional demands. There are dynamic and flowing relationships among initiatives and rules related to different contexts and institutions. In the articles, children's and adults' participation in SPAs are discussed in detail.

3.4.2 Children and competence

Studies of children's social interactions and participation point toward a certain view of children's competencies. "Competence" refers to the ability, capacity, or qualification to perform a task, fulfill a function, or meet the requirements of a position to an acceptable standard (James & James, 2012). The notion of "the competent child" refers to the right of a child to express her or his views and to be involved in decision-making for issues

concerning her- or himself (Brembeck et al., 2004; Kjørholt, 2005). Lately, the image of the autonomous and competent child has been discussed in educational, psychological, and sociological research and problematized in childhood studies (Brembeck et al., 2004; James & Prout, 2015).

Hutchby and Moran-Ellis (1998) argued that children possess and can assert complex and dynamic social competencies. This emphasizes that competence is bound by structural factors and that the social context influences which capabilities children are allowed or encouraged to show. Thus, the following question is central: To what extent are children allowed to be competent and/or forced into special kinds of competencies through their relations with adults? (ibid.). This question is particularly relevant to my study because it concerns the degree to which children are allowed to participate in SPAs and in activities in the first grade, as well as what types of competencies these institutions value.

There are various approaches to investigating how children use competencies (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998). Competence can be viewed as the mastery of a given task or as the acquisition of skills and competencies; however, social competence also relates to children's ability to manage their own social surroundings and to engage in meaningful social actions within given interactional contexts. Children are socialized into given social settings, and they display their competencies in settings that yield diverse rules and norms. This study was conducted in preschools and in schools, two institutions with different sets of rules, norms, and values that the children must interpret, handle, cooperate with, and act with consistency toward. Thus, in this project, I emphasize that the possession or the lack of social competence is negotiated, argued about, or struggled over in activities that both the children themselves and present adults participate in. I also stress that children's social competence should not be separated from the structural contexts in which it is displayed or negotiated.

3.5 Interpretive reproduction, peer culture, and peer talk

William Corsaro is a researcher who has made a considerable contribution to studies of children's social relations and everyday lives. His work has given a richer understanding of children’s social interactions, their complex accomplishment of group life and their

peer culture (see Corsaro, 2009, 2015) In sum he has created a theory of childhood socialization as a process of interpretive reproduction.

His term "interpretive reproduction" refers to the process in which children actively interpret and reproduce their surroundings (Corsaro, 2015). The word "interpretive" points to the innovative and creative aspects of children's participation in society, and "reproduction" refers to the idea that children do not simply internalize society and culture; instead, they actively contribute to cultural production and change. In preschool and school children are always participating in two cultures – children's and adult's – and these two are intricately interwoven (Corsaro, 2015) This means that children can be constrained by the existing values and rules in the adult culture, but they can also make resistance and create new understandings or forms for participation (Mayall, 2002; Qvortrup et al., 1994).

Interpretive reproduction emphasizes the importance of children creating their own unique peer cultures, which are defined as the stable sets of routines, artefacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share with each other (Corsaro, 2009, 2015). Children contribute to reproduction and change in societies through being members of a peer groups, where children produce their peer cultures collectively (ibid.; Kyratzis, 2004). Within childhood studies, it has become important to study children's own world independent of adult culture (i.e., to study peer group interactions when adults are not present) (Christensen & James, 2008; Corsaro, 2015). In preschool and school, children's everyday lives are influenced by adult norms and rules, and adults are in charge legally because of their experience and knowledge. Adults have a crucial position in children's everyday lives in educational institutions. Children creatively appropriate information from adult culture in creating their own peer cultures, and this appropriation often elaborates peer culture and simultaneously it can extend the adult culture (Corsaro, 2009).

Two topics consistently emerge in children's peer cultures. First, children make persistent attempts to gain control of their lives and to share that control with each other (Corsaro, 2015). A central aspect of peer cultures is doing things together, and gaining access to play and other activities therefore becomes an important task (Bateman & Church, 2017). During these activities, sharing and gaining control seem to be important features; this entails children sharing what they have made or created together and

protecting these shared creations (Cobb-More et al., 2009; Kyratzis, 2004). Friendship is often defined by norms of reciprocity, open discussion, and cooperation, and it may provide children with unique social experiences that cannot be imitated in interactions with adults (Cekaite et al., 2014).

Another aspect of children's peer cultures is a tendency to challenge adult authority (Corsaro, 2015; Danby & Theobald, 2012). Through collaboratively produced secondary adjustments, children can gain some control in adult-led settings. These secondary adjustments are:

> … any habitual arrangement by which a member of an organization employs unauthorized means, or obtains unauthorized ends, or both, thus getting around the organization's assumptions as to what he should do and get hence what he should be (Goffman, 1961, p. 189).

Such secondary adjustments can contribute to group identity and provide children with a tool for addressing personal interests and goals (Corsaro, 2015).

The study of peer talk from language and discursive perspectives is relatively new (Cekaite et al., 2014). Some scholars have argued that peers should be studied as a discourse community, and this argument stems from and aligns with childhood studies and the particular place children have gained as a social and cultural group (Cekaite et al., 2014; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004). Peer talk often has a collaborative and symmetrical participation structure, and it plays an important role in the co-constructed worlds of childhood culture (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2004; Corsaro, 2015). Children's talk can provide opportunities for discussion, reciprocal exchanges, cooperation, and negotiations of social order that differ from those of child–adult dyadic interactions (ibid.).

Peer talk unfolds in pairs or groups of children unhindered by the inherent asymmetry of adult–child interactions. Peer talk is informed by the communicative practices of the wider community, including older peers, adults, and institutional discourses (Cekaite, et al., 2014). Kyratzis (2004) categorizes four ways in which children's peer talk establishes and maintains peer cultures: (1) children create games and codes through peer talk, (2) conflict talk shapes peer culture, (3) peer group identities are created and negotiated through peer talk; and (4) adult culture is resisted through peer talk.

The concepts of interpretive reproduction, peer culture, and peer talk are important to describe and understand children's participation in activities in preschool and in the first grade. When children take part in SPAs and enter the first grade, they become part of a peer group and participate in shared activities. To study children's participation, it was necessary to explore and use the above-mentioned concepts to interpret the children's activities.

4 Methods and data

The purpose of this PhD project was to study children's participation in SPAs in the final year of preschool and selected activities in the first period of the first grade. An ethnographic approach was used to design and collect data, and this approach was supported by central features from EM and CA to facilitate a study of social interaction *in situ*. Although ethnography and EM have different analytical focuses, several scholars have demonstrated that ethnographies can provide high-quality data for ethnomethodological analysis (Aarsand, 2015; Evaldsson, 2003; Harper et al., 2008; Pollner & Emerson, 2001). The present study draws on ethnomethodology and ethnography as the framework. I chose to study the activities in preschool and school as everyday occurrences for those involved, and I employed data-driven analysis.

This lengthy chapter will provide an overview of the research design and a discussion of the research choices made. This chapter is organized into the following seven subchapters: (1) a presentation of the ethnographic study design; (2) a description of the participating preschools, schools, children, and adults; (3) a description of the entry process into the preschools and schools; (4) a discussion of the data collection process, concerns about participant observation, visit frequency, video recordings, and field notes; (5) a presentation of the research setting and the main activities at the preschools and schools; (6) an outline of the data analysis, content logs, principles for the analysis, and transcription; and (7) a discussion of research ethics.

4.1 An ethnographic research design

The aim of ethnography is to engage systematically in studying people and their cultures, and it stresses the detailed observation of people in naturally occurring settings (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The ethnographic approach rests on three general assumptions (Silverman, 2001): (1) common sense is held to be complex and sophisticated; (2) social practices are the site where common sense operates, and the focus is on what people are doing at such a site; and (3) one seeks to understand how any phenomenon is locally produced through the activities of particular people in particular settings. There are certain features that characterize an ethnographic study (Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Dewan, 2018; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Silverman,

2001), and my research study has many of them. It is a field-based study investigating few cases over an extended time by using personalized data collection. The main features of the research design are described here, and a more detailed discussion is presented throughout the chapter.

My main aim for the data collection was to study children's participation and interactions in activities in the final year of preschool and the first period of the first grade. There were several reasons for the choice of an ethnographic research design. Using an ethnographic approach, I could stay in the field over time, which gave me an opportunity to be close to the participants and to get to know their everyday activities. This helped me recognize and disclose interactional patterns and allowed me to reveal which situations were the most interesting to film in terms of content (what the children and adults did) and practical considerations for filming (e.g., the sizes of rooms, indoor and outdoor noise, and how the children were gathered). Some scholars have argued that ethnographic observation is very well suited for gaining insight into the many features of children's interactions with other children and adults, peer cultures, and peer talk (Corsaro, 2015; James & Prout, 2015).

The ethnographic approach focuses on social processes practiced in various institutions, organizations, or groups. One aim is to discover patterns, values, rules, and routines that the participants display and make use of in their everyday lives. Another aim is to see how participants reproduce, but also challenge and reform, patterns, rules, and norms through social practices (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Silverman, 2001).

My research interest was to observe the actions taking place in SPAs in preschool and whole class activities in school, with a focus on identifying patterns in the children's participation expressed through talk and embodied action. I also analyzed how rules and norms at preschool and school influenced children's participation and whether they were contested by the children. I found it necessary to stay in the field for a long period to gain comprehensive insight into how the children participated in activities before and after their entry into school. The long-term study also helped reduce the challenge of reactivity because the participants usually ignored my presence while I was taking notes and recording their activities. The fieldwork was carried out from November 2013 until November 2014.

The fieldwork took place at two preschools and two schools. Both preschools had SPAs one or two days a week. Previous studies indicated that all Norwegian preschools prioritized SPAs, but there were different understandings and practices regarding children's participation in SPAs (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015). Thus, I found it interesting to include fieldwork in two preschools that had different sets of activities and diverse pedagogical approaches for their school starters. In the subsequent fieldwork at the connected schools, I chose to follow classes and groups that included some of the children who had participated in the preschools. I spent two or three days each week in the field.

The principal technique of ethnographic research is participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), and a main strength of this technique is that it allows the researcher to describe in depth the contexts, relationships, actions, and activities of individuals and groups. I found participant observation to be an adequate technique for my data collection. Participant observation allowed for an exploration of what activities the children did, how frequently they did them and with whom, and how they participated and interacted with each other while doing these activities. Moreover, participant observation is not dependent on the ability to verbalize, which was important because the participating children were five to six years old. Finally, participant observation enabled inquiry into research questions beyond those that the previous Norwegian studies of SPAs and whole-class activities had focused on (see Chapter Two).

Ethnographic research is often conducted through the use of multiple data collection techniques. In this PhD project, I used video recordings supported by field notes. Children's non-verbal, fast moving, and highly complex activities can be very challenging to capture (Corsaro, 2015, Maynard & Clayman, 1991). When several children are involved in activities, many things happen simultaneously, and even a well-trained and experienced observer can miss important action (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Heath et al., 2010). The collection of video data helps the researcher register verbal and embodied action, and it has also been argued that observation notes must be wedded to more reliable data, such as video recordings of actual organizational or institutional actions (Francis & Hester, 2004; Goodwin, 2007; 2017). However, video data alone cannot replace a participant observer and field notes (Atkinson &

Hammersley, 2007; Derry et al., 2010). Unlike a camera, a sensing and embodied ethnographer can, for instance, capture smells, feelings, touch, stress, and atmosphere from the field the researcher is visiting (Pink, 2015; Sparrman, 2005).

The conventional ethnographic approaches have been criticized for failing to examine the processes through which the phenomena studied have been constituted, and by some researchers they have been characterized as lacking in rigor because they rely upon common-sense knowledge that is not empirically substantiated (Francis & Hester, 2004; Hammersley, 1990). EM is often carried out with an attention to detail that is typically overlooked by ethnographic researchers. An ethnographic approach to data collection can provide high-quality data for EM analysis (Aarsand, 2015; Harper et al., 2008; Pollner & Emerson, 2001), and this is a powerful argument for combining ethnographic fieldwork and EM.

4.2 The participants

The data collection took place in two preschools and two schools, and I have created pseudonyms for them so as not to reveal the actual school names. I will refer to the preschools as Sunflower and Apple Garden and to the schools as Rosewood and Copperhill.

Both preschools were public and served a heterogeneous group of children in terms of gender and ethnic background. The school starters (those aged five and six years) were spread among different groups mixed with children from three to six years old; however, when they did SPAs (one to two days a week), the school starters came together to form a group of their own. Still, the preparatory activities differed between the preschools in terms of content, location, and material resources.

Apple Garden was a quite old preschool, built 40 years ago. It was located outside of the city center in scenic surroundings, where the children enjoyed a great deal of time in outdoor activities. The outdoor area had trees, a climbing apparatus, swings, and a sandpit. Apple Garden had about 45 children in total, divided into two groups for children aged one to three years and two groups for children aged three to six years. Inside the preschool, there were many separate rooms, including a shared kitchen, coatrooms, reading rooms, playrooms, and rooms for eating and table activities. When the school starters met for the School starter club (SSC), they used a room with a long

table and two benches. Colorful and rich detailed drawings made by the children decorated the walls in the room. In addition, a row of the letters of the alphabet hung on one wall, and the numbers from one to 10 hung on another wall. Crayons, markers, and drawing sheets were placed in small bookshelves and available for the children. There were also games, small building blocks, and pearls in the bookshelves. Once a week, the school starters traveled to playgrounds or to nearby forest areas. There were 12 children in the school starter group: six boys and six girls.

Sunflower was a quite new preschool, built approximately 10 years ago. It was located closer to the city center than Apple Garden, but it was still outside of the city center. It was a large preschool serving 70 children, and the pedagogical content and the architecture were inspired by the pedagogy of Reggio Emilia. The preschool had three groups for the youngest children (one to three years old) and three groups for the eldest children (three to six years old). There were both small and large rooms that could be closed off with sliding glass doors, and there were open areas between the rooms. There was also a large kitchen and an eating area with many small tables and chairs. In the smaller rooms, there were large windows, bookshelves, and drawers equipped with handicraft materials such as pearls, buttons, textiles, crayons, shells, stones, paper, glue, and scissors. Other drawers held building blocks and toys. The entire preschool was richly decorated both inside and outside with sculptures, painted glass, window decorations, trees with ornaments, and wallpapers with photos and explanatory texts (to document the various activities the children had done). Sunflower focused on art and food projects relating to the season of the year. The outdoor area consisted of a playground with some scattered trees, a grass hill, a climbing apparatus, a cycling pathway around the building, a sand pit, and swings. The school starters consisted of 14 children: seven boys and seven girls. Two children did not participate in the project, so I observed 12 children.

Both of the schools were public and of medium size (500–700 students). The first-grade students were placed in the same area in the school building, and they shared the same entrance, coatroom, and area for after-school care. The children were divided into four classes or groups. A separate "contact teacher" was responsible for the children in each class or group, guiding the children's academic development and social lives and serving as a primary contact with the parents.

Rosewood Elementary School was located just outside the city center among several housing estates. The outdoor space of Rosewood consisted of a rich variation of smaller playground areas among green lawns and some scattered trees. Outdoor breaks were always dedicated to free play and physical activity. Rosewood had traditional classrooms located next to each other, and the children were divided into classes named A, B, C, and D. I followed class B, which consisted of 22 children.

Copperhill Elementary School was located outside of the city center among housing estates. Outside of the school, there were several pieces of playground equipment and ball courses with some bushes and lawns in smaller areas. The children had outdoor play for one hour each day. The first-grade area was half-open and split in two with a half wall. The children were divided into constant groups named A, B, C, and D. Groups A and B were seated on desks on one side of the half wall, and groups C and D were seated on the other side. The groups shifted to use other rooms at the school, and that made the first-grade area less busy and more spacious. I followed group C, which consisted of 23 children.

Figure 1 presents the participating children and adults with pseudonyms. I gave all children from Sunflower pseudonyms beginning with "S" to symbolize their preschool. Likewise, I gave the children from Apple Garden names starting with "A." Twenty-four children were observed in preschool, and 45 children were observed in school: 12 children (four from Sunflower and eight from Apple Garden) were followed both in preschool and in school; 12 children (eight from Sunflower and four from Apple Garden) were followed only in preschool; and 33 children (18 from Rosewood and 15 from Copperhill) were followed only in school. In Figure 1, the children participating in both preschool and at schools were named to display the groups in preschool and which children that were followed in school. Twelve adults participated in the study: three preschool teachers from each of the preschools and three teachers from each of the primary schools. In this study, I did not aim to more closely follow children who were participating in both preschool and in school. Instead, I focused on observing how children participated in activities with other children and adults and on connecting participation in SPAs with participation in activities in the first grade.

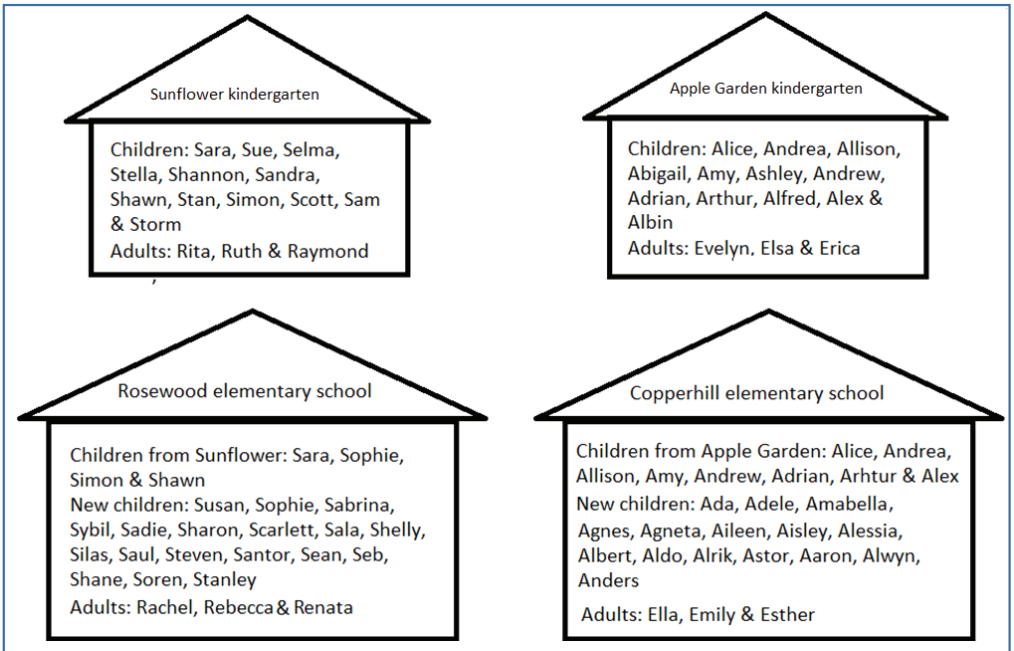

Figure 1: Participating children and adults by pseudonym

4.3. Entry and access to the field

Ethnographic researchers often distinguish between entry and access when describing how the researcher got into the field and gathered data. "Entry" refers to how the researcher is formally allowed into the field. "Access" refers to when the researcher is allowed to observe the activities the participants engage in (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

4.3.1 Entry to preschools

The quite time-consuming job of gaining entry into the field began in the spring of 2013. I made first contact with the municipality and the unit for Childhood and Education. In the ongoing dialogue, I presented the initial research questions and the proposed study design. This dialogue was very useful because the contact persons at the municipality became enthusiastic about the PhD project, and one person at the municipality turned out to be an important door-opener for the research. This person provided the necessary information to select preschools and spoke positively about the project at these preschools. The criteria for choosing preschools were based on the

following key project features: one researcher in the project, opportunities to use an ethnographic approach to observe children participating in SPAs and first-grade activities, SPAs taking place on a regular or weekly basis, and the opportunity to observe some children in both preschool and school.

The first issue was the number of preschools to be studied. Preschools usually have SPAs one or two days a week. I decided to include two preschools in the study to capture some variation in the content and organization of SPAs.

The second issue was aspects related to the children (school starters). To ensure rich interactional data, the school starter group had to be quite large, which also meant that I could record and follow smaller groups at times, giving them and me opportunities to choose what activities were recorded.

The third issue was traveling distance. This was important because the fieldwork would take a long time. The fourth issue was variations in pedagogical activities or profile, which could increase the possibility of variations in the content and organization of SPAs (Rambøll Management, 2010). A fifth issue was the opportunity to follow children from preschool to school. Children might switch preschools, families might move, and in large municipalities, there are often differences between the geographical preschool borders and the school borders. To have the opportunity to follow some children at both institutions, the selected preschools needed to have few corresponding schools. A final issue was the need to find positive stakeholders (preschool managers, preschool teachers, parents, and children). A study of everyday life over a long time is easier when the participants accept the research and the researcher's presence.

The municipality shared up-to-date information about all preschools in August 2013. Two preschools fulfilled the criteria concerning the features of the preschools themselves (distance, few corresponding schools) and the child groups within the preschools (large groups). In addition, these two school starter groups had a balance of boys and girls and variation in ethnicity. Assisted by a person from the municipality (the door-opener), I made first contacts with the preschool managers and pedagogical leaders. I presented the aims of my PhD project to them, as well as the wish to video-record SPAs to provide information about the study and grounds for informed consent. The preschool management were positive toward the project and agreed to participate.

The first stakeholder group consisted of the preschool teachers and assistants. I met with them, they clarified their considerations and expectations and asked questions, and we found a common ground to begin the fieldwork. All personnel at the two preschools gave their written consent to participate.

The second stakeholder group to address was the parents. The PhD project was presented in parent meetings in the two preschools. I made a PowerPoint presentation about the aims of the study, the data collection, and ethical considerations, and the presentation was done together with the pedagogical leaders. Twenty-four of the 26 parents gave their written consent.

The third group of stakeholders was the children. Because they were under age, they did not have the formal right or opportunity to give or deny access. Nonetheless, former studies have shown that children can provide or deny access or entry to the researcher in their own way. This topic will be addressed in the next subchapter on access to the field (Subchapter 4.4).

4.3.2 Entry into schools

Gaining entry into schools was quite difficult because the schools in the relevant municipality receive many proposals for research and other external projects. The two main corresponding schools for the preschools were contacted formally in May 2014, and both school leaders indicated that they were positive to the study. I also met with the school inspectors and discussed the project in more detail. This was followed by emails explaining the project in detail, and the contact person at the municipality and the preschool managers served as references. In August both schools decided to participate. I had meetings with the school inspectors and first-grade teachers about the project and the data collection. Some of the teachers had concerns about the video recordings, and we talked about how I could resolve the issues if some children did not want to be recorded.

It was not feasible to follow all classes or groups, so I decided to follow one class or group at each school. I chose to follow classes or groups that included most of the children who had participated in the preschool studies. I obtained written consent from parents and teachers during the first week of school, and I began filming during the second week of school. The section on research ethics give a detailed account of the

concerns related to doing research in other people's everyday life, and with children in particular.

4.3.3 Access to the participants

Access refers to when the researcher is allowed to observe the activities the participants engage in, without any restriction imposed by the participants themselves (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). To carry out prolonged observations of both the children and the adults, I spent much time during the first few weeks working to be accepted by the children and the adults and building trust-based relationships with them (see also Corsaro & Molinari, 2005).

The staff at the preschool were among the participants in the fieldwork. During the first weeks of the fieldwork, the adults asked me many questions about my PhD project and about me as a person. I answered all the questions to the best of my ability, and I tried to make the aim of my research clear and to share personal information about myself. This dialogue could take place when the adults had stationary work, for example in the coatroom before going out, or when the children were playing on the playground and the adults were standing by, ready to support. I saw these small encounters as important for both them and me to keep the relationships between us trustworthy and safe.

Children can deny a researcher access by hiding from the camera, speaking slowly, or by not participating at all, and they can deny a researcher access to situations and events that take place or that normally would have taken place (Aarsand & Forsberg, 2009). However, children can also invite the researcher into their shared activities by allowing the researcher to be near and to record them (ibid.). In my study, I chose a "sensitive approach" toward the preschool and school children by waiting for them to contact me. It did not take long for the children to begin to ask questions about who I was, why I was there, and why I had a video camera. I answered all of their questions, let them study me as a person (my earrings, hair, and clothes), and let them touch the camera and film. When I began to film, I asked the children for their permission, which gave them the opportunity to provide their consent to participate in the research (Alderson & Morrow, 2004). The presence of other adults in the activities I observed and recorded was also relevant because they always initiated activities and led

or facilitated them. Perhaps the adults' presence and initiatives made it easier for the children to forget about me.

Throughout my fieldwork, the children sometimes sat on my lap or showed me different things, like drawings, clay figures, or other crafts they had made or pictures in books. This was more common in preschool than in school. The children would also talk more to me, invite me into play activities, and/or ask for my help when I made several visits to the same preschool or school in the same week. I will return to these topics in the discussion of participant observation in Subchapter 4.4.

4.3.4 The pilot study

Before the full-scale data collection, a one-month pilot study was conducted at the two preschools in November 2013. The aim of the pilot study was to test how well video recordings captured the children's activities, how the video camera worked at different angles, and how the participants responded to my presence as a researcher, as well as to discover possible practical or relational challenges in the coming fieldwork. During the pilot study, I discovered that it was challenging to only video-record the school starters in age-mixed groups. It was also difficult to sort out which activities were relevant to follow because there was no specific focus on school preparation in mixed-age groups. Already in the first week, I realized that the SSC and SPAs were the most suitable situations to record if I wanted to focus on school preparation for children in their final year of preschool.

An evaluation of the pilot was carried out in early December, and it was decided to continue the research and keep both preschools in the study. It meant a lot that the staff, the parents, and the children were in favor of the research because this affected how they accepted me as an observer in their daily lives. With such a positive attitude from the participants, I felt included from the beginning.

Another important thing was that the sizes of the groups of children were adequate for filming over a longer time. I followed 12 children in each preschool, so they were quite large groups. This meant that I could get an impression of how the children interacted as a larger group, and it was also possible to film smaller groups of children and their interactions without necessarily following the same children all the

time. In addition, the two preschools hosted diverse activities that yielded variation in the data material.

4.4 The data collection

The term "thick description" refers to a detailed account of field experiences in which the researcher makes explicit the patterns of cultural and social relationships and puts them in context (Geertz, 1973; Silverman, 2001). This subchapter describes the data, reflects upon the type of participant observation I did, and discusses the collection of video data and writing field notes.

4.4.1 Visit frequency and overview of the data

The first part of the fieldwork took place at the preschools. One could argue that school preparation take place both when there is time for SPAs (age-divided trips, projects) and when the children did other things in preschool (waiting in line, putting on clothes, following directions). For practical reasons, I chose to only include days with age-divided activities, i.e. when the school starters were gathered as a group and separated from the younger children. Focusing on the SSC, gave the research a focal point, and it made it possible to follow the school starters as a group indoors or outdoors in the preschool area and on trips. The limitation of this choice was that I did not see or get the chance to record all types of school preparation going on in everyday life at the preschool.

I visited the preschools two or three days a week, and I tried to balance the visits evenly between the two preschools. Visiting two preschools allowed for many reflections over similarities and differences in praxis, such as how SPAs were organized, the content, and where they were practiced. I would not have had access to such data with only one preschool. Some months were busier than others, such as November (the start-up phase), February (different projects at both preschools), and April (school visits in addition to SSC).

I usually visited the schools three days each week. The choice of school days to visit was based on my wish to capture different activities and the children's participation in these. Each week, I received the schedule for the coming week, and I then informed the teachers of which days I would visit. This arrangement worked very well for both

parties. After a couple of weeks, I discovered which days it was most expedient to visit each school. This enhanced the accuracy of my data because I was present on the same days of the week across the two schools. Based on the time schedules, I choose days in such a way as to capture variations in classroom subjects, class and group gathering environments and activities, and activities like outdoor days, music and physical education.

Table 1: Overview of the fieldwork

	Preschool	School
Film hours	80	55
Field notes	40 pages	20 pages
Period	7 months (Nov13–Jun14)	3 months (Aug14–Nov14)

The data collection generated more than 130 hours of video recordings of children participating in various activities. Approximately 80 hours of film from the two preschools were gathered between November 2013 and June 2014, and 55 hours of film from the two schools were gathered between August and November 2014. I also wrote about 60 pages of field notes. These notes were helpful for organizing and contextualizing the video recordings. Table 1 gives the main features of the fieldwork.

4.4.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is used in a variety of disciplines as a tool for collecting data about people, processes, and cultures, but the level of involvement and type of participant observation can vary from passive to complete observation (DeWalt et al., 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Conducting research in preschools and schools entails an unequal relationship between the researcher and the children due to differences in age, height, and experience, and it is very difficult for an adult to conduct research among children as a full participating member (Adler & Adler, 1994; Corsaro, 2015). I chose moderate participation because this approach provides a good combination of involvement and necessary detachment. This meant trying to maintain a balance between insider and outsider positions vis-à-vis the children and the adults. Notably, I did not participate in the activities of the children or the adults, but I was close to the events and stood in an appropriate location for filming the activities.

Most scholars agree on certain features of a successful ethnographic study (Dewan, 2018; Geertz, 1973; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Silverman, 2001). First, it is a fundamental requirement to spend sufficient time with the participants to be able to explore whether and how patterns develop. To study how children's participation in SPAs developed and changed over time, I visited the two preschools over eight months and studied activities in the two schools over a three-month period. At that point, I found that the activities repeated themselves, and I considered that I had sufficient data on first-grade activities.

Second, it is important to have a good strategy for documenting and analyzing the data during the fieldwork and afterwards. During the fieldwork, I spent two to three days each week in the field, and I spent the other workdays (and weekends) at the office organizing and commenting on video-data and field notes. This was quite exhaustive, but expanding the data in this systematic manner improved the quality of the data. Details about the data analysis after the data collection are presented in Subchapter 4.5.

Third, closeness is important to establish a trust-based relationship with the participants. At the same time, it is crucial to maintain some distance to safeguard one's objective position as a researcher. Hammersley puts it this way:

> The comfortable sense of being 'at home' is a danger signal…There must always remain some part held back, some social and intellectual 'distance'. For it is in the space created by this distance that the analytic work of the ethnographer gets done. Without that distance, without such analytic space, the ethnography can be little more than the autobiographical account of a personal conversion (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 90).

The balance between closeness and distance requires reflexivity and flexibility from the researcher, and the balance should be negotiated and reflected upon constantly during the fieldwork (Christensen & James, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Heath et al., 2010; Silverman, 2001). I would always go into dialogue with children or adults when they asked questions about the research. That was a way of showing respect for the participants and informing them about the research. The adults would also share stories about life in preschool and thoughts about SPAs, and this gave me a broader understanding of their practices.

The children had their own way of including me or excluding me from their activities, and I learned from other scholars and their experiences and challenges in the field (Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Danby & Farrell, 2004; Goodwin, 1990: Lago, 2014; Sparrman, 2005). For instance, during the first period of the data collection in the preschools, the children suggested what I should record, and they wanted to make video recordings themselves. I navigated this challenge allowing the children to influence on the data collection process for some days, and then it appeared that the children got used to me as a researcher with a camera. It was helpful to see that Corsaro and Molinari (2005) and Sparrman (2005) had dealt with similar experiences of children making suggestions and even inscribing comments directly into the researcher's notebook.

On some occasions, I had to create more distance between myself and the children. Unlike the other present adults, I was not in a position to help the children or interact with them constantly. Clearly, my position as a researcher and observer was difficult for the children to grasp. Once, I tried to explain to the children that I had to video-record to remember exactly what was going on when I was back at my office. This generated a lot of questions about my office, stories about the parents' offices, and laughter about funny details. After this talk, however, I could pull back and continue my recordings and observations.

Fourth, the researcher and her inbuilt subjective position in ethnography call for extensive reflexivity. Reflexivity pertains to the analytical attention to the researcher's position in qualitative research, and it involves self-confrontation and a need for the researcher to express a stronger orientation to the world (Delanty & Strydom, 2003; Dowling, 2006; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Throughout the fieldwork and after, I have examined and reflected on my observations, interpretations, values, and my skills and limitations in eliciting information. To validate my experiences and expand on them during the fieldwork, I discussed selected video recordings with the main supervisor and in a closed research group. After the data collection, selected video recordings and transcripts were made anonymous and presented and discussed at several seminars, workshops, and labs in Norway and abroad. It was important to let other experienced researchers reflect on what they found important in the recordings, both to get new ideas and to ensure that other researchers agreed about the findings and confirmed their importance.

4.4.3 Video recordings

Video-based techniques are used within different fields of relevance to this PhD project, such as ethnography, EM, and CA (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011; Francis & Hester, 2004; Heath et al., 2010; Silverman, 2001; Sparrman, 2005). Several studies of young children and their social interactions and peer relations include video recordings of their activities (e.g., Cobb-More et al., 2009; Melander, 2009; 2012; Theobald & Kultti, 2012). In my study, the video recordings allowed me to capture how talk and embodied action intertwined as resources for communication, as well as the material resources the participants used in their interactions (see also Goodwin, 1990; Goodwin, 2007; 2017; Heath et al., 2010).

There are many advantages to video recordings, but the collection of video data also has its limitations (Derry et al., 2010; Heath et al., 2010). Video data is partial and includes and excludes elements; such data usually provides only one perspective on an event, and the gathered data is co-constructed with the children (Pink, 2015; Sparrman, 2005).

One concern is external conditions influencing the recordings, such as light conditions, space, and the number of children involved. During the fieldwork, I realized that it was impossible to capture all aspects of the course of an event. If many children were involved in the same activity and they were moving around, only a few could be recorded well due to limitations in sound, picture, and movement capture. To prevent enviousness and conflicts, I needed to record each of the children at least once during the day and to film longer sequences including all of the children. I also discovered that when the children were sitting together around a long table or when they were doing activities within a restricted area, I could get good recordings of the whole group. Many times, I tried to place myself close to a wall or a corner where I had some overview of the ongoing activity. When I noticed something I wanted to take a closer look at, I moved closer to the participants with the camera (see also Heath et al., 2010).

Another concern was the influence of various technical decisions on recordings. I used a hand-held camera with an internal microphone. This offered flexibility, which allowed me to move freely to capture activities. I tried to use a tripod for image stabilization, but the tripod was difficult to move quickly, and the children changed

positions and locations constantly. The camera also featured a display that opened out to one side, so it was easy to see both what the camera recorded and what was going on around me. In retrospect, I see that it could have been advantageous to have two cameras: one handheld and one fixed camera at a given position that could have captured the whole group's activities all the time.

As in other studies (e.g., Melander, 2009; Sparrman, 2005), the children displayed a high degree of interest in the technology I employed in the field in the beginning. My approach was to be open-minded and approving; I allowed the children to touch the camera and film, and they asked me to record their dances or funny movements. Perhaps this was the children's way of demystifying being recorded, as it seemed that the children rather quickly got used to me as a researcher with a camera. Another reason for this quick acceptance might be that young children in Norway are used to filming by camera, by smartphones, and through Skype or Facetime. The various forms of recordings that are a part of young children's everyday lives might reduce any disturbance from bringing a video camera into the field.

Most of the time, I found that the children forgot about the camera recording them when they were engaged in their activities. On a few occasions, however, I found that the video camera affected activities. The most obvious were situations in which the children would turn toward the camera and make funny faces or talk to the camera lens. Some of the children would be quieter if I came close with the camera, but they did not say "no" to being filmed. When the children's talk and embodied actions made me unsure of whether I was intruding on their space, I either chose to move away to take a break, found another group of children to record, or asked if it was okay to continue recording them. An example from my field notes at Apple Garden Preschool, when they visited the day care facilities for school children at the local school, illustrates a challenge of being present as a researcher with a camera:

> Andrea and Allison find a box with toy animals. They get engaged with the animals, and after some minutes they have a play going on where a dinosaur is killing a unicorn quite violently. One of them is in control of the dinosaur, and one has the unicorn, and the battle is done with twists and curls over the floor. Just after the unicorn is killed, they both stop and look at me, and they are quiet for some seconds. I ask if it is okay for me to film their play, and Andrea says "yes." Then they pick up some other animals and start playing again. I am not

> sure whether they thought that I disliked their play or whether they saw it as a not favorable action to record, or if they felt that I was intruding on their play generally. I decide to give them some space, but I am sure to give them a smile before I move over to another group of children.

The use of the video camera also helped me establish status as "a different adult." In one of the preschools, some children called me "the camera lady," emphasizing that I was interested in recording children's activities and that my position differed from that of the preschool teachers. It was important for me to reflect on the children's understanding of my position as a researcher and to consider how the video data was socially constructed through face-to-face interaction with the children (see Christensen & James, 2008; Sparrman, 2005). In some of the field notes, I reflected on how the children saw me as different from the other adults at the preschool or school. An example from Copperhill Elementary School illustrates this point:

> It seems like the children see that I have another position than the teachers and assistants working in their school. Today, between two learning sessions, some children are waiting in the listening corner, and I am sitting just a few meters away. One boy suddenly sits on the teacher's chair, smiles widely, and pretends to be the teacher. He says "name three football teams" and points at a boy and two girls sitting on the bench beside him. They laugh at his performance and start naming teams. One of the girls looks at me and smiles. When the real teacher enters the classroom, the boy jumps quickly off the teacher's chair and sits down on the bench with the other children, causing another round of giggling and laughing.

4.4.4 Field notes

Sometimes video recordings are used in combination with other data collection methods (Aarsand & Forsberg, 2009; Hindmarsh & Heath, 2007). In this study, video was the main data collection technique, but it was supported with ethnographic field notes. Field notes can be written records of observational data produced by the fieldwork (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I wrote field notes immediately after each visit to the preschools and schools. Writing field notes was important to avoid forgetting important points and details that were not always captured in the video recordings (Derry et al., 2010; Silverman, 2001). Smell, feelings, and atmosphere can only be captured by a sensing ethnographer (Pink, 2015), and my field notes included short descriptions of the

contexts of the activities I was to record. An example from the field notes taken at Sunflower Preschool illustrates this point:

> The children are gathered in the big room to eat lunch together. The room is filled with the smell of fresh bread, and some candles are lit on the tables. The atmosphere feels cozy and warm as the children and adults sit and talk together around the many small tables.

The field notes also included facts such as date, time, name of preschool/school, types of activities that took place, and a summary of what had happened. Sometimes I commented on specific words, sentences, or actions that I found important to remember, and they functioned as cues or reminders of what had happened during a specific activity (see Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I also found it important to include some personal responses to the activities I recorded, such as what surprised me and why or what I found interesting to pursue further in my fieldwork (see Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Pink, 2015). Below is an example from Rosewood Elementary School. Similar observations were conducted repeatedly of listening corners, and this interest was followed up in Article 3:

> The children sit in groups of two and two. It is not allowed to talk to children in other groups of two or to wander around in the room. The children bend these rules, and they create a social room with their peers. Some children stop at other tables when they go to the trashcan to sharpen their pencils. Other children ask their neighbors for crayons to borrow and exchange some words at the same time, whereas others are more obvious and turn their chairs so they are able to show their drawings and discuss tasks with children sitting behind them.

The field notes were a supplement that helped me structure and remember important impressions, thoughts, and questions I had during my field encounters for an entire year. They also played an important role after I had completed the fieldwork because they re-reminded me of the context and the actual situations the studied activities were part of, as well as important questions I had noted. The field notes helped me recall the entire picture of the recorded scenes. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the field notes are products of interpretation and sense-making.

4.5 Data analysis

Video data is time intensive to collect, review, and analyze. The first section describes the content logs, followed by a presentation of the transcription and validation of the data.

4.5.1 Content logs

The first step in the data analysis was to watch the recordings in the order they were collected. The content of each recording were systematized in a content log. Content logs give an intermediate representation of the data, and a summary of the content logs yields an overview of the data collected (Derry et al., 2010; Heath et al., 2010). I made four content logs; one for each preschool and school. These served as a starting point for selecting the parts of the recorded material that were to be watched several times to search for patterns, repetitions, or courses (ibid.). The content logs became more detailed over time, and I marked all recordings that I found interesting for further investigation. The field notes were also used in this process, and they helped contextualize the situations and remind me of the impressions and spontaneous thoughts I had while I was doing the recordings in my fieldwork.

When the process of coding the material was finished, the content logs gave a very detailed and useful overview of what the preschools and the schools spent time on in SPAs and in the first grade. Table 2 presents some events from a content log created from two days at Rosewood Elementary School. The logs show how much time was spent on different activities and how the activities were organized. In addition, the logs offer some clues about the actions of the children and the adults. In summary, the content logs formed the selection criteria for the activities and events that I chose to follow up on in the articles.

Table 2: Events from a content log created for Rosewood Elementary School.

Subject, date, and length of clip	Aim of the activity	Organization and material resources	What do the children do?	What does the teacher do?
Norwegian - 10th of Sept. 25 minutes Teacher: Rebecca, Rosewood	Search for words containing the "S" sound	Listening corner: The teacher sits in front on a chair. She uses a smart board. Children sit on benches in a horseshoe.	All children look in the direction of the smart board. Some sit still, some make small moves, some hold up their hands and are eager to talk, and some speak out of turn.	She introduces the task and moves the mouse on her computer to point on the smart board. She instructs the children to talk one at a time and choses who can speak (always a child with a raised hand).
Mathematics -12th of September 28 minutes Teacher: Erica, Rosewood	Work with addition and subtraction	Listening corner: The teacher has brought with her small pieces of colored paper with squares on them. They work as numbers to count with. The children sit in a horseshoe.	Some children look at Ella, and others are more concerned with their desk partner. Children either touch or talk silently to their desk partners. They give suggestions and answers to the teacher's questions.	The teacher leads the talk, asks several questions to different children, and addresses them by name to make them answer. She reminds the children of the codes of conduct by holding her hand up in the air.

4.5.2 Principles for analysis

In the detailed analysis of excerpts of the video recordings, I drew upon techniques from the interrelated fields of EM and CA (Garfinkel, 1967; Francis & Hester, 2004; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). I used EM to inform the direction of my data analysis, with the aim to identify the phenomena that the children were oriented toward and that were relevant in their situated talk and actions. In the search for relevant analytical categories, the content logs were a starting point for choosing recordings with similarities, such as similar types of activities or events. The next phase was to watch the selected recordings several times and to search for patterns in what the participating children (and adults) oriented to in the interactions (see Derry et al., 2010). An example of a pattern was the

way children at Apple Garden Preschool oriented themselves in the letter activity as a way of competing, supporting, and being creative (presented in Article 1). Another pattern was the way the children used each other as resources in listening corners (presented in Article 3).

After I had chosen recordings that illustrated patterns of action, the next task was to narrow down the events for transcription and detailed analysis. Numerous transcripts were relevant for further investigation of what the participants were oriented toward, as well as how they used their knowledge to follow suitable courses of action. For example, this could mean exploring how a word or expression was understood in relation to the specific occasion of its use (see Garfinkel, 1967), examining how turn-taking during conversations displayed the speaker's analysis of prior talk and analyzing the extent to which turn-taking can be said to be procedurally consequential (Hutchby & Woffitt, 2008).

At this point in the analysis, central features from CA were an inspiration. CA provided an advanced technique for conducting a detailed analysis of how the children and adults interpreted and responded to the talk and actions as the interaction progressed, as well as of how they organized and made sense of their activities in different situations (see Francis & Hester, 2004; Goodwin, 2007, 2017; Hutchby & Woffitt, 2008). Turns were connected with one another in systematically organized patterns or sequences. The idea of proof procedure suggests that the next speaker displays an understanding of what the prior turn was about. Focus in the analysis was placed on turn-taking, pauses, overlapping, intonation, volume, embodied action, and the use of resources to describe the ongoing interaction. An overall important premise for the analytical work in this study was that talk, embodied action, and the material resources at hand were used to facilitate participation in the activities and management of social relations (see also Francis & Hester, 2004; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

4.5.3 Transcription

There are many considerations when transcribing video recordings, such as how much to transcribe; how to present talk; whether to transcribe embodied actions; and how to handle considerations regarding pitch, pauses, and dialects (Hammersley, 2010). There are pros and cons to creating a very detailed and a less detailed transcription. An

excessively detailed transcript can be hard for an inexperienced reader to understand, and a less detailed transcript can seem superficial and uninteresting.

Transcriptions are shaped by theory (Ochs, 1979), related to professional vision (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), and constructed through the researcher's choices and aims (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). The transcription process is part of the analytical process (Silverman, 2001), and the context of use also frames the transcript (Goffman, 1974). A transcript may constitute evidence used to persuade an audience of peer researchers, or the same transcript may be an example of a learning practice (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). Transcribing rests on many subjective choices, and the researcher should reflect on his or her aims, position, and influence in transcribing the data (Bucholtz, 2000).

In my transcription process, there was a constant need to watch the video recordings multiple times. There were many hours with rich amounts of data, and the selection of episodes of interaction to transcribe was difficult. To make transcripts less complex, I decided to only include ratified participants and side participants. Eavesdroppers and bystanders were excluded if they did not make any verbal or embodied response to the verbal exchanges or ongoing action. In each transcript, some features were put in the foreground, whereas other features were less emphasized (see Bezemer & Mavers, 2011; Goffman, 1981).

Another challenge is the process of re-framing in terms of contextualization (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011; Silverstein 1992). Transcriptions of video recordings are products of the researcher’s theoretical stances and a result of the choices, which the researcher takes continuously (Ochs et al., 1979). The process of transcriptions has also been described as an analytic job where the analytic object changes from event, to tape on to transcription and text (Ashmore & Reed, 2000). In this study the activities were framed as preparatory activities with a focus on how they children participated and interacted when accomplishing the tasks, but the activities could also have been studied with a didactic focus or with a focus on teacher instructions and guidance.

Multimodal transcriptions also go through a process where a loss of details occurs from the recordings to the frame grabs and to the final processed images (Ashmore & Reed, 2000; Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). Modes such as speech, gestures, or images have different materiality and offer different possibilities for re-presentation;

images do not involve words and words are not accompanied by visual depictions. The transcripts I have presented are edited representations; they are socially and culturally shaped and situated in a local, social, and physical context. In addition, the transcripts are a collaborative construct involving a number of participants across various data sessions. A representation brings a change of entities, but it is also the re-making of observed activities in a transcript that can lead to fresh insights (see Ochs, 1979; Ashmore & Reed, 2000).

I used conventions from Jeffersonian transcript notation when transcribing the data (Jefferson, 1984; 2004). First, I transcribed the data material into Norwegian, in the original dialect of the participants. I transcribed both talk and embodied action, and the transcribed elements included overlapping speech, pauses, intonation, volume and speed of speech, embodied action, whispering and talking accompanied by laughter. I then translated the transcript into English, keeping the translations as close as possible to the participants' utterances in the original language (see also Melander, 2009; 2012). It was challenging to create a good translation from a Norwegian dialect into English. I attempted to strike a balance between preserving the meaning of the sentence and retaining the actual words used by the participants, since both were likely to impact the understanding of the transcript.

To describe the choreography of interacting bodies and the participants' orientations toward the material environment, I included line drawings with the transcripts (Melander, 2009; Goodwin, 2000). The line drawings are representations, going through a transduction, of frame grabs from the video (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011). I emphasized gaze (looks at), head movements (shakes head), upper body movements (turns to other child), and facial expressions (smiles) and explained them in clauses in the transcript. In Article 2, for example, I used a continuous line to illustrate gaze directions in the drawings (see Goodwin, 2007; 2017). Not all details were included in the line drawings. All the background and the surroundings were excluded to ensure the participants' anonymity and to highlight the focus of each interaction (Melander, 2009; Bezemer & Mavers, 2011).

(1.5)	Numbers in parentheses represents pauses in seconds
(.)	Full stop inside brackets: Micropause of no significant length
(( ))	Marks transcriber's descriptions of non verbal activity
[	Indicates a point of overlap onset
]	Indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances/actions end
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
°	Indicates talk markedly quiet or soft
↑	The up arrow marks sharp rise in pitch
↓	The down arrow marks sharp fall in pitch
WOrd	Especially loud talk is indicated by upper case
word	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
.	Indicates falling intonation
,	Indicates continuing intonation
?	Indicates a rising intonation
> <	Embeds talk that is faster than surrounding speech
< >	Embeds talk that is slower than surrounding speech
°word°	Quiet speech
(xxx)	Talk that was too unclear to transcribe

Figure 2. Transcription key, adapted from Jefferson (2004)

4.6 Ethical considerations

In this project, I followed the ethical guidelines described by the Norwegian national research ethics committee for the social sciences, law, and humanities (2006). The research project was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) in September 2013. The revision of the project was approved by NSD in May 2014, well before the study at two schools. Attachment 1 is the original application to NSD.

The process for consent among the preschool staff, the school staff, and parents was as follows: Following the ethical approval by NSD, information letters and consent forms were delivered to the parents and the staff. The information letters explained the purpose of the study and the data collection and video data analysis processes, indicated that participation was voluntary, and provided my contact information. All personnel at the two preschools and nearly all parents gave their written consent to participate. Attachments 2 and 3 are the information letters and consent agreements provided to parents and staff at the preschools and schools.

The fact that one boy and one girl at Sunflower Preschool were not part of the study generated some concerns regarding the video recordings. I respected the parent's decisions, but it was important for me to avoid making it awkward or unconformable for

the children who were not to be recorded. In activities during which the group of children split into many smaller groups, I could only follow groups in which these two children were not present. This worked well and was easy to achieve. However, in activities during which all the children were together, I had to cut the video footage in which these two children were present. This was more challenging and at times impossible, especially when the children were moving around a great deal. I still managed to record parts of these events, and these partial recordings supported the analysis of patterns in the data.

Obtaining informed consent was one part of the ethical procedure. To treat participants ethically demands awareness from the researcher and humbleness over the responsibility it is to step into the participants' fields:

> Entering other people's lives is intrusive. It requires permission, - permission that goes beyond the kind that comes from consent forms. It is the permission that permeates any respectful relationship between people (Graue & Walsh, 1998, p. 55).

In my project, I asked the parents, the management, and the preschool staff for permission before I started the data collection. I also wanted to inform the children about the research. At both preschools and both schools, I sat in a ring with the children and told them about the research project. In these meetings, I informed them that I was curious about what they were doing in SPAs and in the first grade and that I was going to video record their activities to be able to remember them. I explained that I would also write down some of the things they said and draw pictures from the recordings. I informed them that they were allowed to say if they did not like being filmed or observed, and that I would stop in those cases. Finally, I showed the children a finished dissertation with pictures of children doing things, similar to this thesis (see also Ackesjø, 2014; Lago, 2014; Seland, 2009).

> As researchers increasingly engage children as active participants in research… One implication is that researchers acquire an ethical duty to ensure that children have the right to express their views about the research process itself (Bell, 2008, p. 10).

I tried to sense and adapt to the signals the children were giving me (as described earlier). I got the impression that the children liked having me around, and they never said that they did not want to be recorded. I also had a dialogue with the adults in the preschools and schools concerning how they felt about my presence and whether any children had expressed concern to them regarding my presence. I got positive feedback from all my adult participants throughout the whole stay. Moreover, the children seemed happy to see me each time I came, and they were often eager to tell me things about their lives or to ask me questions.

Some of the main ethical issues that arise in relation to children's participation in research include harm associated with research, consent and competence to grant consent, and consideration of confidentiality (Alderson & Morrow, 2004; Bell, 2008; Backe-Hansen, 2016). First, there is concern about potential harm to children who participate in research. In this research project, no incriminating data was gathered, and there were no indications that participation had caused any harm to the participants.

Second, the issue of how old children should be to grant consent is related to the cognitive development of children. Before the fieldwork, I obtained permission and formal consent from all the affected parties. Before I started to film, I spent a considerable amount of time talking to the children, the parents, and the staff, and I believe that informing them properly about the project facilitated cooperation throughout the fieldwork. During the fieldwork, I moved away with the camera if the children seemed uncomfortable with my presence (e.g., if they became very quiet). It was important for me to try to show the children respect during the data collection, and I did my best to address and interpret their reactions to my presence with the camera.

I also had to carefully consider and engage with the adults participating in the study. They were participating in the study as professionals who were to carry out the activities. From the way they talked about being recorded, it seemed to me that they saw a responsibility for themselves to act professionally and that they wanted to perform their best on the video. They were very committed to participating in the study. The preschool teachers often said that research on and in preschools is important to strengthen knowledge in the field and that they felt important to take part in such a project. This feedback was valuable for me. It was also important for me to keep an

open dialogue with the adults about how they felt things were going so we could adjust to each other.

Third, consideration of the participants' confidentiality is a central principle of research ethics, regardless of the participants' age. The video recordings are identifiable data and have therefore been stored in a password-protected cabinet, where I am the only person who has access to the data. Some videos have been shared with the main supervisor and also in closed research groups. Both the parents and the staff in the preschools and schools gave written consent for this.

As regards exiting ethics, I was in a dialogue with the staff at the preschools and schools about which week would be the last of the fieldwork. In due time before the end of the fieldwork, I also told the children that I was going to leave the field and return to the office to write the book about their activities in preschool and first grade. I acknowledged my gratitude to all my participants for letting me take part in their everyday life and told them that the book would not have been possible without the fieldwork. I promised each of the preschools and the schools an example of the completed thesis.

Identifiable data has not been published. All participants are anonymous and been given pseudonyms in publications from the project. It is a challenge to turn video data of children into text and drawings in publications. It is important to consider how children are visualized. Some choose to freeze a video image and blur the face, but blurring the face calls to mind the way criminals are presented in media and compromises the understanding of children as agents (Sparrman, 2005). This problem can be resolved by producing new images based on the original video images to illustrate the activities. I found that computer-made pencil drawings were effective in protecting the identities of the children and the adults while showing the important details of the situations (Goodwin, 2000; Melander, 2009).

4.7 Quality in research

Studies on quality standards in research have shown that many models describing the quality of research practice can be used (Larsson, 2005; Mårtensson et al., 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). Some scholars have argued for addressing

quality standards for specific kinds of research, such as a positivist case study (see Mårtensson et al., 2016). Scholars have argued that the terms validity and reliability are very well suited to quantitative research, but that they are less appropriate for qualitative research (see Larsson, 2005; Fejes & Thornberg, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Tracy and Hinrichs (2017) have argued a different set of markers for quality in qualitative research, including worthy topic, significant contribution, rich rigor, sincerity, ethics, resonance, credibility and meaningful coherence.

Credibility refers to the trustworthiness, confidence and plausibility that can be placed in the findings of the research, and whether the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the data (Tracy, 2010). Credibility for this study of children`s participation in SPAs and activities at school was pursued by giving thick descriptions, crystallization and multivocality (Tracy, 2010; Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). As regards thick descriptions, I have tried to be accurate and provide enough details of the field work so that readers can reach their own conclusions as to what was going on in the field. I have described the settings, told about the selection of cases, the video-observation and my role as a researcher in the field, as well as the procedures for analysis (content logs, description of analytic steps, transcriptions). Additionally, the main activities at the preschools and schools have been presented, and the articles give in-depth analyses of presented transcripts illustrated by line drawings.

The process of crystallization refers to collecting multiple types of data using various methods and theoretical frameworks and methodologies (Tracy, 2010). In this study video-recordings were supported by field notes, earlier research, and the key theoretical perspectives included EM, CA and childhood studies.

Closely aligned with crystallization are multivocality and the inclusion of multiple voices evident within the research context (Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). With the aim of getting a more complex and in-depth understanding of the research, I presented and discussed video recordings, transcriptions, early analyses, and article drafts with other researchers in seminars, courses and labs at NTNU, University in Oslo (UiO), University of South-Eastern Norway, Lougborough University, and University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). The feedback from these seminars and research groups were valuable for overcoming some of the challenges related to subjectivity and

credibility, and they improved the analyses of the data. I will briefly mention the most important groups/courses/seminars at NTNU, UiO and UCLA.

At NTNU and the Department of Education and Lifelong Learning I was a member of the research group *Studies in Pedagogical Practices* (SIPP), and this gave an opportunity to discuss video data, transcripts and article drafts at a regular basis with researchers working with the same methodology and/or topic as myself. Important arenas for presentations were the *Child and Youth Seminar* and the *Discourse Seminar*, and these seminars also included researchers from other departments and faculties. I was a member of the *National Graduate School in Educational Research* (NATED) located at UIO: Faculty of Educational Sciences. Participation in NATED was particularly important for providing opportunities to discuss theoretical and methodological orientations and discuss transcripts and article drafts. A six-week research stay was accomplished at UCLA, where I attended Charles Goodwin's *discourse seminars* and Marjorie Goodwin's class in anthropological methods and analysis named *Body, Senses, Voice: Advanced Video Analysis.* Attending these seminars and class gave valuable insights in various aspects to look for in social interactions and how to do the video analysis.

Meaningful coherence refers to the overall consistency of the study, and that each section of the study - the introduction, literature review, methodology, findings, conclusions, and implications - flows together in a way that is meaningful and coherent for the reader. Consistency and connecting the in-depth studies to the overall aim of the project was discussed with the main supervisor and co-supervisor throughout the process. In addition, the dialogues in the Mid-way seminar and the Final-seminar were particularly valuable for reflecting on how to accomplish the PhD as one whole project.

The aim of this study was to provide insights about children`s participation in SPAs and whole-group activities in first grade, using an understanding of participation as "action in interaction" (Goffman, 1974; 1981; Goodwin, 2007; 2017). An important challenge related to meaningful coherence – as well as rigor, credibility and resonance – was the selection of video-recordings for in-depth analysis. Throughout the period after the video-collection I struggled with questions whether "justice was done to the data and the informants" and whether the video-excerpts I chose for in-depth analysis "described children`s participation in SPAs and listening corner in plausible ways". The

challenge was that the selected video-recordings analyzed in the articles only revealed a subset of the data that could be relevant to the research question raised. So my aim became to choose events that were typical, central and repetitive for SPAs and whole group activities in first grade. In the search for those events a lot of time was spent in the process to see through the video-recordings and the field notes. Then the coding of the video data was used as reference frame when selecting video excerpts for analysis that could identify important patterns in the data. Through this detailed and systematic procedure of selecting the excerpts, and thorough reflection whether the chosen excerpts gave a good representation of what was going on in SPAs and whole-group activities in first grade, I became confident that the analyzed video excerpts raised issues of importance to children`s participation.

Resonance refers to whether the research influences, impacts, or moves particular readers or a variety of audiences through transferable findings and naturalistic and analytic generalization (Tracy, 2010; Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). The main aim of the PhD project has been to contribute to a deeper understanding of SPAs in general, and how children participate in SPAs in particular. Qualitative research engages in-depth studies that produce historically and culturally situated knowledge, but it is argued that high-quality qualitative research also aims to make the findings relevant outside the research project and impact stakeholders (Larsson, 2005; Tracy & Hinrichs, 2017). Through the process of naturalistic generalizations, the reader can make connections between the themes or findings in the study at hand, and generalize those trends to his or her own life or other areas of research. It has been important for this thesis to facilitate the judgment of potential connection and application of findings from the study by a rich description of all the phases of the research process. Another useful way of perceiving the generalization process in qualitative research is through analytic generalizations. This is done when findings can extend to situations outside the present study, based on the relevance of similar arguments or theoretical concepts (Yin, 2011). This thesis has connected established theories and previous research to the present research study, and findings from previous research have been particularly valuable to better understand what was going on in my data. Another indicator on how the findings seem to resonate outside the study is from the feedback given by researchers from different fields as ideas and findings have been presented throughout the PhD project.

5 Main activities and summaries of the articles

This chapter draws upon the data described in the methods chapter. The first subchapter describes the research settings and main activities in preschool and in the first grade. The second subchapter summarizes the three articles in the PhD project.

5.1 Research settings and main activities

During the fieldwork, I found that place and material resources became important frames for how the participation and the activities were carried out. This subchapter describes the settings in which activities in preschools and schools took place, and it also provide an overview of the main SPAs and first-grade activities.

5.1.1 Setting and activities at Sunflower Preschool

At Sunflower, SPAs took place one day each week in the SSC. There were usually two or three adults present (Ruth, Rita, and Raymond), along with 14 children. The SSC took place both outside and inside the preschool, and it usually lasted for two hours and consisted of a variety of activities. The main aim of SSC and SPAs was to build a strong sense of unity and friendship. On some occasions, the school starters went on short trips in the local area or on longer trips to schools, museums, or markets.

Sunflower had a project called the "school starter area," illustrated in the drawing in Figure 3. This area was located in an outdoor corner of the preschool, and it consisted of two walls forming a corner. Inside the corner were a cabinet, a bench, and two roundtables. The children decorated and filled this area with content, and this was the place they did most of their activities during SSC. Through this collective project, the children created and took part in the design of their outdoor area, and it enriched the preschool environment. Moreover, the cabinet was filled with resources made by the children and the adults, such as wooden sticks in different shapes and sizes, stones in different colors, stones marked with numbers, and shells that the children used to create figures, letters, or geometrical forms. These homemade resources were central to activities related to numbers, figures, letters, or various games. In addition, the children made a poetry tree in the school starter area, and they placed rhyming words and pictures of local birds and animals on the branches.

Figure 3: The school starter area in Sunflower Preschool

Table 3: Main activities at Sunflower Preschool

Letters, numbers, drawing	Trips	Special projects
Letters 1. Children say a letter and give an example of a word that starts with that letter 2. Color letters 3. Make letters from sticks and pearls on a string	School-trips Visits to four school playgrounds and after-school activities	The school starter area 1. Make crafts out of sticks, shells, and stones and play with them 2. Create a poetry and rhyme tree (collect branches, shape a tree, and hang words and images on the branches)
Numbers 1. Count from one to 10 (forwards and backwards) 2. Activities and games with numbers	Regular trips Visits to a local nursing home and the nearby forests	Food projects 1. Fall party: Buy vegetables at a market, cut vegetables and cook soup, sell soup at parents' party 2. Closing celebration: Make a three-course dinner of fish and seafood
Drawing 1. Color a Norwegian flag 2. Color letters 3. Draw fish	Other trips Visits to the farmer's market and museums	Other project Lucia celebration managed by school starters

Table 3 gives an overview of the preparatory activities that took place at Sunflower. They are divided into three groups: trips, special projects and letters, and numbers and drawings. Trips included visits to school playgrounds, regular trips to a nursing home and the forest, and special trips (to the market and the museum). The main project was the school starter area and the making of and playing with resources stored in the cabinet. Another group of projects was related to food (a fall party, a Lucia celebration, and a closing celebration).

5.1.2 Setting and activities at Apple Garden Preschool

At Apple Garden, SPAs often took place two days each week; one day with SSC at the preschool and one day with a trip. Usually there were two adults present (with the responsibility divided among Evelyn, Elsa, and Erica). On shorter trips, the group went to the forest, to nearby playgrounds, or to a nursing home. A main aim of these days was to build strong friendships and a sense of unity among the school starters. The children often suggested which location to walk to, and they stopped for breaks at areas that the children liked to be (on playgrounds or by a special climbing tree). There were no fixed subjects or specific problems to solve; free play and the trip in itself were the main events. On the other day they had SSC, and then they used a room with a long table, which was reserved for the school starters. They always started SSC by sitting around this table, and the typical opening activity was one in which the children first clapped each of their name's syllables, then put their names together with letters on small pieces of paper, like a puzzle. They also often drew pictures or played games around this table when they had SSC. The group of children sitting around the long table is illustrated in Figure 4.

Table 4 gives an overview of the preparatory activities that took place at Apple Garden. The activities are divided into trips; special projects; and letters, numbers, and drawings. Trips included visits to schools and after-school activities, regular walks to the forests or playgrounds, and a special trip (to the recycling center). The children had projects on energy, creating a bonfire, and a writing dance. Drawing was a central element in SPAs, and SSC usually ended with the children drawing what they had done and experienced.

Figure 4: Children seated around the long table at Apple Garden and doing a letter activity.

Table 4: Main activities at Apple Garden Preschool

Letters, numbers, drawing	Trips	Special projects
Letters 1. Clap names and spell out names 2. Write names on PC 3. WritingDance (start with a dance, create shapes and letters with crayons based on the same song from the dance)	<u>School trips</u> Visit to after-school activity two times (eat fruit, draw, play with the toys there)	Energy Activities and mini "lessons" on energy, including district heating, static electricity, and waterwheels; the group made their own water wheel
Numbers 1. Play with Santas and buttons 2. Plus and minus with buttons 3. Board games with numbers and counting	<u>Regular trips</u> Walks every week, often to nearby forests or playgrounds	Bonfire in the morning in September to October; collect wood and make a bonfire; eat lunch together by the fire
Drawing 1. A lot of free drawing 2. Writing dance 3. Draw different topics; drawings are placed in child's folder	<u>Other trips</u> Trip to recycling center (part of the energy project), trip to a farm, trip to a museum	Writing dance – A project they did in February in which they danced to different music and then drew pictures to the same music

5.1.3 Setting and activities at Rosewood Elementary School

At Rosewood Elementary School, I followed class A. In the classroom, pictures of all the letters of the alphabet were placed at the top of the wall on one side, and numbers from one to 20 were put on the opposite side. The place called the listening corner was in front of the classroom. Here, three benches formed a semi-circle facing a blackboard and a smartboard mounted on the wall, and the teacher sat on a chair in the middle when they held listening corners. During the school day, the class was organized into different activities: whole-group activities, group work, and individual assignments. The most frequent organizations of the children in the classroom were desk work (in groups of two or four) and listening corners. Each listening corner session lasted about 25 minutes.

The listening corner was used at the beginning of the day. The children and the teacher talked about which day, week, month, and year it was, and they counted the days to the "hundredth-day-at-school-party." All subjects for the day also started in the listening corner. The typical routine was that the teacher introduced the topic in the listening corner, then the children went to their desks to work individually or in pairs. The children had regular places in the listening corner, and the teacher repeatedly talked about how to behave when sitting there.

Norwegian and mathematics took up the most classroom time, and these subjects were always covered in the classroom. Other learning areas in the school building were used for music, arts and crafts, and physical education. In September, the first-graders had one week of outdoor school. During this week, different subjects were explored outdoors, such as rebus trails for mathematics and Norwegian and combination science and art projects like "autumn in the forest," in which the children discovered different growths, berries, and birds and made collages about them in the classroom.

At school, there were many rules and rituals. One important ritual was entering the classroom after breaks. When children returned to the coatroom after breaks, the teachers gathered them and asked them to sit on the bench by their peg and be quiet. Then the whole class walked after the teacher in a long line into the classroom. Before lunch, they stopped and washed their hands on their way. Another ritual was a song played to start the school day. Many children came early to school and had "safe time" coloring, drawing, or reading in a self-chosen book. At 0830, the teacher played a song,

and all the children packed away their coloring books and pencils. For the next part of the procedure, the children were to stand behind their chairs while the teacher said good morning; the children then replied and sat down. A third ritual was clapping before the teacher delivered an instruction or an announcement. The teacher clapped a small rhythm of three to five claps, then the children repeated the same rhythm of clapping. After this, the teacher told them to end the work session, informed them where to find additional assignments, or indicated that they were making too much noise and had to be quiet.

5.1.4 Setting and activities at Copperhill Elementary School

Copperhill Elementary School had two open learning areas. The walls on both learning areas were decorated with all the letters of the alphabet and the numbers from one to 100. Like Rosewood, both of the learning areas had three benches that formed a listening corner. There were two blackboards in each area, and on either side of the blackboards were self-adhesive pictures of many colors and weather symbols, which the children used to study English.

The children were organized in pairs when they were doing work assignments and when they ate. The listening corner was used at the start of the day and for all new subjects during the day. Typically, the children spent about 25 minutes in the listening corner in each session. The morning session in the listening corner focused on Norwegian or mathematics, and the children sometimes sang songs with movements or played games related to the subjects. The listening corner was in front of the learning area. Three benches formed a semi-circle facing the blackboard displaying different letters or numbers, and the teacher sat on a chair in the middle (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Children participating in the listening corner at Copperhill.

I followed Group C and their schedule of subjects and activities. Norwegian and mathematics took up the most classroom time, and they were reviewed in the same manner as at Rosewood: The teacher introduced the topic for the day in the listening corner, and the children went to their desks to work individually or in pairs. Every second Friday was outdoor school; the children went on trips to the nearby forest to learn about trees or insects. They also made letters out of sticks, branches, and stones, or they did activities like hopscotch, jump rope, or ball games.

As at Rosewood, there were rules and rituals to follow at Copperhill. The children walked in line behind the teacher when moving from one area to another (e.g., from the open learning area to the music room). In this line, the children had specific places according to an alphabetical organization of the first name of the children in group. The teachers taught the children this line and each of their specific places during the second week after school entry. A clapping practice was also used very frequently to get attention and to deliver instructions. To ensure less noise and more space for the children, the four groups had different time schedules. Often when one group was in the

open learning area, the other group was in the music room or in the gym hall having physical education.

5.1.5 Whole-group activities at school

At the two schools, indoor activities in the classroom and first-grade area had a very regular and repeated structure in all of the subjects. I observed a few activities in which the entire class or the entire group participated and interacted together with a joint focus. When the children sat at their desks, they worked on individual assignments, and they also sometimes divided into smaller groups. On outdoor school days or during trips or activities in the schoolyard, the children were gathered in smaller groups, or they divided into groups themselves. Activities that were organized with the entire class or group included listening corners and activities in music and physical education.

The listening corner (or class circle) was the only regular activity in the classroom during which the entire class was gathered as one full group to see and interact with each other. Therefore, the listening corner stood out as a central activity to study due to its repeated and collective practice. It was also one of the few activities during which I could gather interactional data among several children. Other researchers have emphasized that the listening corner represents a special collective organization and that it is a daily activity in many primary schools (Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland & Mattre, 2005; Moen et al., 2003; Pettersson et al., 2004). Table 5 presents an overview of the collective and individual activities in the two first grade classrooms.

Table 5: Overview of some of the main activities in the two schools

Whole-group activities	Individual (and paired) activities
Listening corner: The children sit in a horseshoe with the teacher in the middle. The teacher presents the topic in the given subject, invites the children to answer questions related to it, and instructs them in how to do individual tasks at their desks.	At the desks: The children work individually with repetitions and rehearsals in their workbooks or with assigned materials. They can ask their desk partner for help, but the tasks in the child's workbook are to be solved individually.
Music lessons: Games and songs during which everybody dances on the floor and freezes are regular. The children mimic different rhymes and dramatizing songs together. Often the songs relate to the content of other subjects.	Regular tests in Norwegian & Mathematics: Half of the children are inside the classroom or first-grade area, and the other half are outdoors playing. The children are spread around in the classroom, with just one child at each pair of desks.
Outdoor days: The children walk as one group to a destination, typically in the nearby forest. They collect things from nature (leaves, flowers, berries) for use in arts and crafts or social science in smaller groups.	Drawings in various subjects and topics: The children draw autumn for science, friendship for ethics, and Buddhism for religion. Some of the drawings are put on the wall. Some speaking is allowed between desk partners.
Songs and games in the classroom or open area: The children perform the boogie woogie dance, ten small Indians, Kim's game (a memory game), or "my boat is loaded with."	Reading/coloring: When a child has completed all of the assigned tasks, he or she can read a book or do additional tasks, often related to mathematics or Norwegian.
Switching locations: Rolling stations in which different subjects are combined. At half of the stations, the children do group activities, such as making letters out of clay, playing board games based on letters or numbers, or playing computer games in English or Norwegian.	Switching locations: At half of the stations, the children work individually. They do activities like reading in their reading book, working with tasks in Norwegian or Mathematics.

5.2 Summaries of the articles

This subchapter gives an overview of the three articles in the PhD project. Each of the articles draws upon selected parts of the data described in the methods chapter.

5.2.1 Children's participation in a school-preparation letter activity

The first article, *Children's participation in a school preparation letter activity,* explored children's participation in an indoor letter activity at Apple Garden Preschool. Every second or third week, the school starters sat at a long table and puzzled out their

names with small pieces of paper. This recurring activity formed a pattern in the video data. The article analyzed how the children's participation in the letter activity developed from November to April.

In the early rounds of the activity, the competitive aspect of the activity was obvious. The competition to finish first could be interpreted as social comparison, as a hierarchy building of who was the better school starter, or as a way the children made the activity more exciting (Goodwin, 2017; Kyratzis, 2004). In the later rounds of the activity, the children were less interested in competing and more interested in supporting their peers. They showed interest in each other's names through recycling and spelling (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004), and knowledge about letters and the activity were distributed and shared across the group of peers (Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). In every round of the activity, the children negotiated about the framework and asked for more humorous and creative use of the letters. This can be interpreted as a way of dealing with adult-imposed rules and routines (Corsaro, 2015; Mayall, 2002). The children initiated playful shifts, such as spelling and reading the names backwards or mixing up the letters. When the children combined letters and created new words, they used collaborative competencies (Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998).

One aspect of the children's participation was alignment, and this could be seen as a way to strengthen or manage friendships (Corsaro, 2015; Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin, 1990). The children made alliances when they competed, they aligned when they sought support and gave support, and they aligned to initiate playful shifts in the activities. Another important aspect was the use of stances as resources to join in, to challenge each other, and to be creative. Affective and epistemic stances were displayed through the stream of speech, through prosody, and through embodied action in a range of ways (Goodwin, 2017).

The position of the adults was important because they organized the activities and set boundaries for the children's conduct. The adults modified discussions about who finished first, and they emphasized that the activity was not a competition. The adults facilitated peer support, and they commended the children when they helped each other. Moreover, the adults allowed for playful shifts when the children had completed the assigned spelling task.

A central finding was that the social aspect of the letter-based activity seemed to be the driving force for the children's engagement in the activity. The activity around the long table promoted a social community, and the children practiced various competencies and abilities. The letter-based activity shed light on the importance of collective and public activities in which children can establish a shared culture with each other and with the adults supporting them (Corsaro, 2015; James & Prout, 2015).

5.2.2 Doing numbers in preschool: Children's cooperation in a number activity

The second article *Doing numbers in preschool: Children's cooperation in a number activity,* took place at Sunflower Preschool. The children at Sunflower often influenced decisions about what to do, and they would often pick a particular outdoor number activity. This article describes and analyses how the children participated when they prepared for and performed the number activity *in situ*. The research question for the article is: How do pre-school children cooperate when they accomplish a number activity that is part of their school preparation?

The number activity made use of red seating pads made of polystyrene and marked with the numbers from one to 10. In the preparation phase, the children were given responsibility to put the seating pads in the correct order from one to 10 on the ground. When performing the activity, one child went to pad number 10, and the other children went to pad number one. The child on number 10 managed the activity and directed the other children to various numbers. As a child was directed to pad 10, the game started over with a new child managing the game.

The theoretical term peer cooperation was central, and stancetaking and semiotic resources were central in the analyses of excerpts from the activity. The analyses indicated that the children used a variety of verbal and embodied resources to cooperate. They shared knowledge about numbers and the rules of the activity, they demonstrated willingness to include each other in the activity, and they built a shared understanding when uncertainty about the activity arose. Taking part in this group activity provided valuable experiences in leading, cooperating, and accomplishing tasks.

Stancetaking was central to completing the activity and keeping it flowing. Epistemic stances were used to share knowledge about numbers and counting. Affective stances showed the children's eagerness to engage in the activity. Moral stances were

taken as rules were contested. Alignment and cooperative stances showed willingness to continue the activity and to complete the task, and affective and epistemic stances were used to argue about inclusion and to build a shared understanding (Goodwin, 2007; 2017).

The analyses illustrated that the children were capable of cooperating and managing a complex activity and that they possessed many competencies. The adults acted as facilitators and allowed the children to display their cooperative skills, but the adults also monitored the activity and supported the children when needed. This was important because the activity involved many children, all of whom were involved and contributed in different degrees to the activities taking place. Observant, present adults are necessary to ensure inclusion and support for the children.

5.2.3 Children's participation in first grade: Mastering, challenging and breaking rules in listening corners

The third article, *Children's participation in first grade: Mastering, challenging and breaking rules in listening corners*, discussed how children participated in listening corners when they were learning letters and counting. The video data used in the article was drawn from a three-month study in two Norwegian first-grade classes or groups. Listening corners were an often practiced whole-group activity, in which the entire class/group of children sat on benches in a semi-circle facing the teacher and the smartboard. Listening corners occurred as a morning routine and when new material was taught, and sometimes also towards the end of the school day.

Prior studies of listening corners mainly focused on the position and role of the teacher, whereas children`s participation in listening corners were seen as quite restricted. These studies found that interactions between the children and the teacher were often in the form of an instruction by the teacher followed by known information questions and directives (Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland & Matre, 2005; Moen et al., 2003; Pettersson et al., 2004). The present study also found that many rules regulated the conduct of the children in the listening corner, such as sitting in their assigned places, raising their hands, speaking one at a time, only speaking when addressed, and not making noises. There was much attention to the rules at school, and the children quickly learnt how to master the rules of listening corners.

When children accepted these adult-imposed rules for verbal and embodied actions in listening corners, this limited children`s participations and contributions. Quite often the teacher spoke most of the time, whereas some children spoke a little, and other children did not obtain permission to speak even once during listening corners. It could be challenging for the children to keep focus since they had to wait for long periods of time before speaking.

The children also treated the listening corner as a social arena, and they made efforts to take on a more active level of participation than the situation was designed to allow. The children conquered space by spontaneous alignments that created more exciting situations, displayed competencies and supported peers. The study of verbal and embodied actions demonstrated that the children challenged and broke the rules, such as making small sounds to seek attention, answer without permission to demonstrate knowledge, aligning by recycling words, and whispering and elaborating upon answers to help their peers. A possible interpretation could be that children challenged and broke rules to cooperate as a way of dealing with adult-made rules and routines and to seek "holes" in the adult structure to create activities of their own (Corsaro, 2015; Mayall, 2002).

The teachers would often reinforce rules of conduct, but on certain occasions the teachers allowed rules to be broken, such as when the children helped peers, built shared understandings, or moved activities forward. This was of importance, since the listening corner was a teacher-led setting in which teachers and children had asymmetrical rights. When children aligned with each other and conquered space in the listening corner, they equalized some of the asymmetrical relationship between them and the teacher.

6 Discussion of findings

This chapter aims to answer the research questions presented in the introduction, and it is based on findings from the three articles and insights from additional parts of the data gathered from the field work. The main research question for the thesis was as follows: *How do children participate in activities related to preparing for and entering school?* This research question was explored through the following sub-questions:

1) How do children participate in SPAs in the final year of preschool?
2) How do children participate in whole-group activities in the first period of the first grade?
3) How does children's participation in SPAs relate to activities in the first grade?

The discussion section has four subchapters, which discusses the research questions. The first subchapter combines findings about SPAs based on the fieldwork at two preschools and on the in-depth studies of the letter activity and the number activity. The second subchapter combines findings from the in-depth study on children's participation in listening corner situations and reflections about whole-group activities found in the fieldwork. The third part highlights similarities and differences in how the children took part in the activities in the first grade and how they participated in SPAs. The fourth subchapter pinpoints some relevant questions for future research about SPAs in preschool and whole-group activities in the first grade.

6.1 Participation in school preparation activities

This subchapter responds to the question: How do children participate in SPAs in the final year of preschool? First, SPAs at the preschools are described. The second section discusses how the organization, rules, and values of SPAs were important for children's participation.

6.1.1 Central school preparation activities

Previous studies in Europe have found that preparatory activities included visits to the primary school; meeting with the future teacher; aesthetic and thematic projects; a focus on social, practical, and basic skills relevant to school, and the building of solid

friendships (Ackesjö, 2013; 2014; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Einarsdóttir et al., 2008; Huf, 2013; Lago, 2014). Five studies have offered insight into the distribution and content of SPAs in Norway (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015; Winsvold & Guldbrandsen, 2009; Zambrana, 2015; Østrem et al., 2008). Key findings from Norwegian studies were that all preschools emphasized SPAs, that SPAs were done on a weekly basis, and that there was local freedom when planning SPAs. SPAs consisted of a variety of activities inside the preschool, outside the preschool, and in the local area. Social and practical school-related skills were often practiced; short trips, visits to schools and projects were common; and activities focused on numbers, letters, and drawing were frequent.

This PhD project included fieldwork at two preschools. Here, SPAs were organized through clubs for the school starters, and the main categories of content were letters, numbers, drawings, special projects, and trips. This was similar to the prior Norwegian studies. Both preschools did school visits, and the aim of school visits was to familiarize the children with the school area. They also did regular walks to the forest or playgrounds in the local area, and these shorter trips were characterized by free play. Long-term projects were assigned to the children at both preschools. The children at Sunflower created the school starter area, and they performed different activities in the same area. At Apple Garden, the energy project was a regular event over a long period. Through trips and projects, the children experienced taking part in a group that played, visited different areas and institutions, and made things together.

The preschools also focused on letters, numbers, and drawings. Like projects and trips, these activities were designed to contribute to a sense of unity among the school starters. The importance of unity was seen in both in-depth studies (Articles 1 and 2). Apple Garden, for instance, had an explicit focus on drawing. The children often drew similar topics and compared their drawings, and they seemed inspired by each other's drawings. Important for the collective process was the seating at the long table or on the floor, arrangements that allowed the children to see what the other children were drawing. The children were allowed to sit with whom they wanted, and friends often chose to sit with each other. Moreover, the children helped each other out when they needed assistance, such as when drawing an arm, a balloon, or a cloud.

6.1.2 Children's participation in school preparation activities

The organization, rules, and values of SPAs were important for children's participation in SPAs at both preschools. First, SPAs were organized as whole-group activities. All types of activities included 12 children in one preschool and 14 children in the other preschool. A central aim was to build school-starter groups with children who felt that they belonged together as a group so that friendships could grow. They went for shorter and longer trips as a group, they accomplished short-term and long-term projects together, and they could follow what the other children did when practicing indoor and outdoor activities. Values like inclusion, cooperation, support, and doing what was best for the group were important when participating in SPAs. Because the formation of a collective was so central to SPAs, the children practiced social skills of importance to engage in meaningful social action with other children and adults. In the letter activity (Article 1), I observed a child and a preschool teacher arguing that the letter activity was not a competition, and I saw the preschool teacher commending the children when they supported each other and collaborated. In the number activity (Article 2), the children argued in favor of including and caring for each other, and the preschool teachers gave positive feedback when the children cooperated and supported each other. In both in-depth studies, the children supported and included each other in tasks.

Second, SPAs were organized in public and visible environments, and this was important for the participation and interaction taking place (see also Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). The long table at Apple Garden was frequently a meeting point, and the school-starter area at Sunflower was an exclusive area for the school starters. At these locations, all participating children were able to see what other children were doing, or they were allowed to move around and take part in ongoing action. The visibility of the other peers' embodied actions was important for sharing, supporting, and accomplishing activities together. Other researchers have often pointed out that it is the children who take the initiative to collaborate in preschool, and they often spontaneously collaborate under their own rules and agreements when opportunities occur (Corsaro, 2015; Williams, 2001). In the letter activity (Article 1), 12 children sat around the long table while performing the activity, which enabled them to follow what the others were doing. This visibility was a necessity for cooperation and peer support in the letter activity and also in other activities taking place around the

table, like drawing and playing board games. Visibility was also important for the number activity in the school starter area (Article 2). The children completed the string of numbers and performed the activity using a range of verbal and embodied actions, they got in position to see what the others were doing, and they shared knowledge and cooperated to move the activity forward. In prior studies of children and games, researchers have pointed out similar findings about visibility, cooperation, and shared knowledge (Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Melander 2012).

Third, taking part in a social group through SPAs offered a variety of participatory positions. The tasks were divided so that all the children were active in preparation for the number activity (Article 2), and the children took turns holding different positions while performing the activity. In prior studies of children playing games, researchers have discovered that children can understand how social order works through participation in games and that children value various positions in games differently (Goodwin, 1990; Melander, 2012). Notably, during the number activity, one child was the formal leader, but as the activity progressed, the other children were engaged to manage the activity according to the given rules. Due to a variation of positions and active children, alignments were also a central characteristic of the way children participated in SPAs. In the letter activity (Article 1), the children aligned with each other or with the preschool teachers when they sought and gave support, and they aligned to establish a participation framework in which both speakers and hearers were joined in a common course of action to help each other complete the task. Alignments also occurred when disagreement arose, both in the letter activity and the number activity (Article 2). Using affective and epistemic stances, the children took positions to support or compete with each other (in the letter activity) or to move the activity forward (in the number activity). In prior studies, such findings about alliances and support have been interpreted as a way to strengthen or manage friendship (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990) or to create and maintain social order (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Mayall, 2002; Powell et al., 2006).

Fourth, SPAs were characterized by knowledge-based cooperation. The in-depth studies illustrated that the children cooperated to influence the activities and to support each other. Prior studies indicate that both verbal and embodied actions are needed to build shared understanding (see Goodwin, 2007; 2017; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). In

the in-depth studies, the children used epistemic stances to position themselves as knowledgeable participants, to share what they knew, and to establish a shared understanding. Knowledge about numbers and letters were prevalent, as well were knowledge about yielding rules for the activities. Vital to the cooperation during the number activity (Article 2), was sharing of knowledge through embodied actions (e.g., placing down numbers) or through talk (e.g., saying out loud what numbers they found). In the letter activity (Article 1), the peers engaged in each other's tasks by spelling the same name out loud many times. This recycling displayed shared interests and support in their peer interactions (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 2017), and it exemplified how competencies were distributed and shared across the peer group (Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). Moreover, when SPAs focused on numbers, letters, or science, the children often turned to the preschool teachers for confirmation and asked "is this right" or proclaimed "look what I made." Their sharing of knowledge about numbers and letters were often valued positively. Embodied actions were also involved, such as an exchange of looks between a child and a preschool teacher, with approval or confirmation taking the form of a smile from the preschool teacher. Thus, both embodied and verbal actions were part of this knowledge-based cooperation, and the children's bodies were an important locus for displaying attention and for orienting themselves towards the ongoing action (Goodwin, 2000)

Fifth, children were allowed to influence and manage SPAs under adult supervision. The results of both in-depth studies contradict findings from prior research indicating that SPAs tend to be formal and adult-led (Rambøll Management, 2010; Winsvold & Guldbrandsen, 2009). On trips, the children were often allowed to decide where to stop for breaks and where to eat, and in many activities and projects, the preschool teachers facilitated while the children took charge. In the number activity (Article 2), the children decided about the activity, they led the preparation and division of tasks, and they performed the activity and took turns holding different positions. During the activity they coordinated both embodied and verbal actions. With their bodies they got in positions to see what others were doing and to be close enough to get in position to speak. Still, the preschool teachers facilitated when the children made the string of numbers, and they supported in delegating positions when the children performed the activity. Thus, the number activity illustrated the importance of adults

being present while giving the children space and trust to be in charge. It must be noted, however, that in some SPAs, the preschool teachers had a more leading position, for example when they talked about topics like environment friendly recycling or how to make the school starter area. But even in adult-led activities, the children had an influence, and they were asked about their opinions (e.g., on how to make the poetry tree or which decorations they preferred).

Finally, through children's participation in SPAs, their peer culture was visible. The children oriented themselves toward regular activities in SPAs as a group, with many different opinions, ideas, arguments, and requests. They used stances and alignments to create and maintain social order when performing the activities, and they created different participation frameworks that amused them. For example, the children initiated playful and creative shifts in the letter activity to make it more non-serious and humorous (Article 1). Creating such amusing frameworks could be seen as an example of how the peers challenged the prevailing form of participation. This shift initiated by the children could also be seen as a way of dealing with adult-imposed rules and routines, which could restrict children's participation (see also Corsaro, 2015; Mayall, 2002). Another example of peer culture was the geometrical figures made of wooden sticks, shells, or stones in the school starter area. The children would start by making figures for their amusement (princesses or trolls), and then they would put a geometrical frame around the figure to complete the task. The children also demonstrated that they were competent participants able to challenge and thereby create new ways of participating in the activities (see Hutchby & Moran Ellis, 1998). These new ways of offered different position for participating than what was originally designed for, where the children were in need of each other to be creative, playful or humorous. Of importance in this participating positions were also their possibility to be close to each other's bodies to both see and respond to each other, and to grasp, manipulate and to share the materials at hand.

6.2 Participation in first-grade school activities

This subchapter discusses the following sub-question: How do children participate in whole-group activities in the first period of the first grade? First, important rules at school and the organization of activities in first grade are described very short. The

second section explores how the organization and rules were of primary importance for children's participation.

6.2.1 Organization of activities in first grade

Whereas most of the time in preschool was organized for play and physical development (see also Ackesjö, 2013; Korsvold, 2005; Lillejord et al., 2017), the school day was organized after a much more detailed schedule than preschool. Play and physical activities were mainly related to breaks, and lessons were devoted to concentration (see also Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2005; Lago, 2014).

As indicated in the presentation of the research setting at the two schools, rules and codes of conduct were a strong focus in the first period of the first grade. Beginning on the first day at school, all children at Rosewood and Copperhill had to become accustomed to these new rules that regulated their activities. Rules like listening to others who talk, receive messages and accomplish them, sit on your place and work concentrated were made explicit during the days. The children had to learn rules of conduct in the class, in the coatroom, on outdoor days, and during individual work, group work and whole-group activities. Rules of conduct were repeated many times, and they were both verbal and embodied. Examples of the latter included the teacher clapping to get the children's attention before giving an instruction or making an announcement and the children raising their hands with one finger to answer or to get assignment support, two fingers to be allowed to go to the toilet, and five fingers to be allowed to sharpen a pencil. It seemed that important values at school were being hard-working and obedient, and the students should also follow values similar to preschool like supporting, including and respecting each other.

In the lessons at the two schools where I did my fieldwork, the children were either organized as a whole group (e.g., in the listening corner, walking on outdoor days), divided into small groups (e.g., switching stations, activities on outdoor days), or doing individual assignments at their desks (e.g., studying mathematics, Norwegian and English). Although the children were paired up at their desks, there was little cooperation due to the individual assignments in the workbooks, such as writing letters correctly, coloring various forms, or drawing lines between a picture and its correct name. Prior studies in Norway and abroad have also revealed the same main types of

organization, and whole-group activities being a common form of organization (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Bjørnestad, 2009; 2013; Haug, 2003; Imsen, 2003; Klette, 2003; Burns & Myhill, 2004; Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979; Hardman 2008). Thus, the attention to whole-group activities like listening corner as an important part of first-grade activities had support from prior studies of classroom life.

6.2.2 Children's participation in whole-group activities

First, listening corner situations were a recurrent whole-group activity that formed a pattern in the video data. Most of the time the children did individual assignments or worked in small groups (2-4 students), and their efforts were evaluated individually. The children were also organized as a whole group, in the listening corner or during music lessons or physical education. Similar to previous studies, I found that the teachers assembled the children in the listening corner when starting and finishing school days, and the listening corner was used when new material was taught in mathematics, Norwegian, English, religion, science, and social science (see also Bjørnestad, 2009; 2013; Flem et al., 2004; Fottland & Matre, 2005; Moen et al., 2003).

Second, the children were invited to participate through explicit codes of conduct at school. The different rules communicated expectations for the children's behavior, and the codes of conduct were explained again if they were not followed. Thus, when the children broke rules in individual assignments, group work or whole-group activities, the teachers would intervene and explain about the rules again. The in-depth study of listening corner situations in mathematics and Norwegian (Article 3) illustrated the importance of rules. In the listening corner the children were to sit at their given places, raise their hands quietly if they wanted to speak or knew the answer, wait to talk until they were addressed, not make small noises, and not speak at the same time. Prior Norwegian studies (Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2004; Moen et al., 2003) also pointed to clear rules of behavior in listening corners - many of which are the same across schools. As a consequence, children’s participation were expected to follow specific codes of conduct, done through specific embodied positions and signs with their bodies (like sitting still, raising hands to speak, wait for turn, and then verbally share the answer or a request). Even so, the children bended and stretched these rules to take more active part in the activities like for example the listening corner (Article 3).

Third, the children were offered few participatory positions in whole-group activities and the focus was on answering questions. Previous studies of whole-group organization in Norway and abroad have found this pattern: Teachers talk most of the time, and the students are for the most part *listeners* who occasionally *answer known information questions* (Alexander, 2000; Bjørnestad, 2009; 2013; Cazden, 2001; Flem et al., 2005; Hardman, 2008; Lindblad & Sahlström, 1999; Mehan, 1979). The use of direct requests and closed or known information questions emphasized knowledge and seldom invited more dialogue after the response from students (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Cazden, 2001; Hardman, 2008; Mehan, 1979). Similarly, the listening corner (Article 3) was an epistemic activity were knowledge was highly valued. As the name implies, participating in the listening corner implies to listening to what is said and thought, and to answer to what is being asked. At the two schools I studied, the listening corner was a teacher-led educational setting in which the teacher spoke most of the time. Moreover, I often observed known information questions, and answers to these questions were often to be performed verbally. In sum this made less room for variation in participatory positions, and resulted in less active children as they had to wait for turn to speak, or someone was not able to speak at all.

Fourth, whole-group activities like the listening corner was organized in a public and visible environment, and this enabled the children to create more active modes for participation and cooperation than the rules in the listening corner were designed to allow. Prior studies (e.g. Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2005; Mayall, 2002) argued that children's opportunities to actively take part and cooperate in their school day were quite restricted. The present study found that when the children worked at their desk they were all faced at the same direction, towards the blackboard and the smart board. Thus, the visibility of each other decreased as they only saw the back of each other, or the persons sitting next to their desk. In addition, they could not move around to see what others were doing. The potential for interacting with each other, sharing questions, and negotiating answers was limited.

In the listening corner, however, everybody could see everybody and what each other were doing, though they had to sit on their given place and follow the teacher’s instructions. This visibility was important for the participation and interaction taking place, because the children could coordinate their actions accordingly to what was going

on (see also Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). The in-depth study of the listening corner (Article 3) revealed how children bended and broke rules to participate, and that they saw and used each other as resources in the activity. The children whispered messages to each other, they added small words to show excitement over participating, or to get attention when raising their hands, they recycled each other's words to show competence and audience alignment, and they built arguments to support each other and create a shared understanding within the group. Moreover, the children interacted and cooperated by turning to each other as a group of peers who could align and help each other out. Affective and epistemic stances, recycling to create audience alignment and exciting forms of participation, and resistance to norms have been found in previous studies of interactions among children in primary school (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004; Mayall, 2002; Theobald & Kultti, 2012). However, such actions were not previously recorded in listening corner situations.

6.3 Relations between school preparation activities and first-grade activities

The final sub-question was: How does children's participation in SPAs relate to activities in the first grade? An important empirical finding from the fieldwork at the two preschools and two schools is that the organization, values, and rules of SPAs differ from those of whole-group activities at school, and these differences in organization, values, and rules also have an impact on children's participation.

All forms of SPAs in preschool were accomplished as a whole group, and the main goal was to promote friendship and a social community. Children's participation in SPAs was based on values like inclusion and cooperation, and the children were applauded when they supported each other in accomplishing activities. Values like including everyone and being good and supportive to each other were also shared at school, but they did not have the same impact because assignments were done individually, and the children's performances were evaluated individually. Most of the lessons at school focused on learning basic skills, and the daily routine was whole group instruction in the listening corner followed by individual work at the desks. Thus, the sharing of activities in which the children contributed together was less frequent in the first grade than in preschool, and individual assignments were more common in school.

At preschool, children did SPAs in a public and visible environment, where they were able to follow what other children did. Even when doing individual tasks in SPAs (e.g., spelling their names, coloring letters, or drawing different topics), the children were allowed to move around to see what others were doing, to ask questions, and to ask for help. Notably, in all activities, all of the children engaged in the activities simultaneously, and taking part in a social group offered the children various participatory positions as supporter, follower, challenger, competitor and creative or humorous player. It was often the children who took the initiative to collaborate, and they collaborated under their own rules and agreements, as well as spontaneously when opportunities occurred (see also Williams, 2001). Also of importance, the preschool teachers took a facilitating approach and let the children take charge or decide about ongoing actions. In other words, the children prepared for leading activities, decided about content, and were in charge to accomplish given tasks.

In preschool the children created playful and humorous shifts in the activities. Together as a group of peers they aligned with each other's suggestions to make more creative use of the letters or to read their names backwards, and the preschool teachers allowed them to make this shifts (Article 1). In first grade they showed excitement in the listening corner by adding small words when raising their hands. They also took initiative to talk without being addressed to show their competence, and when they acted to help their friends (Article 3). The way the children participated in the listening corner could be seen as a form for secondary adjustments (see Goffman, 1961) to gain more control in the activity and to collaborate and share knowledge (see Corsaro, 2015). In other words, the actions from the children could be seen as a way of doing friendship, as they challenged rules in their effort to support peers. The children acted as more active agents than designed for in listening corners, but they did not have the same possibility to make shifts in the participation framework and activities in first grade as compared to preschool (see Articles 1 and 3).

In the first grade, activities were adult-led and the children did not get choices of what to work with or how to do things. This may clearly be related to a pressure regarding many learning goals at school, and few adults per children (often there were just one adult for twenty children). Many rules of conduct restricted children's opportunities to take initiative to participate. Participation was often restricted to receive

a message, preparing an answer, raising one's hand, and then only one child was selected to answer. Thus, the children spent much time sitting still and following the teacher's instructions and other students' answers in the listening corner, or they sat still and worked at their desks. During desk work, each child was only able to observe their desk partner, and the potential for interacting and collaborating was much more limited than in preschool. In addition, requirements to complete tasks put pressure on the children to focus on their own individual assignments.

Despite the many rules of conduct, it is notable that cooperative participation became frequent in listening corner in first grade. In listening corner situations, all of the children were able to observe each other, and the children challenged and broke the rules in the listening corner to participate on their own initiatives. The children related to each other as a whole social group and used each other as resources to find answers, build arguments, and create excitement. In this way they also created more participatory positions than designed for in the listening corner. This was similar to how children participated in the letter activity in preschool, in which they acted as a social group to influence the form of the activity. It was also similar to the number activity, where they shared, cooperated and built knowledge to accomplish the task.

Seen together the three research questions provide important insights to the main research question on children`s participation in activities related to preparing for and entering school. The three in-depth analyses reveal that children participated in multiple ways in the letter activity, the number activity and the listening corner. They engaged in activities and in accomplishing tasks with verbal and embodied resources, and they made use of material resources to communicate their messages. Even in school when the participatory positions were more restricted, the children found ways to stretch and break rules and asserted themselves as more active participants than the situation was designed to allow. Through their participation they took stances that positioned themselves as knowing and engaged participant, and participants that took stances to align with or challenge their peers.

Collaboration and coherence between preschools and schools are seen as important to facilitate a smooth school entry (Ackesjö, 2013; Dunlop & Fabian, 2007; Lillejord et al. 2017; 2018; OECD, 2017; Pianta & Kraft-Sayre, 2003). SPAs in preschool can prepare children for the social and institutional context of school, whereas

educational practices in the first grade that are familiar to those in preschool can contribute to continuity and security (Hogsnes, 2016; Hogsnes & Moser, 2014; Lillejord et al., 2017; Pianta & Kraft-Sayre, 2003). This study found that the content in SPAs and first grade activities had many similarities, such as a focus on letters, numbers, figures and drawing (pencil grip). At the same time, the organization and rules of participation in SPAs and first grade had many differences, and this pinpointed a disconnection between how children participated to prepare for school and how they actually were invited to participate at school. In that respect, important concerns could be what should be the main focuses in SPAs and what preschools and schools could do to secure coherence in educational practices in preschool and the first grade.

Preschool and school are characterized by differences in structure, aims, materiality, and content, and such differences also affect children`s participation in activities related to preparing for and entering school. At the same time, an important finding in the study is that the children in many respects continued to relate to the ways they participated in SPAs in preschool after they had entered school. Even with all rules of conduct at school, the in-depth study showed how the children continued to use each other as resources in the school setting, continued to take initiatives and collaborate, and influenced the participation frameworks.

6.4 Further research

This research provided some insight into children's participation in SPAs in preschool and whole-group activities in the first grade. However, many questions remain for further research on SPAs and the activities in the first grade.

How do children participate in SPAs, in letter activities and in number activities at other preschools? The previous quantitative studies have pointed to a variety of SPAs (Rambøll Management, 2010; Zambrana, 2015), and the findings of the present study suggest possibilities for more research on how children take part in SPAs in different types of preschools in Norway and abroad.

How do preschool teachers organize and facilitate SPAs? Preschools have substantial freedom when deciding about SPAs, and this study illustrates some ways in which preschool teachers organized and supported children in SPAs. Previous quantitative studies have indicated that the participation structure in SPAs differed

among preschools (Rambøll Management, 2010; Østrem, 2009), and further studies could shed light on the possibilities for organizing and supporting children's involvement in SPAs.

How well are the experiences focused upon in SPAs suited for facilitating school entry? SPAs are considered important to bridge the gap between preschool and school (Barnett, 1996; Broström, 2009; Corsaro, 2015; Lago, 2014; OECD, 2017). However, the organization and participation structures in SPAs and the first grade differed, and further studies could question to what degree SPAs really prepare children for the context of school. One could also ask whether SSC should simply focus on having children perform meaningful activities and place less emphasis on the future and preparing for school.

Compared to preschool, to what degree can children take part in exploring and negotiating activities in the first year of school? The two schools I visited provided and organized the activities in first grade differently to what the children were used to from preschool. It was not possible to make shifts in the given activities or to choose between different activities. As in this study, other studies of first grade have uncovered the following challenges: many adult-led activities and much desk work, little time for play, and few educational practices connecting with what the children did in preschool (Gjerustad et al., 2016; Hogsnes & Moser, 2014; Michaelsen & Palm, 2018). There is a need for more research on how schools meet and interpret children's needs after their entry into the first grade.

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8 Appendices

8.1 Attachment 1: Application to NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Harald Hårfagres gate 2
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17
Fax: +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr: 985 321 884

Tuva Schanke
Pedagogisk institutt
NTNU
7491 TRONDHEIM

Vår dato: 17.09.2013 Vår ref:35296 / 3 / HIT Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 01.09.2013. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

35296	*Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Tuva Schanke*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.08.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Hildur Thorarensen

Hildur Thorarensen tlf: 55 58 26 54
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

MELDESKJEMA

Meldeskjema (versjon 1.4) for forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt (jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter).

1. Prosjekttittel		
Tittel	Overgang mellom barnehage og skole	
2. Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon		
Institusjon	NTNU	Velg den institusjonen du er tilknyttet. Alle nivå må oppgis. Ved studentprosjekt er det studentens tilknytning som er avgjørende. Dersom institusjonen ikke finnes på listen, vennligst ta kontakt med personvernombudet.
Avdeling/Fakultet	Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse	
Institutt	Pedagogisk institutt	
3. Daglig ansvarlig (forsker, veileder, stipendiat)		
Fornavn	Tuva	Før opp navnet på den som har det daglige ansvaret for prosjektet.Veileder er vanligvis daglig ansvarlig ved studentprosjekt. Veileder og student må være tilknyttet samme institusjon. Dersom studenten har ekstern veileder, kan biveileder eller fagansvarlig ved studiestedet stå som daglig ansvarlig.Arbeidssted må være tilknyttet behandlingsansvarlig institusjon, f.eks. underavdeling, institutt etc. NB! Det er viktig at du oppgir en e-postadresse som brukes aktivt. Vennligst gi oss beskjed dersom den endres.
Etternavn	Schanke	
Akademisk grad	Høyere grad	
Stilling	Stipendiat	
Arbeidssted	Pedagogisk institutt	
Adresse (arb.sted)	Loholt alle 87	
Postnr/sted (arb.sted)	7491 Trondheim	
Telefon/mobil (arb.sted)	73590287 /	
E-post	tuva.schanke@svt.ntnu.no	
4. Student (master, bachelor)		
Studentprosjekt	Ja ○ Nei ●	
5. Formålet med prosjektet		
Formål	Dette prosjektet handler om barns overgang fra barnehage til skole. Forskningsspørsmålene er relatert til barns deltakelse og sosiale interaksjon i skoleforberedende aktiviteter i barnehage, samt barns erfaringer når de starter i skolen. Jeg planlegger å følge en gruppe barn i deres siste tid i barnehagen (våren 2014) og deres første periode i 1. klasse (høsten 2014). Datainnsamlingen har en etnografisk tilnærming. Data vil bli samlet inn gjennom bruk av video i ulike situasjoner i barnehage og skole, f.eks. ved samlingsstund i barnehage, utflukter, i entreen, i klassen og i friminutter i skolen.	Redegjør kort for prosjektets formål, problemstilling, forskningsspørsmål e.l. Maks 750 tegn.
6. Prosjektomfang		
Velg omfang	● Enkel institusjon ○ Nasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt ○ Internasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt	Med samarbeidsprosjekt menes prosjekt som gjennomføres av flere institusjoner samtidig, som har samme formål og hvor personopplysninger utveksles.
Oppgi øvrige institusjoner		
Oppgi hvordan samarbeidet foregår		
7. Utvalgsbeskrivelse		
Utvalget	8-10 barn i 5-6 års alder ved en barnehage i Trondheim	Med utvalg menes dem som deltar i undersøkelsen eller dem det innhentes opplysninger om. F.eks. et representativt utvalg av befolkningen, skoleelever med lese- og skrivevansker, pasienter, innsatte.

Rekruttering og trekking	Jeg samarbeider med Trondheim om valg av barnehage. Vi vil velge en kommunal barnehage som har en viss størrelse.	Beskriv hvordan utvalget trekkes eller rekrutteres og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Et utvalg kan trekkes fra registre som f.eks. Folkeregisteret, SSB-registre, pasientregistre, eller det kan rekrutteres gjennom f.eks. en bedrift, skole, idrettsmiljø, eget nettverk.
Førstegangskontakt	Førstegangs kontakt med barnehagen tas ved forsker høsten 2013. Førstegangs kontakt med barn og foreldre tas ved forsker våren 2014.	Beskriv hvordan førstegangskontakten opprettes og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Les mer om dette på temasidene Hva skal du forske på?
Alder på utvalget	■ Barn (0-15 år) □ Ungdom (16-17 år) □ Voksne (over 18 år)	
Antall personer som inngår i utvalget	8-10	
Inkluderes det myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Begrunn hvorfor det er nødvendig å inkludere myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse. Les mer om Pasienter, brukere og personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse
Hvis ja, begrunn		
8. Metode for innsamling av personopplysninger		
Kryss av for hvilke datainnsamlingsmetoder og dataklider som vil benyttes	□ Spørreskjema □ Personlig intervju □ Gruppeintervju ■ Observasjon □ Psykologiske/pedagogiske tester □ Medisinske undersøkelser/tester □ Journaldata □ Registerdata ■ Annen innsamlingsmetode	Personopplysninger kan innhentes direkte fra den registrerte f.eks. gjennom spørreskjema, intervju, tester, og/eller ulike journaler (f.eks. elevmapper, NAV, PPT, sykehus) og/eller registre (f.eks. Statistisk sentralbyrå, sentrale helseregistre).
Annen innsamlingsmetode, oppgi hvilken	Video	
Kommentar		
9. Datamaterialets innhold		
Redegjør for hvilke opplysninger som samles inn	Observasjonsbeskrivelsen vil inkludere film av barnas samspill.	Spørreskjema, intervju-/temaguide, observasjonsbeskrivelse m.m. sendes inn sammen med meldeskjemaet. NB! Vedleggene lastes opp til slst i meldeskjema, se punkt 16 Vedlegg.
Samles det inn direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det krysses av for ja her, se nærmere under punkt 11 Informasjonssikkerhet. Les mer om hva personopplysninger er NB! Selv om opplysningene er anonymiserte i oppgave/rapport, må det krysses av dersom direkte og/eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger innhentes/registreres i forbindelse med prosjektet.
Hvis ja, hvilke?	□ 11-sifret fødselsnummer □ Navn, fødselsdato, adresse, e-postadresse og/eller telefonnummer	
Spesifiser hvilke		
Samles det inn indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	En person vil være indirekte identifiserbar dersom det er mulig å identifisere vedkommende gjennom bakgrunnsopplysninger som for eksempel bostedskommune eller arbeidsplass/skole kombinert med opplysninger som alder, kjønn, yrke, diagnose, etc. Kryss også av dersom ip-adresse registreres.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		

Samles det inn sensitive personopplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, hvilke?	□ Rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning □ At en person har vært mistenkt, siktet, tiltalt eller dømt for en straffbar handling □ Helseforhold □ Seksuelle forhold □ Medlemskap i fagforeninger	
Samles det inn opplysninger om tredjeperson?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Med opplysninger om tredjeperson menes opplysninger som kan spores tilbake til personer som ikke inngår i utvalget. Eksempler på tredjeperson er kollega, elev, klient, familiemedlem.
Hvis ja, hvem er tredjeperson og hvilke opplysninger registreres?		
Hvordan informeres tredjeperson om behandlingen?	□ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Informeres ikke	
Informeres ikke, begrunn		
10. Informasjon og samtykke		
Oppgi hvordan utvalget informeres	■ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Informeres ikke	Vennligst send inn informasjonsskrivet eller mal for muntlig informasjon sammen med meldeskjema. NB! Vedlegg lastes opp til slst i meldeskjemaet, se punkt 16 Vedlegg. Dersom utvalget ikke skal informeres om behandlingen av personopplysninger må det begrunnes. Last ned vår veiledende mal til informasjonsskriv
Begrunn		
Oppgi hvordan samtykke fra utvalget innhentes	■ Skriftlig □ Muntlig □ Innhentes ikke	Dersom det innhentes skriftlig samtykke anbefales det at samtykkeerklæringen utformes som en svarslipp eller på eget ark. Dersom det ikke skal innhentes samtykke, må det begrunnes.
Innhentes ikke, begrunn		
11. Informasjonssikkerhet		
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger erstattes med et referansenummer som viser til en atskilt navneliste (koblingsnøkkel)	Ja ○ Nei ●	Har du krysset av for ja under punkt 9 Datamaterialets innhold må det merkes av for hvordan direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres. NB! Som hovedregel bør ikke direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet.
Hvordan oppbevares navnelisten/ koblingsnøkkelen og hvem har tilgang til den?		
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger oppbevares sammen med det øvrige materialet	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvorfor oppbevares direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet?		
Oppbevares direkte personidentifiserbare opplysninger på andre måter?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Spesifiser		

Hvordan registreres og oppbevares datamaterialet?	□ Fysisk isolert datamaskin tilhørende virksomheten □ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilhørende virksomheten ■ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilknyttet Internett tilhørende virksomheten □ Fysisk isolert privat datamaskin ■ Privat datamaskin tilknyttet Internett ■ Videoopptak/fotografi □ Lydopptak ■ Notater/papir □ Annen registreringsmetode	Merk av for hvilke hjelpemidler som benyttes for registrering og analyse av opplysninger. Sett flere kryss dersom opplysningene registreres på flere måter.
Annen registreringsmetode beskriv		
Behandles lyd-/videoopptak og/eller fotografi ved hjelp av datamaskinbasert utstyr?	Ja ● Nei ○	Kryss av for ja dersom opptak eller foto behandles som lyd-/bildefil. Les mer om behandling av lyd og bilde.
Hvordan er datamaterialet beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn?	PC-tilgangen er beskyttet med brukernavn og passord	Er f.eks. datamaskintilgangen beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, står datamaskinen i et låsbart rom, og hvordan sikres bærbare enheter, utskrifter og opptak?
Dersom det benyttes mobile lagringsenheter (bærbar datamaskin, minnepenn, minnekort, cd, ekstern harddisk, mobiltelefon), oppgi hvilke	Bærbar PC	NB! Mobile lagringsenheter bør ha mulighet for kryptering.
Vil medarbeidere ha tilgang til datamaterialet på lik linje med daglig ansvarlig/student?	Ja ● Nei ○	
Hvis ja, hvem?	Min veileder Pål Årsand, førsteamanuensis ved pedagogisk institutt, NTNU	
Overføres personopplysninger ved hjelp av e-post/Internett?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. ved bruk av elektronisk spørreskjema, overføring av data til samarbeidspartner/databehandler mm.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		
Vil personopplysninger bli utlevert til andre enn prosjektgruppen?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, til hvem?		
Samles opplysningene inn/behandles av en databehandler?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det benyttes eksterne til helt eller delvis å behandle personopplysninger, f.eks. Questback, Synovate MMI, Norfakta eller transkriberingsassistent eller tolk, er dette å betrakte som en databehandler. Slike oppdrag må kontraktsreguleres Les mer om databehandleravtaler her
Hvis ja, hvilken?		
12. Vurdering/godkjenning fra andre instanser		
Søkes det om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for å få tilgang til data?	Ja ○ Nei ●	For å få tilgang til taushetsbelagte opplysninger fra f.eks. NAV, PPT, sykehus, må det søkes om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten. Dispensasjon søkes vanligvis fra aktuelt departement. Dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for helseopplysninger skal for alle typer forskning søkes Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig forskningsetikk
Kommentar		
Søkes det godkjenning fra andre instanser?	Ja ● Nei ○	F.eks. søke registereier om tilgang til data, en ledelse om tilgang til forskning i virksomhet, skole, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?	Barnehagen forskningen skal utføres i	

13. Prosjektperiode		
Prosjektperiode	Prosjektstart:01.02.2014 Prosjektslutt:01.08.2017	Prosjektstart Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når førstegangskontakten med utvalget opprettes og/eller datainnsamlingen starter. Prosjektslutt Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når datamaterialet enten skal anonymiseres/slettes, eller arkiveres i påvente av oppfølgingsstudier eller annet. Prosjektet anses vanligvis som avsluttet når de oppgitte analyser er ferdigstilt og resultatene publisert, eller oppgave/avhandling er innlevert og sensurert.
Hva skal skje med datamaterialet ved prosjektslutt?	□ Datamaterialet anonymiseres ■ Datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon	Med anonymisering menes at datamaterialet bearbeides slik at det ikke lenger er mulig å føre opplysningene tilbake til enkeltpersoner.NB! Merk at dette omfatter både oppgave/publikasjon og rådata. Les mer om anonymisering
Hvordan skal datamaterialet anonymiseres?		Hovedregelen for videre oppbevaring av data med personidentifikasjon er samtykke fra den registrerte. Årsaker til oppbevaring kan være planlagte oppfølgningsstudier, undervisningsformål eller annet. Datamaterialet kan oppbevares ved egen institusjon, offentlig arkiv eller annet. Les om arkivering hos NSD
Hvorfor skal datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon?	Oppfølgingsstudier	
Hvor skal datamaterialet oppbevares, og hvor lenge?	Hard-Disk oppbevart i låst skap. 5 år etter prosjektslutt.	
14. Finansiering		
Hvordan finansieres prosjektet?	Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse	
15. Tilleggsopplysninger		
Tilleggsopplysninger		
16. Vedlegg		
Antall vedlegg	1	

8.2 Attachment 2: Information letters and consent agreements for parents

Letter/agreement 1: October 2013 (pre-school pilot)

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet
"Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole"

Bakgrunn og formål
Mitt navn er Tuva Schanke, og jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved NTNU, Pedagogisk institutt. Mitt forskningsprosjekt handler om overgangen mellom barnehage og skole, og jeg vil studere barns deltakelse i skoleforberedende aktiviteter og lek. Prosjektet er finansiert av NTNU.

Jeg kommer til å gjennomføre en pilotstudie i xxxxxxx barnehage høsten 2013. Valg av barnehage er gjort i samarbeid med Trondheim kommune.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
I datainnsamlingen vil jeg skrive feltnotater og filme barn i skoleforberedende aktiviteter. Jeg skal ikke samle inn personopplysninger på individnivå og heller ikke intervjue barna. Det er barnas aktiviteter og deres samhandling seg i mellom som står i fokus. Fokus er ikke på det enkelte barn, men på barna i grupper. For at jeg skal kunne gjennomføre studien behøver jeg foreldre/foresattes samtykke.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om barna?
Feltnotater og videofilmer vil bli lagret på harddisk som blir låst inn i et skap, og det er kun jeg og min veileder som vil ha tilgang på datamaterialet. Etter analyser av videoopptak vil utdrag som skal brukes som eksempler i artikler og avhandling bli fremstilt slik at ingen barn kan bli gjenkjent. Dette gjøres ved at videobilder blir gjort om til tegning og barna får fiktive navn. Jeg er en del av en lukket forskergruppe som bruker film som forskningsmetode, og ønsker å vise noen korte videoklipp som eksempler på våre møter. Forskerkollegene vil ikke ha tilgang på datamaterialet, bare se videoklippene i forskningsøyemed der og da.

Doktorgradsprosjektet pågår til 2017, og jeg ønsker å bruke det innsamlede materialet til forskningsarbeid til våren 2022. Videoopptakene slettes innen 31. juli 2022.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og man kan når som helst trekke samtykket uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom barnet trekkes fra studien, vil alle opplysninger om bli slettet.

Kontakt
Har du spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Tuva Schanke, tuvascha@svt.ntnu.no, telefon: 41651921.
Studien er godkjent av Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Med vennlig hilsen
Tuva Schanke

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien
Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til at_____
deltar i forskningsprosjektet (navn på barn)

Trondheim,

(Sted, dato, signatur av forelder/verge)

Letter/agreement 2: January 2014 (pre-school study)

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet
"Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole"

Bakgrunn for studien
Mitt navn er Tuva Schanke, og jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved Pedagogisk institutt ved NTNU. Høsten 2013 gjennomførte jeg en pilotstudie med skolestarterne ved deres barnehage og nå ønsker jeg å følge de videre i vår og når de går over i skolen til høsten.

Forskningsprosjektet handler om overgangen mellom barnehage og skole. I barnehagen vil jeg se nærmere på hvordan barn deltar i skoleforberedende aktiviteter og i skolen vil jeg se på hvordan de deltar i skoleaktiviteter. Dette innebærer at jeg ønsker å se på hvilke aktiviteter barn deltar i og hvordan de samhandler i disse aktivitetene. For å kunne undersøke dette behøver jeg tillatelse fra deg/dere for å kunne observere aktiviteter der deres barn deltar.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
I barnehagen kommer jeg til å studere skolegruppa og deres planlagte aktiviteter. I skolen vil jeg studere aktiviteter i klasserom og friminutter.

Teknikken for datainnsamling er observasjon. Dette innebærer å skrive feltnotater og filme barn i ulike aktiviteter. Hvis barna selv sier at de ikke vil bli filmet så respekterer jeg det. Det er barnas aktiviteter og deres samhandlinger som står i fokus. Det er ikke fokus på det enkelte barn.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om barna?
Feltnotater og videofilmer vil bli lagret på harddisk som blir låst inn i et skap, og det er kun jeg og min veileder som vil ha tilgang på datamaterialet. Utdrag fra videoopptakene, enten i form av samtaler eller bilder, vil bli brukt i artikler og doktorgradsavhandlingen. Disse vil bli avidentifisert, det vil si at ingen barn kan bli gjenkjent. Barn, barnehage og skole får fiktive navn og ingen opplysninger skal kunne spores tilbake til barnet, barnehagen eller skolen. Jeg er en del av en lukket forskergruppe som bruker film som forskningsmetode, og ønsker å vise noen korte videoklipp som eksempler på våre samlinger. Forskerkollegene vil bare se videoklippene i forskningsøyemed der og da.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 1. august 2017. Jeg ønsker å beholde det innsamlede materialet i fem år etter doktoravhandlingens avslutning, for mulig bruk til videre forskningsarbeid. Etter prosjektslutt vil det bare være jeg som har tilgang på datamaterialet og videoopptakene oppbevares på harddisk i låst skap.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og man kan når som helst trekke samtykket uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker ditt samtykke, vil alle opplysninger om barnet bli slettet.

Kontakt
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Studien er godkjent av Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien
Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til at _____
deltar i forskningsprosjektet (navn på barn)

Trondheim,

(Dato og signatur av forelder/verge)

Letter/agreement 3: August 2014 (school study)

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet
"Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole"

Bakgrunn og formål
Mitt navn er Tuva Schanke, og jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved NTNU, Pedagogisk institutt. Jeg arbeider med et forskningsprosjekt som handler om hvordan barn håndterer overgangen fra barnehage til skole. Fra november 2013 og fram til juni 2014 har jeg fulgt skolestarterne ved to barnehager og nå ønsker jeg å følge disse barna videre over i skolen. For å kunne studere denne overgangen behøver jeg tillatelse fra deg som forelder for å kunne observere ditt barn som en av flere elever i klasserommet og på skolegården.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
Deltakelse i studien innebærer at jeg kommer til å følge klassen fra august til oktober 2014, og jeg observerer barnas samspill i ulike aktiviteter skolen. Jeg kommer til å skrive notater og filme barna. Om barna selv sier at de ikke vil bli filmet så respekteres dette. Det vil være noe fokus på barna som jeg har fulgt fra barnehagen, men jeg er også interessert i å studere elevene i første klassen som ei gruppe i sin nye skolehverdag.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om barna?
Feltnotater og videofilmer vil bli lagret på harddisk som blir låst inn i et skap. Det er kun jeg og min veileder som vil ha tilgang på datamaterialet. Klipp fra videoopptakene vil bli gjort om til samtaler i skriftlig form eller til tegninger der barna er ugjenkjennbare, og dette vil bli brukt i artikler og i doktorgradsavhandlingen. Barn, barnehage og skole får fiktive navn og ingen opplysninger skal kunne spores tilbake til barnet, barnehagen eller skolen. Jeg er en del av en lukket forskergruppe som bruker film som forskningsmetode, og ønsker å vise noen korte videoklipp som eksempler på seminarer. Forskerkollegene vil bare se videoklippene i forskningsøyemed der og da.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 1. august 2017. Jeg ønsker å beholde det innsamlede materialet i fem år etter doktoravhandlingens avslutning, for mulig bruk til videre forskningsarbeid.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og man kan når som helst trekke samtykket uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker ditt samtykke, vil alle opplysninger om barnet bli slettet.

Etikk
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Kontakt
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Samtykke til deltakelse i studien
Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til at _____
deltar i forskningsprosjektet (navn på barn)

Trondheim,

_____
(Dato og signatur av forelder/verge)

8.3 Attachment 3: Information letters and consent agreements for staff at school and preschools

Letter/agreement 1: October 2013 (pre-school pilot)

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet
"Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole"

Bakgrunn og formål
Mitt navn er Tuva Schanke, og jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved NTNU, Pedagogisk institutt. Mitt forskningsprosjekt handler om overgangen mellom barnehage og skole, og jeg vil studere barns deltakelse i skoleforberedende aktiviteter og lek. Prosjektet er finansiert av NTNU.

Jeg kommer til å gjennomføre en pilotstudie i xxxxxxx barnehage høsten 2013. Valg av barnehage er gjort i samarbeid med Trondheim kommune.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
I datainnsamlingen vil jeg skrive feltnotater og filme barn i skoleforberedende aktiviteter. Jeg skal ikke samle inn personopplysninger på individnivå og heller ikke intervjue barna. Det er barnas aktiviteter og deres samhandling seg i mellom som står i fokus. Fokus er ikke på det enkelte barn, men på barna i grupper. Selv om det er barna som er i fokus, kan det være at jeg også får film av ansatte i barnehagen, og jeg ønsker derfor de ansattes samtykke.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om barna?
Feltnotater og videofilmer vil bli lagret på harddisk som blir låst inn i et skap, og det er kun jeg og min veileder som vil ha tilgang på datamaterialet. Etter analyser av videoopptak vil utdrag som skal brukes som eksempler i artikler og avhandling bli fremstilt slik at ingen barn eller voksne kan bli gjenkjent. Dette gjøres ved at videobilder blir gjort om til tegning og barna og voksne får fiktive navn. Jeg er en del av en lukket forskergruppe som bruker film som forskningsmetode, og ønsker å vise noen korte videoklipp som eksempler på våre møter. Forskerkollegene vil ikke ha tilgang på datamaterialet, bare se videoklippene i forskningsøyemed der og da.

Doktorgradsprosjektet pågår til 2017, og jeg ønsker å bruke det innsamlede materialet til forskningsarbeid til våren 2022. Videoopptakene slettes innen 31. juli 2022.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og man kan når som helst trekke samtykket uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg fra studien, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli slettet.

Kontakt
Har du spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Tuva Schanke, tuvascha@svt.ntnu.no, telefon: 41651921. Studien er godkjent av Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Med vennlig hilsen
Tuva Schanke

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien
Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta i studien.

Trondheim,

(Sted, dato, signatur)

Letter/agreement 2: January 2014 (pre-school study)

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet
"Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole"

Bakgrunn og formål
Mitt navn er Tuva Schanke, og jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved Pedagogisk institutt ved NTNU. Høsten 2013 gjennomførte jeg en pilotstudie med skolestarterne ved deres barnehage og nå ønsker jeg å følge de videre i vår og når de går over i skolen til høsten.

Forskningsprosjektet handler om overgangen mellom barnehage og skole. I barnehagen vil jeg se nærmere på hvordan barn deltar i skoleforberedende aktiviteter og i skolen vil jeg se på hvordan de deltar i skolealktiviteter. Dette innebærer at jeg ønsker å se på hvilke aktiviteter barn deltar i og hvordan de samhandler i disse aktivitetene. For å kunne undersøke dette behøver jeg tillatelse fra deg som ansatt til å observere i felten og til å filme de aktiviteter som foregår.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
I barnehagen kommer jeg til å studere skolegruppa og deres planlagte aktiviteter. Teknikken for datainnsamling er observasjon. Dette innebærer å skrive feltnotater og filme barn i ulike aktiviteter. Hvis barna selv sier at de ikke vil bli filmet så respekterer jeg det. Det er barnas aktiviteter og deres samhandlinger som står i fokus, og barna ses på som en samlet gruppe.

Selv om det er barna som er i fokus, kan det være at jeg også får film av ansatte i barnehagen. Derfor er det viktig at de ansatte også gir sitt samtykke til deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?
Feltnotater og videofilmer vil bli lagret på harddisk som blir låst inn i et skap, og det er kun jeg og min veileder som vil ha tilgang på datamaterialet. Utdrag fra videoopptakene, enten i form av samtaler eller bilder, vil bli brukt i artikler og doktorgradsavhandlingen. Ingen barn eller voksne skal kunne bli gjenkjent i de utdragene som jeg bruker, dvs. at all informasjon blir avidentifisert. Barn, ansatte, barnehage og skole får fiktive navn og ingen opplysninger skal kunne spores tilbake til person eller sted.

Jeg er en del av en lukket forskergruppe som bruker film som forskningsmetode, og ønsker å vise noen korte videoklipp som eksempler på våre samlinger. Forskerkollegene vil bare få se videoklippene i forskningsøyemed der og da.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 1. august 2017. Jeg ønsker å beholde det innsamlede materialet i fem år etter doktoravhandlingens avslutning, for mulig bruk til videre forskningsarbeid. Etter prosjektslutt vil det bare være jeg som har tilgang på datamaterialet, og videoopptakene oppbevares på harddisk i låst skap.

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Eller på telefon: 41 65 19 21.
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Samtykke til deltakelse i studien
Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta i studien.

Trondheim,

(Dato og signatur)

Letter/agreement 3: August 2014 (school study)

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet
"Barns overgang mellom barnehage og skole"

Bakgrunn og formål
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Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
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Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?
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Etikk
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Kontakt
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Samtykke til deltakelse i studien
Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta i studien.

Trondheim,

(Dato og signatur)

PART B: ARTICLES

Article 1.

Schanke, T. (2019). Children's participation in a school-preparation letter activity. *Childhood 26*(1), 113-131. (First published online in 2018)

Article

Childhood
1–19

DOI: 10.1177/0907568218810092
journals.sagepub.com/home/chd

SAGE

Children's participation in a school-preparation letter activity

Tuva Schanke
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Norway

Abstract

School-preparation activities are central for Norwegian children in their final year in pre-schools, but school-preparation activity is an understudied practice. This article gains insight in children's participation in school-preparation activities using video data collected in a pre-school over a 7-month period. Various forms of preparation activities took place on a weekly basis, such as trips, projects and drawing. Children's verbal and embodied actions in a letter-based activity was studied over time, and the children oriented to each other as competitors, supported each other and constructed playful action. The pre-school teachers facilitated and allowed for the children to form the activity.

Keywords

Competition, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, letter-based activity, participation, peer support, school-preparation, stance

Introduction

In Norway, a good transition and collaboration between pre-school and school has become an important education policy goal (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). After a decade with focus on this issue, every pre-school has established routines for cooperation between pre-school and school, and all pre-schools emphasize *school-preparation activities* (hereafter SPA) (Lillejord et al., 2015; Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015). SPA refer to various activities among the oldest children in pre-school (5- to 6-year-olds), and they are often called school starters. The focus is promoting a social community among the children and the social competences, knowledge and abilities the children need when entering primary school (Norwegian Directorate for

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Education and Training, 2017a). The future perspective is an important contextual frame for SPA, since pre-school is a part of the educational system and a starting point for lifelong learning as a political aim (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, 2016; Rambøll Management, 2010).

Although the organization of SPA differs between countries, many preparatory activities are much the same across Europe. SPA include visits to the primary school, meeting with the future teacher, aesthetic and thematic (long-term) projects, a focus on social and practical skills relevant to school, and the building of solid friendships (Ackesjö, 2013; Corsaro and Molinari, 2005; Huf, 2013; Lappalainen, 2008; Sivertsen et al., 2015). There are, however, limited empirical studies of children's partaking in SPA. On one side, children take part in educational institutions and are part of an institutional practice, which imposes certain restrictions and predetermined activities such as doing SPA. On the other side, children are active and competent agents that can influence relations, decisions and structures of activities through individual and collective actions (Hardman, 2001; James and Prout, 2015; Mayall, 2002).

This study concentrates on data from Norway. The Norwegian context is interesting since SPA are widespread and debated, but there is scarce research about SPA. First, 98% of all 5-year-olds go to pre-school (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017b), and at 'every' pre-school, the school starters form an exclusive group and practice SPA, often for some hours or a day each week (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015). Cross-sectional surveys have described and given an overview of the content of SPA (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015; Zambrana, 2015), but it is also important to study how children participate with peers and the pre-school teacher in SPA, and how pre-school teachers facilitate SPA. Second, pre-schools should care for children and support play activities, while laying the foundation for lifelong learning and skills development (Lillejord et al., 2015). This dual expectation is central to debates about the room for play versus structured activities in pre-school, about making pre-school compulsory for 5-year-olds and on the content of the final year (Haug, 2013; Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017b). Pre-schools have substantial freedom when deciding about SPA, but several policy documents have argued that the framework plan should be more explicit on the content and organization of SPA (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, 2016). Research can inform discussions about SPA, and this study will illustrate some ways children take part in SPA, and how pre-school teachers organize and support children in SPA.

The data used in the article were from a 7-month fieldwork in a pre-school called Apple Garden. Various forms of SPA took place on a weekly basis, such as activities focused on letters, numbers and drawing, special projects, regular walks and longer trips. Apple Garden was dedicated to learning how to spell the children's names, and a letter-based activity was practised regularly. Children's contributions and the collective of school starters were emphasized both in the letter activity and other SPA at Apple Garden. The empirical part of the article will describe the diversity of SPA at Apple Garden, and it will give a fine-grained analysis of children's participation in the letter activity over time.

The research question is as follows: *How do children participate in a school-preparation letter-based activity?* Studying children's participation involves an examination of how 12 children take part in, interact and contribute to the letter activity. The analytic

concepts participation framework and stancetaking are central to the analysis of three video excerpts. The social aspect of the activity is important, and in addition to spelling names, the children compete and support each other, and construct playful action when puzzling out their names.

Literature review

Previous studies on SPA have included quantitative studies, interview studies and observation studies. The future perspective is an important contextual frame for SPA, and some *quantitative*-oriented studies on SPA in European countries have been about the transition from pre-school to school and later school achievement (Barnett, 1996; Corsaro and Molinari, 2005; Lago, 2014). In Norway, cross-sectional surveys and interviews have informed about the distribution and content of SPA (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015; Zambrana, 2015). In these studies, pre-school managers and teachers reported a broad understanding of the aims of SPA, and key areas included social and practical competences and basic skills (colours, letters and numbers). Moreover, 'all' pre-schools practised various forms of SPA on a regular/weekly basis, and letter-based activities were common. There were variations in the organization of SPA between pre-schools, and variations as regards children's participation in SPA (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015; Zambrana, 2015).

Studies on SPA in other European countries have taken an *ethnographic* approach. Pre-school teachers and children were *observed* doing SPA and priming events, and the children were *interviewed* about their anticipations and experiences regarding the transition to school. These studies showed that preparatory activities helped children to make sense of their future school context, that more time was allocated for play in pre-school than in the first year of school, that pre-school teachers were perceived as guides and supporters for the activities in pre-school, and that children were motivated by what they would do in school (Ackesjö, 2013; Corsaro and Molinari, 2005; Lago, 2014; Lappalainen, 2008). Huf's (2013) study in Germany and the United Kingdom, and Corsaro and Molinari in Italy (2005) argued that collective routine activities in pre-school were important for a positive entry into school. Corsaro and Molinari (2005) observed that Italian children's participation in SPA/priming events were positive in terms of adjusting to new rules, schedules and participation structures in school. They also pinpointed that SPA prime children for school, especially as a group of peers preparing for the transition together.

Prior *ethnomethodological*-oriented video-based studies in pre-school and school have focused on language and interaction. An Australian study showed how 4-6 year old children used language and pre-existing rules to control the interactions of their peers (Cobb-Moore et al., 2009). Another Australian study of children aged 4-5 years examined competition and collaboration in a peer group (Theobald and Reynolds, 2015). A Swedish pre-school study investigated peer interaction among children at the computer during free play (Bevemyr and Björk-Willén, 2016). In Israel, pre-schoolers displayed both discursive conventions from the adult culture and child-unique argumentative techniques (Zadunaisky Ehrlich and Blum-Kulka, 2010). A study of school girls in the United States found that peer conversations built both social organization and argumentation

competences (Goodwin, 1990). A Swedish study of primary school children and second-language conversations found playful recyclings, like metapragmatic play, to be recurrent features in the classroom (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004).

The previous Norwegian studies on SPA have mainly gathered information from pre-school managers and pre-school teachers. Using a combination of video recordings and field notes, the empirical data in this research project can answer other research questions about how SPA are practised and how children take part in and influence SPA. Studies from other countries have focused on children's contributions as active and competent agents in pre-school (Bevemyr and Björk-Willén, 2016; Cobb-Moore et al., 2009; Corsaro, 2015; Zadunaisky Ehrlich and Blum-Kulka, 2010), and this article will build on these studies when analysing the social interaction that is unfolding between children and between adults and children during a school-preparation letter-based activity.

Peer culture and participation framework

Peers refer to a cohort or group of children who spend time together on an everyday basis (Corsaro, 2015). Children's *peer culture* is a stable set of activities or routines, artefacts, values and concerns that children produce and share, and it is public, collective and performative (Corsaro, 2015; Goffman, 1974). In children's peer culture, their social relations unfold, including their friendships, joy, humour, creativity and play, community spirit and peace. Also conflicts, disputes, social differentiation and alliances take place (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004). The notion *interpretive reproduction* places focus on children as a social group of participants, who both create and innovate through their participation, as well as contribute to cultural production and change (Corsaro, 2015). At the same time, interpretive reproduction implies that children are constrained by the existing social structure, such as those found in educational institutions.

Studying children's participation means examining how they take part in and contribute actively to a situation, event or process, which further opens up possibilities of studying social organization among peers and their relations to adults (Corsaro, 2015; James and Prout, 2015). Children assert complex social competences, and they deal with and respond to adult-imposed rules through play, humour, creativity and rebellion (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998; Powell et al., 2006). Children might seek to use 'holes' in the adult structure to exert an influence on activities of their own (Mayall, 2002; Powell et al., 2006).

The analytic concept *participation framework* can be useful when studying children's participation. Introduced by Goffman (1974) and developed by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004), the notion is a means of analysing interactional positions in a group. Speakers and hearers join in a common course of action, and talk is systematically modified to account for the hearer. This encompasses not only linguistic structure in the stream of speech but also prosody and embodied action in a range of different ways (Goodwin, 2017). With such a framework, it is possible to analyse how peers orient towards each other and take different opportunities to participate in the activity (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 2007).

Stance is referred to as an intersubjective, emergent and public activity (Du Bois, 2007). Linguistic expressions and embodied actions open up for the opportunity to see *stancetaking* as a resource that participants use to accomplish social action (Goodwin,

2007; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998). Stancetaking represents a detailed way of studying participation. Stance can be understood as disjunctive, and several types of stance have been suggested (Du Bois, 2007; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, 2012; Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). This article places an emphasis on epistemic stance and affective stance. Epistemic stance is when participants are positioning themselves so they can appropriately experience, properly perceive, grasp and understand relevant features of the events in which they are engaged (Goodwin, 2007). Affective stance is emotions towards others that are generated by the organization of participation in interaction, often necessary to keep the activity proceeding and often accompanied with intonations, gestures and body postures (Goodwin, 2007).

Methods

The data were from a fieldwork in Apple Garden pre-school. Twelve 5- to 6-year-old children were video-recorded when practising SPA from November to May. In all, 37 hours of video recordings were collected. All pre-school teachers and children gave their informed and written consent to participate (the parents on behalf of their children). The group of children was heterogeneous with regard to ethnic background and gender, comprising six girls and six boys. The pre-school teachers Evelyn and Elsa were in charge of SPA. All participants were anonymized in publications from the project. The research project was ethically approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

Various forms of SPA took place indoor and outdoor. A first step in the analysis of data consisted of creating a content log to get an overview of the data material (Heath et al., 2010). The content log then served as a starting point for categorizing various activities and looking through the recorded material, in search for features of organization, patterns and repetitions, or courses that seemed interesting. The field notes were used as supplements in this process.

The most common preparation activity was a letter-based activity that took place around a long table and focused on spelling the children's names. One reason for studying the letter-based activity was that the recordings allowed for analyses of progress and change in the activity over time. A second reason was that the organization of the activity was beneficial for recording talk and embodied action between the children and with the pre-school teachers. A third reason was that the letter activity was carried out with the whole group of children. Like most other preparation activities at Apple Garden, the social aspect of the letter-based activity was important for the children's engagement.

Analytically the article draws upon *ethnomethodology* (EM). A central topic for EM is the social practices of people in everyday situations, and the practices and methods people use for understanding, producing and maintaining a shared sense of social order (Garfinkel, 1967). An ethnomethodological view is useful in studying the everyday practices of children from within their own worlds and relates particularly to peer culture as an activity or routine that children produce and share collectively (Corsaro, 2015). Within EM, there is theoretical, methodological and empirical diversity, but *conversation analysis* (CA) has emerged as the most visible and influential form of ethnomethodological inspired research (Maynard and Clayman, 1991). When combining EM and CA, the interest lies in how participants interpret and respond to talk and actions as interaction

progresses in a sequential manner, and in how the participants organize and make sense of their activities in a given social context (Francis and Hester, 2004; Garfinkel, 1967; Goodwin, 2007; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). A reason for the concern with language use and embodied action is that people make use of talk and other sign systems connected to talk, such as gestures, gazes and body positions, when they carry out joint action. Both talk and embodied action are resources that the children use for participating in the activity and for managing social relations, and the analysis aims to show how the children orient towards each other and take different opportunities to participate in the activity (see also Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 2017; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004).

Much of children's activities are embodied, fast moving and highly complex, and video can help capture the complexity of the activities (Corsaro, 2015). In this study, the analysis of talk and embodied action in a letter-based activity provides a means to see into the details of children's social worlds as they are being negotiated and constructed, and give some insight on how children organize and accomplish activities (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998).

The transcription of three video excerpts draws upon key CA concepts such as sequential, inferential and temporal order of talk (Francis and Hester, 2004). A simplified version of Jefferson's (1984) transcription notation is used. The transcription notation was developed for exploring reconstruction of moment-by-moment interactions. A close exploration of sequences and actions in the three excerpts, as well as interactional features of talk and action, are presented. The original language is Norwegian, in which the excerpts were first analysed, and then translated into English. To describe the choreography of interacting bodies and the participants' orientations to the material environment, line drawings are included with the transcripts. The drawings are representations of screenshots from the video (Melander, 2009).

The video recordings and transcripts used in the article were presented and discussed in several seminars, workshops and labs, in Norway and abroad. This was important to ensure that other researchers could confirm the findings.

Various forms of SPA

At Apple Garden, one or two weekdays were dedicated to SPA, and they called it the 'School starter club'. The club would last 2 hours or a whole day, and four categories of activities were identified in the content log. One category of SPA was *shorter trips* to nearby forests or playgrounds. Another category was *longer trips* to a school, a farm, a museum and a recycle centre. A third category was *special projects* on energy (district heating, recycling and the making of a waterwheel), bonfire (collecting wood, making a bonfire and eating by the fire) and write dance (dancing and drawing pictures to music). A fourth category was *regular activities focused on letters, numbers and drawing.* The children wrote their names on a PC, and they performed an activity about clapping names and puzzle names regularly. There were activities with numbers and counting, and the children learnt plus and minus with a game called 'Santa's and buttons'. There was focus on pencil grip, and the children drew to different topics or did free drawing.

The collective of children was focused upon at Apple Garden, and all types of SPA (trips, projects, regular activities) were carried out with the whole group of children

together. The children would cooperate and create various things together in the special projects and on their trips, and they were sometimes asked to draw pictures together from these experiences. In activities focused on drawing, numbers and letters, the seating at a long table or on the floor made it possible to follow the activities collectively. For example, the children often drew pictures inspired by each other, or they helped each other create parts in the pictures like raindrops, hearts or balloons. In write-dance sessions, they encouraged each other on the dance floor to do similar moves, and they decorated the walls with the drawings made to the music.

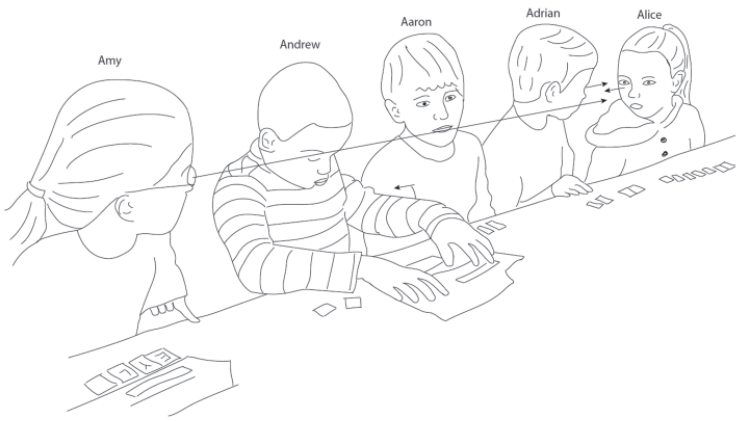
The pre-school teachers at Apple Garden also focused on *children's contributions.* On shorter trips, the children influenced on decisions on where to stop for breaks and where to eat, and these days were dedicated to free play and physical activity. The pre-school teachers would initiate activities on club days, but most often they took a facilitating approach during the activities. The adults encouraged the children to be supportive and helpful to each other. At times the pre-school teachers had a more leading role in SPA, for example, when they talked about topics like waterwheels and recycling.

An in-depth analysis of a letter-based activity exemplifies how children participated in SPA at Apple Garden. The purpose of the letter activity was to prepare the children to recognize their own name on the desks, pegs, drawers and books to orient themselves in a new school area. On 12 occasions, the school starters sat and puzzled out their names with small pieces of paper marked with their letters. A central feature of the letter activity was the routine of introduction and procedure. The children were seated around the table, followed by the pre-school teachers handing out envelopes, and then the children and pre-school teachers clapped each child's name. After this procedure, the children took out the letters to spell the names. Another central feature was the location of the letter activity at the long table that gathered all children as a group. Although each of the children did the puzzle individually, the closeness in space made it possible to follow other's performances (see also Goodwin, 2017). This collective focus was the same whether the activity was a trip, a project, drawing, a number game or the letter activity.

Competition in the letter activity

Studies of children's verbal debates and arguments have shown that conflicts and competition often serve to strengthen interpersonal alliances and to organize social groups (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004). The first excerpt from November was the third time the puzzle activity took place. Those present were the pre-school teachers Evelyn and Elsa, and the children Andrew, Alice, Adrian, Amy, Aaron, Andrea, Alfred, Allison, Arthur, Abigail and Alexander. As shown in excerpt 1, the children oriented to the activity as a competition and they formed alliances within the peer group (Figure 1).

In line 1, Evelyn opens the activity by giving an instruction, and the children respond by saying 'Yeh' and open their envelopes (line 2). Lines 12–20 show how the children are eager to complete the task first, and they mark this by saying 'finished'. Amy states that she was the first to be done, smiling to the rest of the group (line 12). By uttering this, she orients to the situation as a competition and takes a stance as the 'winner' of the task (Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin, 1990). The affective stance by Amy triggers a response from Alfred, replying that the activity is not about finishing first (line 13). Here Alfred



Excerpt 1

1 Evelyn:	And then you can pick up the letters ((stands at one corner of the table))
2	Ye::h ((All children open their envelopes and the letters are put on the table))
…	((9 turns excluded where each child spell their names))
12 Amy:	I finished first↑ ((smiles and looks around at the others))
13 Alfred:	((looks up at Amy)) I have to tell you something? It is not about finishing first.
14 Amy:	((looks down at her letters))
15 Adrian:	Finished?
16 Aaron:	[>Finished<]
17 Alice	[>Finished<]
18	(.)
19 Alfred:	Finished,
20	(.)
21 Allison:	I also finished first ((looks at Amy))
22 Andrew:	((turns his head and looks at Amy's letters)) AMY was done fi:rst
23 Alice:	>Me< and you was done first, right? ((looks at and leans towards Adrian))
24 Adrian:	M[mm ((looks at Alice and nods))
25 Amy	[((bends forward and looks at Adrian and Alice))
26 Alice:	((looks out over the table and smiles))
27 Amy:	I was the very [first to be done ((looks at Alice and Adrian))
28 Evelyn:	[It is not a competition[>IT IS < not a competition [about finishing
29	first
30 Alice:	[No ((looks at Amy))
31 Amy:	[YES ((is
32	still bending forward looking down the table at Alice))
33 Amy:	I have the shortest name
34	(0,2)
35 Evelyn:	It is not a competition about finishing first (.) someone has a short name, and someone
36	has a long name, and someone has two names, ((walks towards Amy and Alice))

Figure 1. Excerpt 1, line 24, Alice leans towards and looks at Adrian, Adrian looks back at Alice and nods his head, and Amy watches the two from the side-line.

takes an epistemic stance about the activity. He explains what he sees as the purpose of this activity based on his prior knowledge from institutional talk about it (Du Bois, 2007; Melander, 2012). Amy responds to Alfred by looking down at her letters (line 14). Adrian, Aaron, Alice, Amy and Alfred also align with Amy, stating that they have finished the task (lines 15–20). The children seem to orient to the activity as a competition, and affective stances are recourses that the children use to engage in the activity (Goodwin, 1990; Melander, 2012). The children mark when they have completed the task, by saying 'finished' in a faster and louder way than their normal talk. This way of participating creates alignment among the peers regarding who are the quickest to complete the task.

Allison claims that also she finished first, while looking at Amy (line 21). She takes an affective stance where she positions herself among the winners. Andrew responds to this statement by uttering that Amy was done first (line 22), aligning with her. Alice joins in, claiming that she and Adrian were the first (line 23). Her embodied action displays her effort to align with Adrian, by leaning towards and looking at him. By saying 'mm' and nodding his head, Adrian supports Alice's claim and aligns with her (line 24). Amy watches the two from the side-line (line 25). Alice replies by smiling to the other children, sharing her alignment with Adrian (line 26). Amy responds through an affective stance and claims that she was the *very first* to be done (line 27).

Evelyn says to the whole group that it is not a competition about finishing first, and she repeats this in a louder voice when Alice and Amy overlaps (lines 28–29). Alice overlaps loudly with a 'no' and disagrees with Amy and her claim (line 30). Amy protests by uttering 'yes' and looks straight back at Alice, also overlapping Evelyn's talk (lines 31–32). The affective stances show how eager the two girls are to be first, and their embodied expressions also underline their eagerness and interaction as they bend forward and stare at each other. Then Amy makes an epistemic stance where she says that she has the shortest name, due to her knowledge about the number of letters in her name (line 33). A pause occurs (line 34). Then Evelyn again explains to all the children that it is not a competition about finishing first and that they all finish at different times because some have long names and some have short names (lines 35–36).

This excerpt shows that alignment and disalignment, through stancetaking, become central features of how the children participate. The competition is not easily won by one peer, but is argued over and discussed in the peer group, as an intersubjective and emergent activity (Corsaro, 2015; Du Bois, 2007). The letter-based activity entails more than just spelling names. It is also an activity where children get experience in debating, finding arguments, building alliances and competing, due to the organization of it in a bigger group. In other words, it builds argumentative competences (Goodwin, 1990; Zadunaisky Ehrlich and Blum-Kulka, 2010).

This excerpt shows how this group of peers actively and collectively interprets and reproduces the activity to contain a new aspect: the competition, which contrasts to doing it individually and correctly (Corsaro, 2015). Evelyn and some of the children try to balance the activity as non-competitive, but engaging into the activity by competing seems to create eagerness among the children. This may create a perception of the activity as more exciting. The competitive aspect might also be due to the activity's focus on completing an individual task, in which early completion is the hallmark of a competent school starter.

Peer support in the letter activity

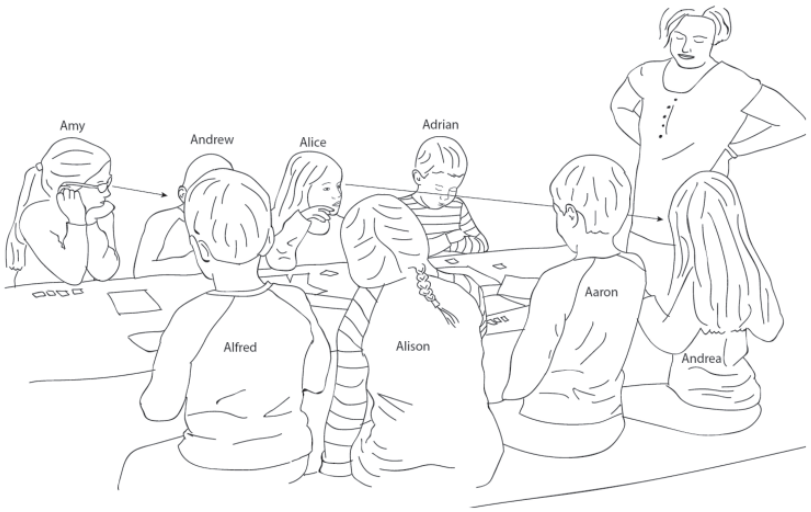
The competitive aspect became less and less prominent over time. The decreased interest in competing could be due to the children's increased competence in letters and in spelling. Prior studies have shown that children provide support to each other (Corsaro, 2015), and the school starters were able to assist each other and contribute to each other's fulfilling of the task. Excerpt 2 was from April, and the peers supported each other in achieving the spelling of Andrea's name by the re-presentation of parts of a previous utterance (often called recycling) (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004) (Figure 2). Those present were the pre-school teachers Evelyn and Elsa, and the children Amy, Andy, Alice, Adrian, Andrea, Aaron, Allison, Alfred and Abigail.

Evelyn instructs the children to open their envelopes and take out their letters (line 1). Andrea is busy with spelling her name on the table (line 11). She notices that she has forgotten the R-letter and looks up at Evelyn and takes an epistemic stance to share this with her (line 12). Evelyn laughs and responds by saying both 'Andea' and 'Andrea' thereby illustrating the difference in the two names (line 13). Andrea and Evelyn form an alliance; Andrea seeks support for having noticed her wrong spelling, and Evelyn responds to her in a humorous mode. Andrew and Alice who sit opposite from Andrea recycle Andrea's name, taking epistemic stances by putting weight on R to display the letter's significance and to share her name in the correct way (lines 14–15). Evelyn overlaps with Alice and suggests that Andrea can put her R in the middle of her letters (line 16), which she does (line 17). Then Andrew recycles Andrea's name again twice, leaving the A at the end out, but still placing an emphasis on R (line 18).

The recycling that Andrew, Andrea, Alice and Evelyn make might contribute to sensitize the children to both pragmatic and formal linguistic aspects of language use, but it might also contribute to expressing audience alignments (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). Andrew and Alice form an audience alignment with Andrea in which the sound of her name first is displayed in the right way, after which Andrew recycles the name without A and Andrea responds to Andrew by saying her name correctly 'Andrea'. Andrea also adds 'like that' (line 19), taking an epistemic stance and showing that she now has spelled her name correctly.

Then Alice shows her knowledge by spelling Andrea's name from across the table, emphasizing every letter while she points to them (line 20). Amy follows carefully from the other side of the table (line 21). Alice looks at Evelyn (line 22). By nodding and smiling, Evelyn supports and confirms the way Alice spelled the letters (line 23). Then Aaron, who is sitting next to Andrea, says 'Yes (.) Andrea', taking an epistemic stance in which, he places an emphasis on every letter. He displays that Andrea is now spelled correctly (line 24).

This excerpt shows how the children and Evelyn explore the letters in Andrea's name. Without the R, the letters make another word – Andea. This recycling also exemplifies how meaning is intersubjectively constructed in different types of stance-taking, and how competences are distributed and shared across the group of peers (Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). Children's recycling may as well be regarded as strategic moves in their conversations to achieve communicative goals,



Excerpt 2

1 Evelyn:	Please take out your letters (.) All of you have the envelope.
…	((ten turns excluded where the children takes out their letters))
11 Andrea:	((lays down her letters on the table))
12 Andrea:	A:-n-d-e:-a:, (.) oh, I almost forgot ((looks up at Evelyn))
13 Evelyn:	Hehe (.) A-n-d-e-a (.) A-n-d-r-e-a ((smiles))
14 Andrew:	>A-n-d- r-e-a< ((looks at Andrea and Evelyn))
15 Alice:	A:n: d-r-[e:-a, ((looks at Andrea's letters))
16 Evelyn:	[you can just put the R in the middle, ((stands by Andrea and smiles))
17 Andrea:	((puts R in the middle of the letters))
18 Andrew:	A.ndre:, (.) A:ndre:, ((looks quick up at Andrea and then continues to spell his letters))
19 Andrea:	Andrea, ((looks at Andrew)) (.) like that, ((looks at her name which now is complete))
20 Alice:	[A-n-d-r-e-a, ((spells the name while pointing to each of Andrea's letters))
21 Amy:	[((watches Andrea's letters while Alice spells Andrea's name))
22 Alice:	((looks up at Evelyn))
23 Evelyn:	Mm ((nods her head and smiles))
24 Aaron:	Yes (.) A-n-d-r-e-a ((looks at Andrea next to him))

Figure 2. Excerpt 2, line 20, Alice looks at Andrea and spells Andrea's name, and Amy watches Alice spelling and the letters.

such as display of shared interest and accomplishment of one-upmanship in their peer interactions (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 2017). By taking stances and supporting each other's utterances, the children form alliances around the table and explore the activity together (Du Bois, 2007).

Playfulness in the letter activity

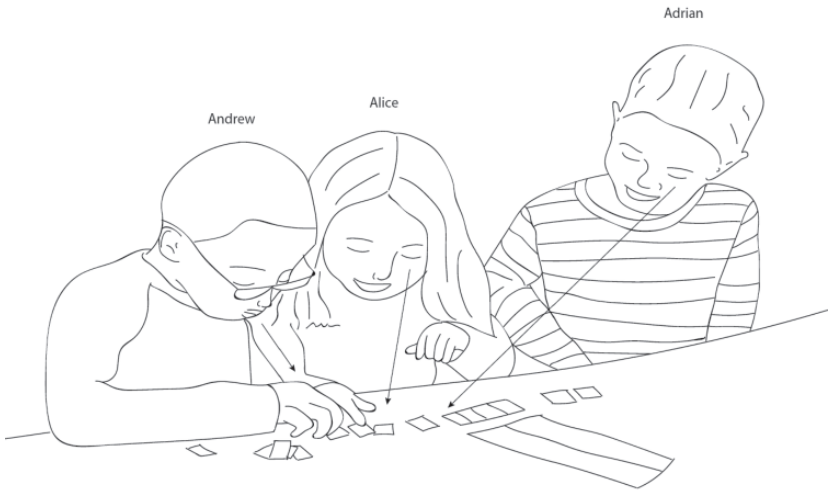
Previous studies have found silly words and word play important in children's interactions (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004). More humorous and creative use of the letters was a central aspect of children's way of participating and negotiating about the framework in the letter activity. Each time the children did the letter activity, they initiated a playful shift, such as to spell and read the name backwards or mixing the letters. Evelyn and Elsa always confirmed such shifts, but they also instructed that everyone had to finish spelling correctly first. This was an important mark of the rules and institutional structure in the letter activity.

There was room for playful and unserious activities after the 'formal part' of the letter activity. Excerpt 3 was from April, and it illustrated how the peers explored the frames of the activity by combining letters and making prolonged names (Figure 3). Those present were the pre-school teachers Evelyn and Elsa, and the children Amy, Andrew, Alice, Adrian, Andrea, Aaron, Alfred and Abigail.

Lines 1–11 show how the children are attending to each other's interactional contributions. Adrian makes Alice aware that he has combined his and Alice's letters and put them together in a long line saying ADRIANALICE (lines 1–2). Alice responds to this by turning towards him (line 3) and adjusts her letters so they lie nicely on a line (line 4), then she laughs and shakes her body (line 5). Alice makes Andrew aware of what she and Adrian have made (line 6). Andrew looks at the line of letters and adds his letters too, aligning with the two peers (lines 7–8). Now the name says ADRIANALICEANDREW. Then Andrew calls for Elsa's attention, so she can see the long name (line 9). Elsa responds with a 'wow' and smiling, taking an affective stance to show her surprise by what they have managed (line 10). Andrea sits on the other side of the table and says that she finds the name lengthy, and she shares what it says to the rest of the group (line 11). In the sequence, the children accomplish both affective stances (to join in) and epistemic stances (to show interest) when excitement over one peer's idea is displayed. The long name is read out load, and this creates a joint focus around the table, where the prolonged name is the centre of attention.

In lines 24–34, the children create new and playful ways of using the letters. Some letters are written on blue paper and some on purple paper, and Adrian starts to mix his blue and Alice's purple letters. He shows his enthusiasm by saying, 'Wow' and asks for Alice's attention, before he looks at Evelyn standing next to him (lines 24–25). Evelyn confirms the initiative by smiling back at him (line 26). Alice aligns with Adrian immediately by saying 'yes' twice, and they mix Adrian's blue letters with her purple ones (line 27). Andrew has noticed what the peers have started and joins in too. He supports and aligns with the playful approach by saying 'yes' and laughing (lines 28–29). Alice responds to Andrew's enthusiasm by aligning with him and making a little jump (line 30). Alice mix the letters into the long name and keep the order of the system by saying out loud 'Purple, blue, purple, blue' (line 31). Adrian watches and laughs at the long name they have made together (line 32), before he again looks at Evelyn (line 33). Evelyn responds by laughing with Adrian and the two peers, showing her support for the initiative they have taken together (line 34).

Adrian uses the word *write* when he combines Alice's and his name. Andrew sees what he is doing as something he can describe as 'write', which differs from spelling. He



Excerpt 3

1 Adrian:	Alice, ((touches her sholder)) if we write together, it becomes like this
2	((starts to mix his letters with Alice's ones with both his index fingers))
3	((Alice turns towards Adrian and sees that he his placed his name before hers. She
4	moves her letters closer so they lie nicely on a line spelling ADRIANALICE))
5 Alice:	hihih°((shakes her body))
6 Alice:	Andrew (.) see what we have made ((turns towards him))
7 Andrew:	((Looks at their letters and then he places his letters close behind Alice's and Adrian's
8	long name))
9 Andrew:	((looks at Elsa)) check out our name?
10 Elsa:	Wow? ((smiles))
11 Andrea:	>That is< long (.) <ADRIANALICEANDREW> ((reads from the other side of table))
…	((12 turns excluded where one of the children enters late this day and is included))
24 Adrian:	((starts to blend his blue letters with Alice's purple ones)) Wow, check this out ↑ look
25	here (.) Alice look? ((leans over and looks at Alice and then back at Evelyn))
26 Evelyn:	((smiles back to Adrian))
27 Alice:	yes↑yes, lets us do it (.) yes, [let us do it, ((joins in and mixes her letters with Adrian))
28 Andrew:	[>ye:s< hehe °°((leans towards Alice and mixes his
29	letters with Alice's))
30 Alice:	yes, yes, yes, ((makes a little jump from sitting position))
31 Alice	[((continue to mix all of their letters into a system of purple, blue, purple, blue))
32 Adrian:	[hahaha° ((looks at the peers mixing the letters))
33Adrian:	((looks at Evelyn))
34 Evelyn:	hehehehe ((looks back at Adrian))

Figure 3. Excerpt 3, lines 31–32, Alice and Andrew mix the letters and Adrian laughs, and all of them look at the letters.

expands the frame of the activity, calls it 'write' and invites Alice to participate. Adrian, Alice and Andrew align into each other's ideas and invitations, both by saying 'yes' and by moving their letters into the long name. They also show their alignment by sharing a playful and exciting mode with their embodied actions (look and lean towards each other, making small jumps and laughter). Thus, distributed expertise and epistemic stance merge with affective stance and are shown both through the peer talk and embodiment.

The children initiate, join into and include each other in new ways of using the letters. However, it is not to be overlooked that the expansions in the activity take place within the consent and the support of the pre-school teachers. Adrian seeks Evelyn's attention twice, and Evelyn responds to the initiatives by smiling and by laughing. Andrew seeks Elsa's attention when they have first made the long name, and Elsa shows her surprise and smiles. The ways the children and the adults align show that the children are invited to expand the activity further.

In the mixing of letters, the peers display collaborative competences where they support each other in constructing creative and playful action (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998). Such a competence can only be demonstrated in situ where the social impact of others' actions in the setting is included. This reproductive interpretation of the activity is one in which the participants explore action together, and where they are in need of each other's support and alignment to be creative.

Discussion

The types of SPA that took place at Apple Garden were trips, projects and regular activities focused on drawing, numbers and letters. The article paid particular attention to an often-practised letter-based activity, and the following research question was asked: *How do children participate in a letter-based activity in pre-school?*

An overall finding was that the letter activity consisted of so much more than just the aim of spelling one's name. The children oriented to each other as competitors (excerpt 1), they supported each other (excerpt 2) and they constructed playful action around the long table (excerpt 3). Thus, the letter-based activity shed light on the importance of collective activities, and how the children established a shared culture with each other and with the pre-school teachers supporting them (see also Corsaro, 2015; James and Prout, 2015). The children took part in a group, and they were provided with rich experiences in how to be part of a peer culture in which they created and explored participation frameworks (see also Goodwin, 1990; Powell et al., 2006). Their competences were displayed through the construction of action with their peers and the pre-school teachers (see also Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998).

The seating at the long table was important. An interactive space unfolded between the participants around the long table, and the children oriented to the activity as a group with different ideas, arguments and requests. They used stances and alignments to create and maintain social order, and they created different participation frameworks that amused them (see also Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004; Mayall, 2002; Powell et al., 2006). The children were also often seated at the long table in activities focused on numbers and drawing and collaborative projects, and such activities were also carried out with the whole group of children together.

The competitive aspects in the early rounds of the letter-based activity (excerpt 1) could be interpreted as social comparison, or as hierarchy building of who was the better school starter, or as a way of making the activity more exciting (see also Goodwin, 2017; Kyratzis, 2004). Both affective and epistemic stances were used as resources to join in and to challenge each other. The children made alliances and supported each other, and that could also be a way to strengthen or managing friendship (see also Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990). When disagreements about who finished first came to the surface, the pre-school teacher tried to modify the discussion.

In the later rounds of the activity (excerpt 2), the children established a participation framework where both speakers and hearers were joined in a common course of action to help each other to spell the names. The children showed interest in each other's names through recycling and loud spelling (see also Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004; Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). Meaning was intersubjectively constructed, and competences were shared across the group of peers (see also Du Bois, 2007; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). Support for each other could also be found in other preparation activities at Apple Garden, such as children helping each other when drawing or creating shared drawings. Prior studies of pre-school children have also pointed to the importance of collaboration and competition (Cobb-Moore et al., 2009; Theobald and Reynolds, 2015).

When all the children had finished spelling correctly, the children changed the activity into a playful encounter (excerpt 3). This shift initiated by the children could be seen as a way of dealing with adult-imposed rules and routines (see also Corsaro, 2015; Mayall, 2002). Collaborative competences were used when the children created new words with the letters, and having fun seemed a prominent goal (see also Bevemyr and Björk-Willén, 2016; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998). The children aligned with each other in making long names and a colour system of the letters. Affective and epistemic stances were displayed both through the stream of speech, and through prosody and embodied action in a range of different ways (see also Goodwin, 2017). Similar to the structure of the letter activity, activities with numbers and counting often had a 'formal part' first, and then more playful activities and games with numbers afterwards.

The pre-school teachers played an essential role in assisting the spelling and the less formal part. In the early rounds of the activity, the less formal part was led by the pre-school teachers since the children were unable to read the names backwards or in the wrong order. In the later rounds of the activity, the children could mix and play with the letters with less support from the pre-school teachers. An emphasis on children's contributions was also found in other preparation activities at Apple Garden, such as when children were involved in decisions on trips or when children managed games with numbers. The introduction to the spelling (clapping hands and spelling) was led by the pre-school teacher, and taking a leading role corresponded to other activities, such as talking about complex topics (waterwheels, recycling).

Conclusion

Preparation activities at Apple Garden consisted of trips, projects and regular activities, and they were done together as a group. This was a central feature of organizing SPA and it gave room for building a social community among the school starters. The article

focused on children's participation in a letter-based activity over time, and it showed how the children used a range of various competences and abilities and contributed to form the activity. The social aspect of the letter-based activity seemed to be a driving force for the children's engagement. The pre-school teachers allowed for the children to influence on the activities, and there was room for competing, for supporting, and for doing the spelling playfully and with a humorous mode.

The study provided insight in children's participation in a letter-based activity and also other forms of SPA. The longitudinal aspect was a strength of the study, as it showed how much children contributed to the letter-based activity, and the different ways the pre-school teachers facilitated the activity. The findings from the study could offer educators greater awareness about possibilities for child participation and involvement in SPA. An important limit to the conclusions was lack of similar qualitative studies of SPA in Norway. For comparison purposes, the article connected the findings to similar studies in other countries.

This study looked into a relatively unexplored activity, and many questions remain for future research about SPA. How do children participate in SPA and letter activities at other Norwegian pre-schools? How well are competences focused upon in SPA suited for entering school? Compared to pre-school, to what degree can children take part in exploring and negotiating upon activities in the first year of school? Thus, the findings of this study suggest further research on how pre-schools can support children's involvement in SPA, and how well SPA relate to school.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: The author received financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article by the Department of Education and Lifelong Learning, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

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Appendix 1

Transcription key

Jefferson notation (1984)

(1,5)	Numbers in parentheses represents pauses in seconds
(.)	Micropause, that is, pause shorter than (0.5)
(())	Double parentheses are used to mark transcriber's descriptions of events
(	Indicates a point of overlap onset
]	Indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances/actions both end
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
◦	Indicates talk markedly quiet or soft
↑	The up arrow marks sharp rise in pitch
↓	The down arrow marks sharp fall in pitch
WOrd	Especially loud talk is indicated by upper case

word	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
.	Indicates falling intonation
,	Indicates continuing intonation
?	Indicates a rising intonation
> <	Embeds talk that is faster than surrounding speech
< >	Embeds talk that is slower than surrounding speech

Article 2.

Schanke, T. Doing numbers in preschool: Children's cooperation in a number activity. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Doing numbers in preschool: Children's cooperation in a number activity

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Abstract

Norwegian preschools organize school preparation activities for five and six-year old children. Prior studies have mainly focused on the distribution and content of preparatory activities, whereas there is less research about children's perspectives and contributions. This paper analyses how children cooperate and use a variety of verbal, non-verbal and material resources in an outdoor activity focused on numbers and counting. The children share skills about numbers and the rules of the activity, and they show strong willingness to include each other in the activity and build a shared understanding when uncertainty about the activity arises. Video data was collected in a Norwegian preschool over a seven-month period.

Key words: school preparation activities; number activity; cooperation; semiotic resource; stance

The transition from preschool to primary school is a significant event in the lives of children, and school preparation activities (hereafter SPAs) are considered an important means to bridge the gap between preschool and primary school (Broström, 2009; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Hogsnes & Moser, 2014). Various preparatory activities take place in European preschools, such as visits to first grade, meeting with the future teacher, aesthetic and thematic projects, a focus on social and practical skills relevant to school, and the building of solid friendships (Ackesjö, 2014; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Einarsdóttir, 2007; Huf, 2013; Lappalainen, 2008; Sivertsen, Haugum, Haugset, Carlsson, Nilsen & Nossum, 2015).

Although there are many comparable preparation activities across Europe, SPAs are organized in different ways in different countries. In Sweden, almost all six-year old children go to "preschool class", a separate form of schooling intended as a transition between

preschool and primary school. It is usually offered in or near the primary school they will attend and activities last about three hours per day (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2016). Denmark has the practice of "kindergarten class" (0 grade) that introduces young children to the school environment and primary education. Kindergarten class is part of the primary school, but there is a particular focus on a playful approach to learning (Ministry of Education Denmark, 2017). In other European countries, however, SPAs take place within the preschool context.

This study sheds light on preparatory activities in Norway, and here SPAs are situated in the last year of preschool. SPAs are usually done on a weekly basis, during which the oldest children (five-six-year-olds) are gathered as a group for some hours or a whole day (Lillejord, Børte, Halvorsrud, Ruud & Freyr, 2017; Rambøll Managament, 2010). The preparatory activities focus on promoting a social community among the children, and strengthening the social skills, knowledge and abilities the children need when entering primary school (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2017).

Norwegian studies mainly focused on the distribution and content of SPAs. In national surveys, the majority of preschool managers reported that SPAs were important for them and the preschool, and that SPAs were organized indoors and outdoors (Rambøll Management, 2010; Sivertsen et al., 2015; Winsvold & Guldbrandsen, 2009). Activities promoting social skills, practical skills, language skills and numbers were common (Rambøll Management, 2010; Zambrana, 2015). Qualitative studies found that some preschools offered primarily adult-led activities, and other preschools focused more on children's contributions in SPAs (Rambøll Management, 2010; Winsvold & Gulbrandsen, 2009).

Children's perspectives in SPAs were considered studies from other European countries. These studies found that school visits, long-term projects and other preparatory activities helped children to make sense of their future school context, and that regular group activities provided children with security and sense of belonging to a social group, and were positive for the entry into primary school (Ackesjö, 2014; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Huf, 2013; Lappalainen, 2008). There was also a rich literature on children's participation from other countries that the present study could build on (Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Kyratzis, 2007; Melander, 2012a; Powell, Danby & Farrell, 2006)

This article analyzes children`s participation in one of the most common number activities; learning the numbers from one to ten. Taking an interactional perspective, the study shows *how* children participate with their peers and with the preschool teacher in the accomplishment of the activity. The attention focuses on children as interactants in a number

activity accomplished *in situ,* in and through embodied action and talk (Goodwin, 2007; 2017). The children are seen as active and competent agents of their everyday lives who organize, construct and negotiate when they *do* an activity together (James & Prout, 2015; Mayall, 2002). The following research question is asked: *How do preschool children cooperate when they accomplish a number activity that is part of their school preparation?*

Games and peer cooperation

The number activity subjected to examination was closely related to playing a game. *A game* is a complex activity that requires cooperation from all participants and some shared knowledge to function well (Evaldsson, 2009). Previous studies of games in preschool, school and leisure environments pinpointed that children valued various positions in games differently, and that affect played an important role to show engagement and to move the game or play forward (Corsaro 2015; Kyratzis, 2007; Melander, 2012b). Moreover, prior studies found that language was important to power relations and to accomplish the aim of the game or the play (Cobb-More, Danby & Farrell 2009).

Cooperation is a central aspect of doing activities or playing games together (Evaldsson, 2009; Kyratzis, 2007). A number of studies inspected how children cooperated and what they gained or lost from it (Damon & Phelps, 1989; Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin, 1990; Williams, 2007; Melander 2012a). Peer cooperation is when two or more children work together towards a common goal, often featuring equality and mutual engagement. Cooperation among peers could contribute to several achievements like children's willingness to share and care, exchange new ways of thinking, and the development of communication skills, creativity and critical thinking (Damon & Phelps, 1989; Williams 2007). When children cooperated and coordinated play or games they also dealt with disagreements and learnt how to negotiate. Disagreements and arguing contributed to the social organization of peer groups, the restatement of cultural values and morality, and the individual display of self (Corsaro, 2015; Danby & Theobald, 2012; Goodwin, 1990).

The prior Norwegian studies provided few insights into children's social cooperation in SPAs, and how preschool teachers organized and facilitated SPAs. However, it is fruitful to build on previous studies of preparatory activities from other countries (e.g. Ackesjö, 2014; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Huf, 2013; Lappalainen, 2008). It is also relevant to build on prior studies of games and plays, since the examined number activity is quite similar to a game (Cobb-More et al., 2009; Evaldsson, 2009; Kyratzis, 2007; Melander, 2012b).

Semiotic resources and stance

Semiotic resources and stance are key concepts to the analyses of excerpts in the empirical part of the article. *Semiotic resources* refer to multiple resources used by participants in situated activities, such as talk, body positions, gesture, gaze, and material structures (Goodwin, 2007; 2017). Semiotic resources are available as a kind of toolbox to communicate. Participation in an activity requires a reflexive awareness of the configurations that form the situation and of the other participants' activities. Spoken language is the most obvious semiotic resource used when analyzing interactions, and Goffman's analytical participation framework (1981) was centered on the speaker. Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) argued that the focus should be on the interactive actions in which hearers as well as speakers engage. Speakers modify their talk to account for what the hearer does, and it is important to account for non-verbal actions like gesture, posture and orientation as well as material structures (Goodwin, 2017). In situated activities "the human body is made publicly visible as the site for a range of structurally different kinds of displays implicated in the constitution of the actions of the moment (Goodwin, 2000, 1492).

In the study of language and interaction, *stance* is an important analytical term (Goodwin, 2007; 2017; Jaffe, 2009). According to Du Bois, stances are taken in interaction with others and they are socially grounded. Dialogically means that a stancetaker's words arise from and further engage with the words of those who have spoken before (Du Bois, 2007). Through joint and several acts participants engage in the activity of stance as they both shape and respond to the multiplex consequences, which flow from the ongoing actions. Stances are defined as:

> *"a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" Du Bois (2007, 163).*

The five stances upon which this article draws were suggested by Goodwin (2007). They provide an opportunity of analyzing how language, body, material structures and other semiotic resources interact. *Instrumental stance* describes the placement of entities in the ways that are required for the sign-exchange processes necessary for the accomplishment of the activity in progress. *Epistemic stance* is when participants are positioning themselves so they can appropriately experience, properly perceive, grasp and understand relevant features of the events in which they are engaged. *Cooperative stance* is the visible demonstration of being physically available to others and to the requisite environment in the specific ways

necessary to sustain and help construct the activities in progress. *Moral stance* is when a person demonstrates a specific moral stance towards an ongoing topic of conversation. *Affective stance* is emotions towards others that are generated by the organization of participation in interaction, often necessary to keep the activity proceeding and often accompanied with intonations, gestures, and body postures.

Data and method

The article used data from an ethnographic fieldwork at Sunflower preschool, and a total of twelve children were followed in their last year (November to May). Pseudonyms were used for the name of the preschool and the participants. Sunflower preschool was public, of medium size, and had a heterogeneous group of children in terms of gender and ethnic background. All preschool teachers and children gave their informed and written consent to participate (the parents on behalf of their children). The research project was ethically approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

The preschool assigned one or two days each week to age-appropriate activities in which SPAs took place. The data from the fieldwork consisted of 45 hours of video recordings, supported with field notes. Four categories of activities were identified in the data; shorter trips, longer trips, special projects, and regular activities focused on letters, numbers and drawing. The number activity presented for analysis in this article took place outdoors, in the playground of the preschool. The activity was carried out several times during the fieldwork, and it could be recognizable as a regular number activity at this preschool. The children were leading the activity to a large degree. This provided an opportunity to observe and record how the children cooperated and made use of semiotic resources. The adults provided help when needed in the preparation for and performance of the activity, but they did not interfere unless a child asked for them or if someone struggled.

This article analyses children's participation in the activity from beginning to end, all on the same day. The selection of a single case episode rests upon the term single-case analysis (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Such an analysis allows attention to be given to the detail of the unfolding talk and action, so that the social order of the interactional event can be made apparent (Psathas, 1992). The selected recording dates from late November, and seven children (three girls and four boys) and two adults took part.

Four video excerpts of the number activity are analyzed in the next section. The analyses draw upon the interrelated fields of ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation

analysis (CA). The analyses investigate how participants in the number activity interpret and respond to talk and actions as interaction progresses in a sequential manner (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008), and how the participants organize and make sense of the activity (Francis & Hester, 2004; Goodwin, 2007). The transcription uses CA concepts such as sequential, inferential and temporal order of talk (Francis & Hester, 2004) and a simplified version of Jefferson's transcription notation (2004). The original language is Norwegian, in which the excerpts were first transcribed and analyzed, before being translated into English. To describe the choreography of interacting bodies and the participants' orientations to the material environment, line drawings are included with the transcripts. The drawings are representations of screenshots from the video.

After the data collection ended, the video recordings and transcripts used in the article were presented and discussed in research groups, seminars, workshops and labs, in Norway and abroad. This was important to ensure the quality of the analyses of the data.

Analysis

The examined number activity made use of red seating pads marked with numbers one to ten. The goal of the activity is for one of the children to move all the other participating children along the row of numbers up to his place on number ten. Then another child "becomes" number ten and the activity is repeated. To prepare for the activity, the children first put the seating pads in the correct order from one to ten, making up a row on the ground. Then one child stands on pad number ten while the other children stand behind pad number one. The child on number ten manages the activity by directing the other children to various numbers; e.g., "Ella to go one" and "Simon to go two". Knowing the numbers is important both when preparing the row on the ground and when performing the activity.

The selected excerpts are from (1) the instruction for preparing the activity, (2) preparation to perform the activity, (3) performing the activity for the first time, (4) and repeating the activity for the last time. All excerpts display the use of a variety of verbal, non-verbal and material resources. Those participating in the excerpts are the preschool teachers Ruth and Raymond and the children Sam, Simon, Sara, Selma, Sue, Scott, and Shawn.

Instruction: Bodies in action

After the children have chosen the number activity, Ruth picks a box with seating pads and begins to inform about the preparation for the number activity. Central to the first excerpt is

how the children respond to Ruth's instructions about how to make the row of numbers, and how the children use their bodies to take action and get in position for solving the task.

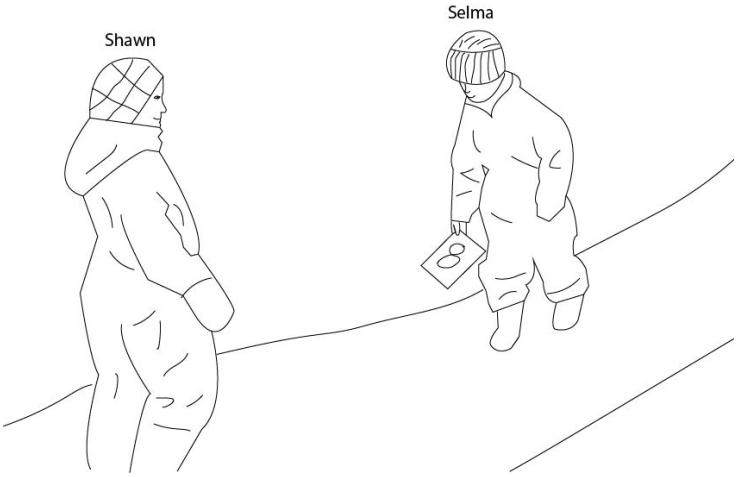

Figure 1. Lines 12-14, Shawn looks at Selma, and Selma is about to drop the seating pad.

Excerpt 1

1 Ruth:	then you must start by placing number one first ((bends and puts the box on
2	the ground)) [up that direction ((points with her arm))
3 Sara:	[((picks up a seating pad from the box))
4 Simon:	((picks up another seating pad from the box))
5 Ruth:	can you do that↑ [((looks at the children))
6	[and then you are to put <u>the whole</u> string of numbers in that
7	direction ((moves her arm lengthwise the ground))
8 Sara and Simon:	[((unfold their seating pad and look at it, move down toward no. 1))
9 Selma:	((comes towards the box and picks seating pad 8, looks at it and moves
10	upward the imaginary string on the ground beneath her))
11 Shawn:	HERE IS number ten ((looks at Selma while standing on pad number ten
12	placed in notable distance from seating pad one))
13 Selma:	((looks back at Shawn and drops the seating pad on the ground in a certain
14	distance from number ten, and leaving a gap between number eight and ten))

Ruth gives instructions about how to start making the row of numbers and where to place it (lines 1-2). Two of the children pick up seating pads from the box with their hands (lines 3-4). Ruth asks *"can you do that",* meaning whether the children as a group can solve this task together (line 5), and then she tells in detail how the children should place the whole row of

numbers (lines 6-7). Sara, Simon and Selma respond by unfolding the seating pads they have in their hands and moving towards the number they have picked, using the imaginary line on the ground as a guide. Sara and Simon carry low numbers (two and three) and move downward, while Selma holds number eight and moves upward (lines 8-10). Here the children use their bodies as a primary locus for the engagement with the pads and to get in position to put down the pads in the correct place (Goodwin, 2017). These embodied actions can be seen as epistemic stances in which the children show that they know where the numbers belong in a system from one to ten.

Shawn announces that he has laid down the 'number 10' seating pad, while he stands on that seating pad and looks at Selma (lines 11-12). With this statement, Shawn shares that he has placed the end of the row, while also making it visible with his body for the others. Following up on Shawn and his cooperative stance, Selma chooses to drop seating pad number eight at a reasonable distance to number ten, leaving a gap for seating pad number nine (lines 13-14). With this action of placing the seating pad, Selma takes an instrumental stance that is needed for the accomplishment of the activity in progress. At the same time, her action can also be seen as a cooperative stance, as she shows her ability to read the embodied action and utterance from Shawn, and she takes action accordingly.

In Excerpt 1 the children display themselves as competent participants mainly through the use of the embodied action and body positions. First, the children respond to the task they are given by the preschool teacher by walking upward and downward along an imaginary string (lines 8-11). Then Shawn uses his body and speech to indicate to the others where the row ends (lines 12-13). Using non-verbal resources like positioning her body against Shawn, and looking at him, Selma decides to put down her pad (lines 14-15). This interaction between Shawn and Selma illustrates how speech, embodied actions and material resources work together when the children cooperate.

Preparation: Talk as cooperative reasoning

The children continue to prepare for the number activity by completing the row of numbers from one to ten. Sam, Simon, and Scott place the lower numbers, while Selma, Sara, and Shawn place the higher numbers. Sara discovers that the number nine has been mistaken for the number six. Excerpt 2 displays how the children use language, body and material structures to accomplish the task they are given.

Figure 2. Lines 4-5, Sara concentrates on changing the seating pads, and Ruth, Selma, Shawn and Simon look at her actions.

Excerpt 2

1 Sara	this is six,
2 Sara	((goes with the seating pad in her hand toward seating pad number five))
3	(0,5)
4 Sara	>this< is six? ((sits down and places pad six after pad five and removes the seating
5	pad with number nine))
6	(0,7)
7 Ruth	Ye::s it was (.) because the dot was there, ((stands beside looking at the string))
8 Sara	((is still sitting down, concentrating on laying seating pad with number six nicely on
9	the string))
10	(0,7)
11 Shawn	>THE< DOT should be: be:lo:w. ((starts moving back to pad 10 again))

Sara states that she has found the seating pad with the number six and walks to the correct spot (lines 1-2). This implies that the seating pad placed at number six is incorrect. Sara shares her finding with the rest of the group, and making it possible for the others to follow her actions. Then Sara states her finding in a louder voice, positions her body so she gets perceptual access over the row of numbers and places number six down on the ground,

removing number nine (lines 4-5). Sara makes use of various semiotic resources. Through her utterances (lines 1 and 4) she takes an epistemic stance and positions herself as a knowledgeable participant, as someone who can distinguish number six from number nine despite their similarities. When changing the seating pads (lines 4-5) and making the correct string visual to the others, she takes an instrumental stance. There are also important aspects of cooperative stance in her verbal and non-verbal actions. Her loud utterance and the way she positions her body to make the string visual to the other children, are crucial for other children to understand what is going on.

Ruth stands beside Sara (line 7) and confirms her finding by *explaining* that it is number six since "*the dot was there*" (number six has a little dot on the right lower side). Ruth aligns with Sara and takes an epistemic stance when she outlines how to distinguish between six and nine. The seating pad is a material resource that works as a shared focus of attention between Sara and Ruth. Sara continues to correct seating pad number six so that it lies nicely in order with the other numbers (lines 8-9). The seating pad is also visible for the other children and they can follow the process and join in (Goodwin, 2007). Shawn enters at Sara's side and elaborates on Ruth's turn by explaining that the dot should be below in number six (line 11). The epistemic stance of Shawn can be seen through his utterance in which he demonstrates competence about the numbers. His utterance can also be understood as a cooperative stance where he clarifies the difference between six and nine for the other children. This difference is also crucial for future preparations of the number activity.

In Excerpt 2 the participants (Sara, Ruth and Shawn) use speech, embodied action and material structures to build action with each other. Through their utterances they elaborate on how number six can be distinguished from number nine and they find solutions together for the continued preparation for the number activity. The preschool teacher Ruth facilitates this cooperative reasoning by responding to Sara's statement and embodied action. Both Sara and Shawn have knowledge about numbers and benefit from prior experiences of the number activity. The children recognize that the seating pads have fixed locations in the row of numbers and they can identify the numbers and their correct placement in the row. The children`s orientations to the material resources (the seating pads and the numbers), the visibility of the interacting bodies of the children, and the shared utterances make cooperative reasoning possible.

First performance: Including everyone

With the string of numbers in place, Scott states that he wants to be number ten and the other children line up behind pad number one. Excerpt 3 displays how the children perform the activity for the first time on the day on which they were observed. The children display the rules of the number activity to each other and they include each other in the activity.

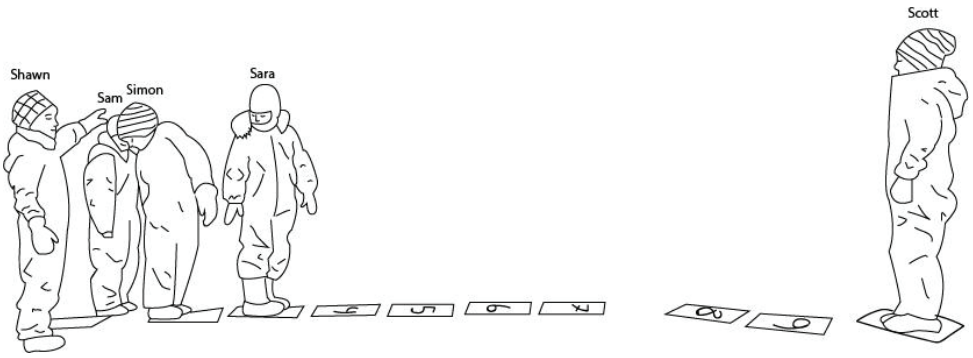

Figure 3. Line 18, Shawn has stepped out from the seating pad and is pointing to Sam, Scott has called for Sam to move to four, and Sam is on his way.

Excerpt 3

1 Scott	And Sara goes to three:
2	(0,4)
3 Simon	Sara <u>is</u> not playing ((throws his arms out and looks first at Scott, then to the side))
4 Scott	Ok, then [Selma ((looks at the group of children))
5 Sara	[>Yes< I <u>am</u> here, (.) I <u>a</u>m here, ((comes running towards the string and
6	stops at number one beside the other children waiting here))
7 Scott	<u>Go</u> to three: then, ((point on pad number three))
8 Simon	You must not <u>go</u> <u>out</u> of the queue ↓((turns and looks at Sara))
9 Scott	Step on number three (.) Sara, step on number three ((points again to the seating pad
10	with number three on it))
11 Sara	((Jumps from the sideline on the seating pad))
12 Scott	Shawn goes to (.) four ((takes one step on the side to look at the group of children))
13 Shawn	>NO< because there are <u>others</u> he:re taking part ((takes a step out from
14	his seating pad and points at the two children, Sam and Selma, that
15	still wait in the queue at the beginning of the string))
16 Scott	((stays still and watches the other children on the string))
17 Scott	Ok (.) then (.) Sam goes to: four

Scott has moved Shawn to number one and Simon to number two, and he has asked Sara to move to number three (line 1). After a pause (line 2), Simon concludes that Sara is not playing any more (line 3). Here Simon takes an epistemic stance and reports on the situation. He underlines this with an embodied action; throwing his arms out and looking around to mark that Sara is missing (Goodwin, 2007; 2017). Scott aligns with Simon and calls for Selma (line 4). But before Scott can tell Selma where to go, Sara announces that she is back (lines 5-6). Scott looks at Sara and tells her to step on number three (line 7). Here Scott takes a cooperative stance by including Sara in the activity. Simon then interrupts and explains to Sara that she must not go out of the queue if she is going to participate in the activity, looking at Sara and putting emphasis on *go out* (line 8). By showing his commitment to this rule, Simon takes both an affective and a moral stance; one must be present and follow the rules to participate. Scott repeats that Sara should step on number three and points to that seating pad (lines 9-10). Sara moves to number three (line 11). Here Sara aligns with Scott by taking a cooperative stance, letting the activity proceed without further discussion.

Scott calls for Shawn to move once again (line 12), but Shawn loudly says "*NO, because there are others here taking part"* (line 13). The rising tone in Shawn's talk shows his engagement in the activity, as it indicates his affective stance when refusing to accept Scott's directive (Goodwin, 2007; 2017). Using various semiotic resources – speech, pointing to his peers, looking at Scott – he states his concern about the children who have not yet been moved. He also steps out of the line, thus making the other children more visible for Scott who is standing some meters away (lines 14-15). Shawn positions himself as an engaged participant, and his actions are probably related to knowledge about the activity and the (unspoken) rule that number ten should move all the participants in the activity. Scott pays attention to Shawn's comment and looks at the group of children waiting in line (line 16), making an interactional space for cooperating with his peer (Evaldsson, 2009). He then calls for another participant, Sam, to move to number four (line 17).

Excerpt 3 displays how children coordinate and negotiate the activity, and include all children. It is significant that the children manage the activity by themselves, and the preschool teachers do not interfere. The first interruption occurs when Sara returns and she is corrected for failing to follow the rules, but is still included in the activity. The second interruption is when Shawn argues that all the children should take part. With his actions, Shawn shows consideration for the whole group and tries to ensure that no-one is overlooked.

Another aspect of interest in this excerpt is how it is possible to "be" a number by placing your body on a seating pad. The children are doing numbers instead of counting them

passively and this seems to be related to the way they engage in the activity. The children move their bodies along a string of numbers, where number ten is both the goal of the activity as well as the control position of the activity. Their talk, embodied action and gestures are intertwined with the material resources, and the seating pads are important material resources enabling the activity to be carried out in its way.

Final performance: Building shared understanding

In the final excerpt the children play the activity for the third time, and the activity has a slower tempo. Sam is number ten. After placing three children on numbers one to three, he is ready to move another child. The excerpt shows how the children build a shared understanding when uncertainty about a directive from number ten (Sam) arises.

Sam calls out for Scott to go to number five (lines 1-2), which creates a gap between pads three and five. A pause occurs (line 3) and Scott asks if Sam means four (instead of number five) (lines 3-5). Shawn responds and says that Sam means five and points at seating pad five, taking a cooperative stance towards Sam (lines 5-6). Scott responds by jumping down from the fence and starts walking towards pad number five (line 7). The participants' discussion reflects their experiences about how to participate in the activity, and that they usually do not leave a gap in the row of numbers, which now makes Scott unsure if he is to move to pad five or four. Then another pause occurs (line 8) and suddenly Sam changes his directive by saying "*NO*" and points with his hand and index finger towards the pads nearest Shawn (lines 9-11). Sam's pointing leads Scott to ask if he means four (line 12), where Scott points towards number four (line 13). Sam responds nodding his head (line 14), and Scott says OK and moves to the pad, thus aligning with Sam's directive (line 15).

The excerpt displays that the children join into each other's utterances to find a shared understanding on whether or not it is all right to leave a gap in the row of numbers. The children make a strong effort to cooperate in the activity and that establishing a shared understanding is necessary to move the activity forward. The spoken utterances combined with embodied action in form of pointing contributes to build action that makes it possible to continue the activity. Both verbal and non-verbal actions are needed to build this shared understanding (Goodwin, 2000; 2007; 2017; Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). The actions the children take are related to their knowledge about the numbers from one to ten and the rules of the activity, as well as to their prior experiences with the activity. A joint focus of attention is created, and by pointing and asking questions, the children find a shared understanding of

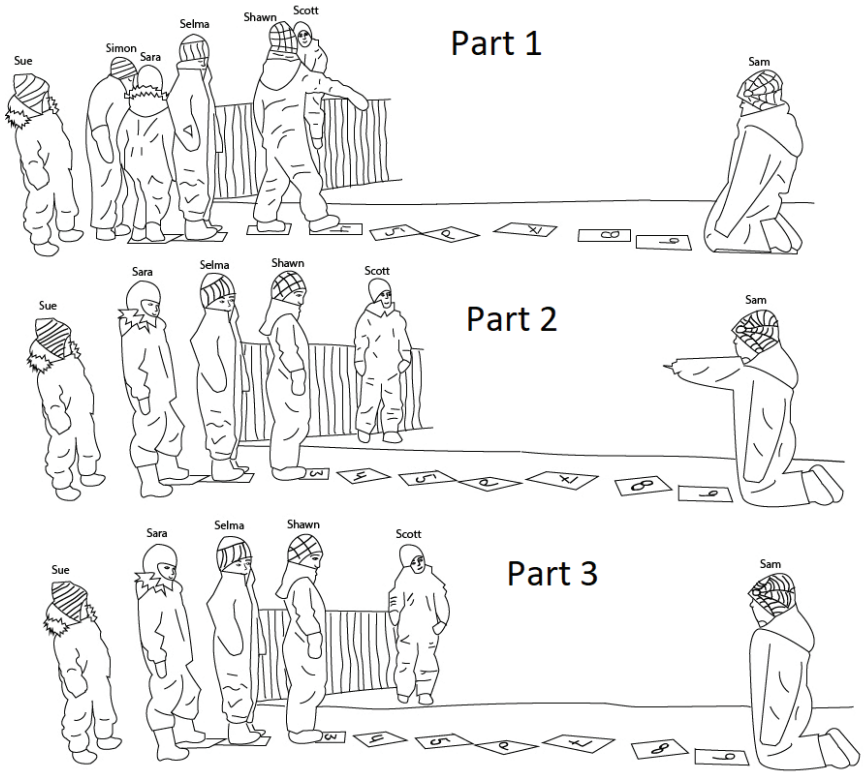

Figure 4: Part 1, Shawn looks at Scott and points to seating pad number 5 (lines 5-6). Part 2, Sam says "no" and points at number 4 (line 11). Part 3, Scott says "four" and points to number 4 (lines 12-13).

Excerpt 4

1 Sam	Scott goes on five ((stands on his knees, bend forward
2	looking downwards the string of numbers)
3	(0,1)
4 Scott	you mean four, ((is still sitting on the fence, now he looks at Sam))
5 Shawn	Or (.) no he means [five ((looks at Scott))
6	[points to seating pad number five while looking at Scott))
7 Scott	((jumps down from the fence and moves towards pad number five))
8	(0,2)
9 Sam	N0:
10	(0,1)
11 Sam	((points at number four))
12 Scott	[Four?
13	[((points at seating pad number four and looks at Sam))
14 Sam	((Looks at Scott and nods his head))
15 Scott	Ok ((puts himself on number four))

how the activity is to proceed. The way the children accomplish this is by building action in concert with each other (Goodwin, 2007; 2017). Again it is important to note that the preschool teachers do not interfere, but let the children manage the activity.

Discussion

The research question asked was: *How do preschool children cooperate when they accomplish a number activity that is part of their school preparation?* Analyzing four video excerpts from preparation to the final round of play demonstrates the complexity within the number activity and children's use of various semiotic resources.

An overall finding is that the activity consists of much more than just the aim of learning numbers from one to ten. When preparing for the activity, the children orient to each other in a cooperative way as they make the row of numbers (excerpt 1), and they display and share skills about the numbers in the preparation phase (excerpt 2). When performing the activity, the children display knowledge of the rules and show their willingness to include each other (excerpt 3), and they cooperate to find a shared understanding (excerpt 4). Many of the findings in the study were comparable to those found in previous studies of games. The number activity required shared knowledge about numbers and rules (see Evaldsson, 2009), the children valued the position ten (control) different from the other positions (see Corsaro, 2015; Melander, 2012b,); and affect was vital to move the activity forward (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Kyratzis, 2007; Melander, 2012b). Cooperation from all participants was essential for completing the preparation and performing the activity, and the children also dealt with disagreements and got experiences on how to negotiate and build a shared understanding (see Corsaro, 2015; Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

Another important finding is that the children manage the number activity themselves. Prior research has indicated that SPAs tend to be adult-led (Winsvold & Guldbrandsen, 2009), but the preschool teachers did not interfere in the examined number activity. The four excerpts pinpoint how well the children carry out the activity as a group, and that they cooperate in the preparation and performance of the activity. Moreover, the children display awareness on how and when to use various semiotic resources to cooperate. Thus, the analysis of the number activity sheds light on the importance of collective activities, in which children can experience cooperation and develop competences together (see Corsaro, 2015; Corsaro & Molinari, 2005; Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin 2007; 2017).

In all excerpts the children used a wide variety of semiotic resources, such as speech, embodied action (eye-contact, body positions, pointing, and gestures), and material resources. Stancetaking is important to the organization and building of action, and the categories of stance presented by Goodwin (2007) provided fruitful to analyze the complexity of the cooperation between the children. Some of the stances displayed could be interpreted as various stancetaking, and the interpretation of utterances and embodied actions were often contested in the seminars/labs when recordings and transcripts were presented. This might tell about the complexity of taking stances and interpreting them.

In the preparation phase to the activity, knowledge about numbers, embodied action, and speech as cooperative reasoning, was crucial to complete the string of numbers (excerpts 1-2). Epistemic, instrumental and cooperative stances were important for keeping the activity flowing (see Goodwin 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). When children performed the activity and "did numbers", various semiotic recourses were in use (excerpts 3-4). In order to manage the activity through being number ten, or to be a cooperative participant responding to directives, knowledge about numbers and counting was necessary. Epistemic stances were used to share knowledge about the numbers was essential. Affective stances showed the children's eagerness to engage in the activity and permitted interruptions, for instance when discussing the rules of the activity. When rules were contested, moral stances were taken. Alignment and cooperative stances were displayed to keep the activity flowing; to show a willingness to continue the activity or to complete the task. Affective and epistemic stances were used when arguing that all children should be included in the activity and to build a shared understanding (see Goodwin, 2007; 2017).

The seating pads were important visual objects for the activity and the children`s participation. The seating pads served as visual resources to help the children organize the string of numbers, while also providing joint focus of attention (see Goodwin, 2007; 2017). The use of seating pads made it possible for all children to follow discussions and join in. The children treated the seating pads as a series of numbers that were to be arranged accurately from one to ten. This visible attention to the string of numbers, as a graphic field, was important for organizing and structuring the activity in the preparation phase. In the performing phase, the pads served another meaning; they were not considered mathematical numbers, but worked primarily as units to stand on.

The role of the preschool teachers can also be considered. Ruth is the one that instructs the children on how to do the task, and she delegates the responsibility of making the row of numbers to the children as a group (excerpt 1). She aligns with Sara when

distinguishing between six and nine (excerpt 2). When the activity is performed (excerpts 3 and 4), the preschool teachers Ruth and Raymond monitor and are ready to support the activity if necessary. But the preschool teachers are mostly in the background, letting the children themselves find ways to cooperate and find solutions together.

Conclusion

This study of a number activity in a Norwegian preschool showed the importance of the social organization. The children were given the chance to carry out the activity as a group. The analysis of four video excerpts pinpointed that the children cooperated and made use of verbal, non-verbal and material resources in a quite advanced way. Knowledge about numbers, previous experience with the number activity, and a shared understanding of how the activity should be performed was important for finding solutions together.

There were a limited number of similar qualitative studies of SPAs in Norway. For comparison purposes the article connected the findings about the number activity to studies on SPAs, transitions and games in other countries. The main implication for practice was that the organization of SPAs matter. The study found that five-year-old children possess quite advanced cooperative skills and competences, and were capable of cooperating and managing a number activity. The preschool teachers took the role as facilitators, but they monitored and supported when needed, and this was important for the accomplishment of the activity. The social order in the group could also be considered, since the activity involved many children, all of whom were involved and contributed in different degrees to the activities taking place.

This study of a number activity adds knowledge to the gap in the existing literature on how children participate in SPAs. One might question, however, whether this number activity also relates to the type of number activities the children will experience at school. The findings of this study suggests further research on how children participate in SPAs, how preschools can support children's involvement in SPAs, and how SPAs relate to core first-grade activities. Whilst activities and tasks are often accomplished as a collective in preschool, there is more individualization in school activities (Corsaro, 2015; Mayall, 2002). At the same time, previous studies suggest that social continuity and belonging to a social group seems to be more important for a successful transition to primary school than experience with school-like working methods (see Ackesjö, 2014; Broström, 2009; Corsaro & Molinari,2005; Hogsnes & Moser, 2014; White & Sharp, 2007).

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Appendix: Transcription notation

(1.5)	Numbers in parentheses represents pauses in seconds
(.)	Full stop inside brackets: Micropause of no significant length
(( ))	Marks transcriber's descriptions of non verbal activity
[	Indicates a point of overlap onset
]	Indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances/actions end
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
°	Indicates talk markedly quiet or soft
↑	The up arrow marks sharp rise in pitch
↓	The down arrow marks sharp fall in pitch
WOrd	Especially loud talk is indicated by upper case
word	Underlining indicates some form of stress or emphasis
.	Indicates falling intonation
,	Indicates continuing intonation
?	Indicates a rising intonation
> <	Embeds talk that is faster than surrounding speech
< >	Embeds talk that is slower than surrounding speech
°word°	Quiet speech
(xxx)	Talk that was too unclear to transcribe

Article 3.

Schanke, T. Children's participation in first grade: Mastering, challenging and breaking rules in listening corners. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Children's Participation in First Grade: Mastering, Challenging and Breaking Rules in Listening Corners

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Abstract

The 'listening corner' is an activity in which children sit in a semi-circle facing the teacher and the blackboard. For many Norwegian children in primary school, listening corners occur several times during the school day, e.g., as a morning routine or when new material is being taught. Prior studies of listening corners mainly focused on the position and role of the teacher. This article gained insight in children`s participation in listening corners using video data collected in two first grade classes over a three-month period. Many rules regulated the conduct of the children in listening corners, such as sitting at their assigned places, raising their hands, listening to teacher instructions, and speaking one at a time. The children mastered these rules, but the study of verbal and embodied actions also demonstrated that they challenged and broke the rules. The children made small sounds to seek attention, they answered without permission to demonstrate competence, and they whispered and elaborated upon answers to support their peers. The teachers were often quick to reinforce rules of conduct, but on certain occasions the teachers allowed rules to be broken, e.g., when the children helped peers, built shared understandings, or moved activities forward. An important implication of this study for teachers' practices was how to align needs for children's involvement in listening corners. Overall the children in the study displayed a great deal of competence, and they cooperated on a more active level than expected in listening corners.

When children enter school and begin first grade they must become accustomed to new forms of organization and new rules that regulate their activities. The main types of organization of class activities and teaching are individual work, small groups, and whole class activities. In the Norwegian primary school, children are usually organized into whole class activities in

the beginning of the day, before they work in small groups or separately at their desks (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Bjørnestad, 2013). Whole class activities are also frequently used in other countries (Burns and Myhill, 2004; Cazden, 2001; Hardman et al., 2003; Lindblad and Sahlström, 1999).

An often used whole class activity in Norway and other countries is the 'listening corner', sometimes called the class circle or circle time (Bjørnestad, 2013; Fottland and Matre, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004). A listening corner can occur in a particular area of a classroom or in a separate room, and the children sit in a semicircle facing their teacher and a blackboard or smartboard. In the Norwegian primary school, the teacher often gathers the children in the listening corner in the beginning and end of school days, and the listening corner is frequently used when new material is taught or the teacher focuses on a particular topic (Bjørnestad, 2013; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland and Matre, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004).

Prior research on whole class activities and listening corners found that many rules regulate participation in listening corners, and that children` contributions were restrained. During whole class activities teachers spoke most of the time, whereas children listened and answered questions (Bjørnestad, 2013; Cazden, 2001; Hardman et al., 2003; Lindblad and Sahlström, 1999). A child's verbal participation could involve a teacher giving the child permission to speak (after the child raised a hand), or it could involve the child speaking independently (through self-selection). Most Norwegian studies of listening corners focused on the position and role of the teacher (e.g., Bjørnestad, 2013; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland and Matre, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004), whereas no studies focused on children's participation and contributions in such activities.

This study examines the social organization of listening corners when learning letters and numbers, and how children participate with peers and with the teacher. The following research question is asked: *How do first-grade children participate in listening corners?* Participation is used as an analytic concept to explore the interactive work of the participants in the listening corners, and to analyze and understand how speakers and listeners construct meaning and action together (Goodwin, 2017). Both talk and embodied interactions are analyzed in detail. The body can be used to construct a variety of displays, such as gazes, gestures, nods, smiles, and small steps that indicate orientations toward others and actions. Materiality is also important for the social interaction studied, e.g., the benches constituting the listening corner gathers the children in a specific way, facing each other and the teacher.

Studying listening corners *in situ* bring forth new knowledge about how children participate in a regular daily practice in primary school.

Children as Participants in Primary Schools

This study is positioned within the social studies of childhood. The field recognizes children as social agents whose ideas, opinions, influences, and social relationships are worthy of consideration (James and Prout, 2015; Mayall, 2002). Many childhood studies have examined children as participants, their competencies and practices, their cooperation, and their means of organizing and arranging daily activities and social relations (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998; Melander, 2009; Theobald and Kultti, 2012; Williams, 2007). Schools are an important arena for constructive peer cultures that foster social interactions, negotiations and co-constructions between peers (Goodwin, 2017; Williams, 2007). This can also increase engagement and learning in various topics (Siraj-Blatchford and Manni, 2008; Theobald and Kultti, 2012). At the same time, interactional spaces at schools are impacted by various factors, such as schedules, curricula, teaching organizations, rules, and codes of conduct. Thus, the children's abilities to influence their everyday activities are restricted at school (Cazden, 2001; Cobb-Moore et al., 2009; Houen et al., 2016; Lindblad and Sahlström, 1999).

There is a formality to educational settings and class activities, which gives teachers more authority to speak than children (Cazden, 2001). Teachers select who speaks and they often use directives (e.g., "sit down," "listen," and "raise your hand") to manage children (Cazden, 2001; Houen et al., 2016). Teachers often ask known-information questions, and teacher responses to children`s answers are often evaluative (e.g., "good," "that is correct") (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Cazden, 2001; Houen et al., 2016). As a result, prior studies have found that children's influence and participation in classrooms are limited. In primary-school whole class activities children are expected to listen, respond, and recite instructions from teachers (Andersson-Bakken, 2014; Cazden, 2001). A teacher will often address one pupil at a time, who will respond to a given question; then, the teacher will ask a new question. Therefore, children's time for verbal participation is significantly less than that of teachers, who dominate class speaking time (Lindblad and Sahlström, 1999).

Rules and Codes of Conduct

Beginning in the first week at school, Norwegian children are told about rules that regulate their activities. Rules are instructions that tell you what you are allowed to do and what you are not allowed to do, thus, they indicate what is considered appropriate and inappropriate conduct (Cobb-More et al., 2009). Heritage (1978) suggests that rules provide a procedural basis to allow members to search for social order as well as to 'order . . . possibilities into priorities of likelihood'. Rules enable social order, but they are constantly negotiated by the participants and dependent upon context (Cobb-More et al., 2009; Heritage (1978).

Schools and classrooms have rules that set expectations regarding children's actions (Corsaro and Schwarz, 1999; Lindblad and Sahlström, 1999). For children, everyday school life involves managing and negotiating rules created by their teachers and peers. Although children often accept adult-imposed rules, they sometimes respond to such rules with creativity, play, rebellion, and conquer space through alignments (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998; Mayall, 2002; Powell et al., 2006). If children perceive rules as arbitrary or unfair, they may develop strategies of resistance, such as assuming negative faces, gesturing to each other, passing secret notes, and whispering messages, when a teacher's attention is elsewhere (Cobb-Moore et al., 2009; Corsaro and Schwarz, 1999; Mayall, 2002; Powell et al., 2006). Children also use strategies, such as format tying and recycling, that is, (re)presentations and repetitions of previous utterances, to express their alignments or to entertain their peers (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004; Goodwin, 1990; Goodwin, 2017).

Although rules are typically generalizations and meant to apply equally to all individuals within a particular community, they are situated within a particular context and reliant upon the cultural and interactional resources the members in the community use to understand their social worlds. Some rules in a classroom may be explicitly stated by the teacher, such as, "You cannot speak now" and "Wait until I say it is your turn." These rules can be heard and understood by others, and children can choose to adhere to them, negotiate them, dispute them, and even ignore and disobey them (Cobb-Moore et al., 2009). Other rules may be distinguished by participants' reactions to actions and words; they can be described as shared local understandings, perhaps developed during prior engagements, or as moral codes that extend beyond the classroom context (Heritage, 1978).

Methods and Data

The empirical data used in the study was collected by video recording 45 children's participation in daily first-grade activities at two Norwegian schools over a three-month period. In total, 55 hours of video recordings were collected. All teachers and children gave informed written consent (parents gave consent on behalf of their children). All the participants were anonymous in publications concerning this project and were given pseudonyms. The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) provided ethical approval of the research project.

The two schools, called Copperhill and Rosewood for the purposes of this study, used similar listening corner organizations and procedures. At each school, children sat on benches arranged in a semicircle, and a teacher sat or stood in the semicircle's opening in front of the children. All first grade classes at the two schools began each day with a morning assembly in their listening corner, where each teacher introduced the day's topics. Each teacher presented the class's first subject in 20-25 minutes, and then the children went to their desks to work on individual assignments. After a long outdoor break, the children assembled in the listening corner again. At this time, new material was introduced for a new subject, also for 20–25 minutes. The children then returned to their desks to work on new assignments.

This study's analyses of the recorded material drew upon ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. The focus was how participants interpreted and responded to talk and actions as interactions progressed in sequential manners (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). There was also a focus on how participants organized and understood activities in given social contexts (Goodwin, 2017). Both talk, embodied actions and material resources were seen as important for the participation in listening corners (Goodwin, 2017).

Stance taking was used as an analytic resource to describe in detail how rules were mastered, challenged, broken and negotiated. Du Bois' (2007) definition of stance was used to emphasize the interactional perspective of taking stances, and that stances are socially grounded. According to Du Bois, stances are visible to others and dialogical, and an important act used to indicate emotions; to position oneself according to knowledge, values, and interests; and to align with others (Du Bois, 07; Goodwin, 2007, 2017). Stance taking is also used to invoke evaluations, and the value of any stance utterance is shaped by how it is framed by collaborative acts of participants in a dialogue.

This article emphasized epistemic stances and affective stances. Epistemic stances occur when participants position themselves to appropriately experience, perceive, and understand the relevant features of events in which they are engaged (Goodwin, 2007). Affective stances occur when participants feel emotions toward others that are generated by the organization of participation in interactions; are often necessary to ensure activities proceed; and are often accompanied by intonations, gestures, and body postures (ibid).

The first step in this study's analysis consisted of creating content logs to obtain an overview of the data, (Heath et al. 2010). Two content logs were created, one for each school. The content logs served as beginning points for searching through the recorded materials for events that appeared frequently or for events that seemed interesting. A focus on rules of conduct evinced an important pattern in the data. Another pattern that was found was children's orientations toward each other in the listening corner.

Four data excerpts were selected to illustrate some of the ways that children participated in listening corners, and how the children conquered spaces to interact on their own. Two excerpts were from Copperhill and mathematics learning in the listening corner. Two excerpts were from Rosewood and a letter-activity in the listening corner. The excerpts were transcribed using a simplified version of Jefferson's transcription notation (1984). A transcription key was developed to explore reconstructions of moment-by-moment interactions (Ochs et al., 1996). A close exploration of the sequences, talk, and actions in the excerpts was presented and discussed.

The original language of the data was Norwegian, so after the transcriptions were analyzed, they were translated into English. It was challenging to create a good translation from a Norwegian dialect into English. I attempted to strike a balance between preserving the meaning of the sentence and retaining the actual words used by the participants, since both were likely to impact the understanding of the transcript (see also Bezemer and Mavers, 2011). To describe the social choreographies of the participants' interacting bodies and orientations, line drawings have been included with the translated transcripts below (as per Goodwin, 2007; Melander, 2009). The line drawings are representations of frames in the video data. Thus, the excerpts present short and specific insights into the practices and interactions of the listening corner participants.

Mathematics in Listening Corners

About half of Norwegian first-grade lessons are dedicated to Norwegian and to mathematics. Thus, at both schools, the children spent considerable time learning letters and numbers in their listening corners. This section analyzes two examples from the Copperhill listening-corner data. The excerpts highlight how the children participated, mastered rules, and challenged rules with verbal and embodied actions.

The secret bag: Mastering and breaking rules to participate

In Excerpt 1, the children had attended first grade for two weeks. The topic in mathematics was geometric forms. Ella, the teacher, had spoken about a "secret bag" the day before, and that she would bring it school. She had explained that the children were to put their hands in the bag, feel the objects (e.g., a golf ball, a cube) and guess what they were. The children demonstrated they had mastered the rules to participate by raising their hands high, in addition they also used small word units to get the teacher`s attention. This way of participating makes the partaking louder than intended, and Ella emphasized important rules for the listening corner.

In the excerpt, Ella sits on a chair in the middle of the listening corner, and the children sit on three benches that form a semicircle. The excerpt begins when Ella asks a student, Alex, if he remembers what the class discussed the day before (the bag), but Alex does not remember. Ella then turns to the class for help.

As the excerpt shows, the questions from Ella about the secret bag (lines 1, 8, and 13) create excitement in the listening corner. Many children raise their hands and demonstrate that they know the code of conduct to obtain permission to speak. Moreover, the recycling of high pitch "Oh" (lines 3–5, 9–10, and 14–15) illustrates the children's eagerness to participate in the ongoing interaction and that they seek Ella's attention. The "Oh" and the hands in the air can be seen as affective stances the children take to demonstrate how eager they are to answer and also to help Alex (see Goodwin, 2007). This way of participating creates a public alignment in the listening corner, and may also be seen as action for rearranging the social setting in terms of creating a more exciting participation framework in the listening corner (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004).

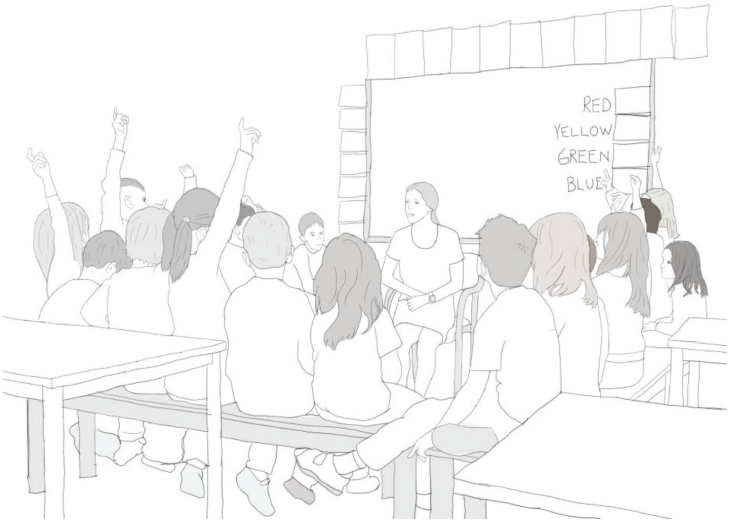

Figure 1. An illustration of a frame from excerpt 1, line 20, during which eight students quietly raise their hands in the circle.

Excerpt 1:

1 Ella:	Is there anyone that can help Alex out?
2 Andrew:	((raises his hand))
3 Arthur:	O↑[h° ((raises his hand))
4 Amy:	[O↑[h° ((raises her hand))
5 Alan:	[O↑h° ((raises his hand))
6 Ella:	Andrew? ((looks at Andrew))
7 Andrew:	The bag ((stands up while speaking))
8 Ella:	Yes, what was special with the bag? ((looks at the children))
9 Arthur:	O↑h° [O↑h° ((raises his hand))
10 Amy:	[O↑h° O↑h° ((raises her hand high))
11 Ella:	Alex, do you remember? ((looks at Alex))
12 Alex:	It was a secret bag ((looks at Ella))
13 Ella:	What is a secret bag for then? ((looks at the children))
14 Adrian:	O↑h[: ((raises his hand))
15 Astor:	[O↑h ((raises his hand))
16 Ella:	But you, you hush ((holds index finger over her mouth)) you don't have to
17	say Oh Oh ((looks at the children)) raise your hand ((raises her hand)) and
18	then I say your name and when I say your name and point ((points with her
19	finger)) then you can speak (.) just raise your hand ((looks at the children))
20	((eight hands raises quietly in the circle))

The rule of the listening corner is that the children are to raise their hands quietly. All the children master the raising of hands, but few of them are quiet when they do. Andrew raises his hand quietly (line 2), and Ella allows him to answer the first question about the bag (line 6). Uttering "the bag" (line 7), Andrew takes an epistemic stance, defining the object Ella searches for and positions himself as a knowing participant (see Goodwin, 2007; Melander, 2012). After the next question, Ella turns to Alex (line 11). Alex now remembers that the class spoke about a secret bag the day before (line 12) and takes an epistemic stance, which changes his position from unknowing to knowing participant. Ella takes up his answer and elaborates on it (line 13). Yet again, her question is followed by children raising hands and recycling "Oh". This time Ella decides to be explicit about the rules of participation and that the children raise their hands quietly before being selected to speak (lines 16–19). The impact of her explanation is then seen as eight children raise their hands quietly (line 20).

This excerpt demonstrates that the children participate with verbal utterances and the use of their bodies to get attention and permission to speak in the listening corner. They use affective stances to display their interest to participate (hand raised high and utters "Oh") whereas epistemic stances are used to position themselves as knowing participants accordingly to the questions asked from the teacher. They also display a public alignment with their peers' by recycling each other's small utterances of "Oh".

The listening corner is foremost expected to be an epistemic activity, where epistemic stances performed through verbal utterances are the suitable way to participate. Children`s participation is restricted to signalize interest to speak, and the answers from the children are often short (one to two words), before the teacher speaks again. Taking affective stances together, the children challenge the rules of participation in listening corners. However, Ella make the rules explicit and yielding, when she tells the children to only use their body to indicate interest (raise hands) and to provide answers verbally.

Double and half: Challenging rules to help a peer

In Excerpt 2, the children had attended first grade for two months. The topics in the listening corner were again mathematics with the concepts "double" and "half." To help out their peer as he struggled with a task, two boys conquered the interactional space and broke the rules of conduct in the listening corner. This time, the teacher allowed the boys to bend the rules.

In the excerpt, Ella and five children stand inside the semicircle to visualize number "six". One of the children, Alan, is asked to split the standing group into two equal parts.

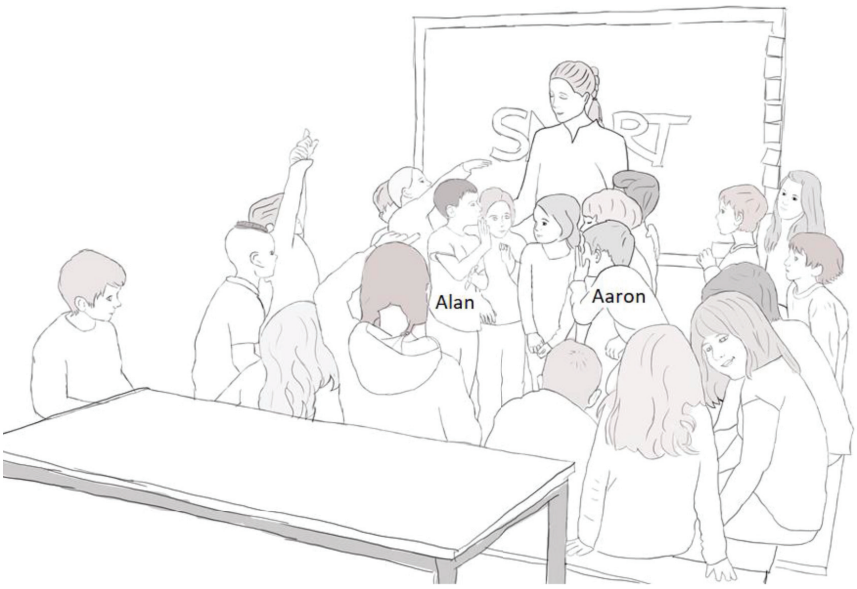

Figure 2. An illustration of a frame from Excerpt 2, lines 12–14, Aaron moves toward Alan and whispers to Alan with his left hand beside his mouth while Alan looks at him.

Excerpt 2

1 Ella	How can we split in two? (.) what is half of us? ((looks at Alan and makes a
2	line in the air with her index finger above the kids standing in front of her))
3 Alan:	No, six can't be split in two, ((looks up at Ella))
4 Ella:	Can we not split it in two? (.) how many will each have then? ((looks at Alan))
5 Alan:	Ehh ((looks at Ella and scratches his chin))
6	(0,4)
7 Andrew:	°Five five° ((walks two steps towards Alan, then he returns quickly to his seat))
8 Alan:	Six ((looks up at Ella))
9 Ella:	Yes, we are six people together and if [we are going to have half, how many 10
	will it be then? ((points at the children in front of her))
11 Alan:	[Hmm ((looks out in the air))
12 Aaron:	[(°xxx°°xxx°) ((walks two steps toward
13	Alan and whispers with his hands beside his mouth, before he returns quickly))
14 Alan:	((looks at Aaron))
15	((four children raises their hands))
16 Alan:	Three: ((takes his hand away from his chin))
17 Ella:	Three yes, so if you stand here and you over there, then we have three here and
18	three there ((splits the group by moving three kids away from the rest))

Ella directs her question to Alan by looking at him (lines 1–2), and Alan responds that it is not possible to divide six into two (line 3). In response to Ella's follow-up question (line 4), Alan is positioned as an unknowing participant, or as one who needs help (line 5). Pauses (lines 6 and 11) trigger responses from Andrew (line 7) and Aaron (lines 12–13), and also from four other children raising their hands (line 15). Alan gives the correct answer (line 16), and Ella explains about the procedure and splits the group physically (lines 17–18).

In this excerpt, the children treat the listening corner as an activity where helping a peer seems to be the (morally) correct thing to do (see Corsaro, 2015). Andrew and Aaron seek a possible "hole" among the yielding codes of conduct, where slow movements and whispering becomes the strategy to support their peer (see Corsaro and Schwarz, 1999; Mayall, 2002). Their small steps towards Alan and their whispering may be seen as affective stances that position them close to Alan, ready to help him out. When they whisper an answer to Alan, they take epistemic stances to share their epistemic access. In this way the two boys challenge the rules about sitting still and being quiet, when helping a friend is more important. At the same time the boys display concern for the rules as they quickly return to their places on the benches. As there are other children standing in the middle of the circle (who has been permitted by Ella to form a group of six) the visual impact of getting up and taking small steps inside the circle may make a less obvious scene as if there was only the teacher occupying the circle. Hence, Andrew and Aaron`s way of challenging the rules may seem adjusted to the visual display of the listening corner (see Goodwin, 2010).

The excerpt demonstrates how the children find ways to challenge the rules to help Alan, and at the same time they conquer space to participate when not permitted to. Even though Ella sees what is happening, she does not correct the boys either for stepping up or whispering answers. In that respect, she seems to allow them to "bend" the rules to some degree. Related to the first excerpt this displays how the participants themselves constantly are negotiating upon the rules in the listening corner, and how they make them count or not.

Norwegian in the Listening Corner

This section analyzes two excerpts in which Norwegian was taught in a listening corner at Rosewood. These excerpts, about letters, emphasize how the children broke rules to display their knowledge and gain shared understandings with their peers.

Finding "S" words: Breaking rules to demonstrate knowledge

In Excerpt 3, the children had attended first grade for one month. The children participated by taking initiative to answer the teacher's question, but several children spoke at the same time and the teacher corrected them.

In the excerpt, Rebecca, the teacher, sits in the listening corner in front of her class with her computer. The class works with the letter "S" on a smart board. A picture of a garden appears with flowers, trees, insects, small animals, a big "S," and a boy named Sam. The excerpt begins when Rebecca ask the children to find objects in the garden with "S".

Excerpt 3

1 Rebecca:	Oh eh (.) then you can tell me where to put the marker at↑ ((looks at the smart
2	board while controlling a marker with her hand))
3 Susan:	On the [S ((looks at the smart board))
4 Simon:	[The [S ((looks at the smart board))
5 Steven:	[The S ((looks at the smart board))
6 Sara:	The S ((looks at Rebecca))
7 Rebecca:	Eh: [: ((continues looking at the smart board))
8 Shawn:	[>SA[m< ((looks at the smart board))
9 Simon:	[Sam ((looks at Rebecca))
10 Rebecca:	BUT everybody cannot speak at the same time, it won't work ((turns towards
11	the children))

Rebecca instructs the children to tell her where to put a pointer (lines 1–2). She sits with her back to the children and use the word "you," which addresses the whole class. She does not state that the children are to raise their hands before speaking. The instruction triggers an immediate response from four children who takes epistemic stances by suggesting the pointer be placed on the big letter "S" in the picture (lines 3–6). Considering the context (school) and the situation (a task to solve), a participation framework in which epistemic stances are valued is created. The teacher asks for knowledge about words, and with their verbal participation the children position themselves as knowledgeable, competent students.

Rebecca attempts to speak (line 7), but is interrupted by two children who suggests another option; that she puts the marker on Sam (lines 8–9). As a response, Rebecca turns toward the children and utters, in a louder voice, that the children are not permitted to speak at

the same time (lines 10–11). In this affective stance, Rebecca firmly emphasizes that the children do not follow the intended participation method, and they break the rule of speaking only when she permits it. This action from Rebecca in Excerpt 3 is quite similar to the action from Ella in Excerpt 1 when the children break a rule. The difference is that Ella repeats the rules for how to participate in listening corners, whereas Rebecca specifies a rule regarding what is not permitted.

Excerpt 3 displays how teachers and children in schools engage within an interactional space in which rules and codes of conduct are explicit (Houen et al., 2016; Theobald and Kultti, 2012). Usually, teachers select speakers, and children wait for their turns. In the above excerpt, three important aspects provide opportunity for spontaneous participation without raised hands and individual permission. First, Rebecca addresses the class as a whole. Second, Rebecca looks at the smart board and not at the children. Third, the children answer as a group and engage themselves as knowledgeable and competent participants; their answers ("the letter 'S'" and "Sam") are recycled and overlapped which again create a public alignment among the children (Ceikaite and Aronsson, 2004; Corsaro, 2015; James and Prout, 2015; Mayall, 2002). Similar to the previous excerpts, the children challenge the rules for the listening corner. This time, as in excerpt 1, they are regulated as a whole group to follow the given codes of conduct.

Maggot or snail? Challenging rules to achieve a shared understanding

In Excerpt 4, Rebecca and her class continued to work with "S." They had contributed with "S" words, such as "sun," "sandals," "spider," and "sunflower." The excerpt displayed how several children built a shared argument to explain about a suggestion that did not include "S". To achieve this shared argument, the children broke rules of the listening corner.

In the excerpt, Rebecca sits in the middle of the semicircle and she looks at the children. Many children sit with their hands raised, ready to suggest s-words.

Rebecca opens by telling the class she will pick someone with a "quiet hand," that is, someone who raises her hand without speaking. In this way, Rebecca also refers to the rule for how to participate. Susan sits with her hand raised without making any sound, demonstrating mastery of the code of conduct, and she is chosen (line 1). Susan takes an epistemic stance saying "maggot" (line 2). This triggers a pause (line 3), and Rebecca questions the word (line 4).

Excerpt 4

1 Rebecca:	then I ask someone with a quiet hand (.) it is Susan ((looks at Susan))
2 Susan:	eh° the maggot ((answers from the bench the furthest from Rebecca))
3	(0, 2)
4 Rebecca:	the maggot? ((looks at Susan))
5 Sophie:	>she means the snail < ((speaks from the bench nearest Rebecca))
6 Rebecca:	do you mean that one? ((stands up and points to a snail on the smart
7	board, and looks at Susan))
8 Susan:	((nods her head and looks at Rebecca))
9 Rebecca:	that is a snail (.) shall we try it? ((looks at Susan and then at the others))
10 Susan:	[((nods her head))
11 More children:	[mmh ((looks at the smart board))
12 Rebecca:	why do you think we shall try that one? ((sits on the chair again))
13 Silas:	>it< has in it, ((speaks from the seat next to Rebecca))
14 Rebecca:	it has s in it, ((looks at Silas))
15 Simon:	we tried to [be it in the music room ((speaks a seat close to Rebecca))

Sophie, who sits close to Rebecca, takes the word and explains that Susan meant "snail" (line 5). Sophie breaks the rule about speaking only with permission, but her timing when she takes this epistemic stance is important. Uncertainty emerges in the listening corner, when the teacher does not confirm Susan's suggestion, and Sophie's action is needed to move the activity forward (see Goodwin, 2007). Sophie aligns with Susan, helping her find a word similar to "maggot" that has an "S" in it. This way, Sophie positions herself as a knowing participant (see Melander, 2012).

A small pause occurs before Rebecca points at the smart board and asks if Susan meant "snail" (lines 6–7). Susan confirms this by nodding her head (line 8), aligning with Sophie's suggestion. Rebecca clarifies that it was a snail on the board and invites Susan and the other children to confirm whether they should click on the snail (line 9). Susan nods her head again, and several other children says "Mmh" (lines 10–11).

Rebecca asks the children for an explanation of the choice, questioning their knowledge about letters (line 12). Silas utters, "It has in it," meaning the word "snail" contains "S" (line 13). Rebecca repeats this in her question to Silas (line 14), but before Silas answers, Simon notes that the class tried to be snails in the music room (line 15). Silas and

Simon uses the same strategy as Sophie: interfere in strategic places, where a question addressing "you" (the whole class) triggers an immediate response to establish a shared understanding. The boys speak before raising their hands; together, with their epistemic stances, they build an explanation that the word "snail" contains the letter "S," and that the children had been snails in the music lesson. The prior music activity had also been related to learning the letter "S," and the snail activity was also observed by the researcher.

Sophie, Silas, and Simon build an argument based on knowledge about letters, words, and experiences from other subjects, and they manage to clarify what Susan means and why she picks the snail, that is, the "maggot." Taking epistemic stances when they interfere, the three children manage to elaborate on Susan's answer so it is understandable for the teacher and the whole class. That is, they create a shared understanding among the participants.

The children's alignments with each other indicate that they are oriented to each other's utterances and that they see the listening corner as an activity where they can use each other as resources to share information and create shared understandings. They demonstrate that they are competent and manage to actively participate in the ongoing interactions, despite breaking rules about when and how to participate. Their proximity to the teacher is important to their ability to interfere, as they are precise in determining when to act and can be heard easily. Excerpt 4 shows how the children manage to negotiate the rules to support a friend without being restricted, and this course of event is similar to excerpt 2.

Discussion

Norwegian children spend a considerable amount of time in their primary-school listening corner (Bjørnestad, 2013; Fottland and Mattre, 2005; Petterson et al., 2004), and it is important to describe, question, and improve listening corner practices. This study aimed to explore how children participated in listening corners *in situ*, and the following research question was asked: *How do first-grade children participate in listening corners?*

An overall finding of this study was that children were invited to participate in listening corners through explicit codes of conduct. The main rules of listening corners were to sit on a given place; quietly raise a hand to speak; wait for permission to speak; not make any noise; and speak one person at a time. These rules showed expectations regarding children's actions (see Corsaro and Schwarz, 1999; James and Prout, 2015). Most of the time during my fieldwork the children accepted the adult-imposed rules at school and in the

classroom. As seen partly in analysis, the children demonstrated that they mastered the rules of the listening corner (Excerpts 1 and 4)

Previous studies in Norway and abroad found that children's opportunities to participate in listening corners and other whole class activities were restricted (Bjørnestad, 2013; Cazden, 2001; Flem et al., 2005; Houen et al., 2016; Lindblad and Sahlström, 1999). Perhaps prior studies of Norwegian listening corners mainly focused on content and the teacher role since the role of children was seen as limited (Bjørnestad, 2009; Flem et al., 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004). This study also found that the rules for verbal and embodied actions in listening corners put restrictions on children`s participations and contributions. Rules for embodied actions, such as "sit still", "raise a hand to show you know the answer to a question," and "wait to speak until being addressed" exemplified how children`s participation could be limited. Rules for verbal interactions were also important, and the teacher spoke most of the time. Listening corners were often in the form of a presentation or other instruction given by the teacher, followed by known-information questions or directives (Bjørnestad, 2013; Houen et al., 2016). On several occasions that I observed and recorded, some children did not obtain permission to speak even once during listening corners

This study also demonstrated that the children constantly challenged and negotiated the yielding rules of the listening corner. Children turned to each other as a group of peers who aligned with and helped each other, and in doing so, they became more active agents than teachers intended them to be. Affective stances were taken when children displayed eagerness to participate and to help friends. Epistemic stances were taken to present answers; elaborate upon answers; and share knowledge within the group (see Goodwin, 2007; Melander, 2012).

As aforementioned, prior studies found that children sometimes respond to rules with creativity, play, rebellion, and conquer space through alignments (Corsaro, 2015; Goodwin, 1990; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998; Mayall, 2002; Powell et al., 2006). In the excerpts analyzed, the children demonstrated their many competencies and alignments spontaneously occurred between the children. The children aligned with each other to build excitement (Excerpts 1 and 3), they supported their peers (Excerpts 1, 2, and 4), and they built shared understandings (Excerpts 3 and 4). As noted earlier, children sometimes broke rules of listening corners when they conquered spaces. They made small sounds (e.g., "Oh") to demonstrate excitement and seek attention (Excerpt 1); they answered without permission to demonstrate competence (Excerpt 3); and they whispered to each other and elaborated upon

answers to support their peers (Excerpts 2 and 4). Passing messages, speaking outside turn, and recycling utterances when a teacher's attention was elsewhere, were also found as strategies in other studies of children initiating participation and breaking rules (Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004; Cobb-Moore et al., 2009; Corsaro and Schwarz, 1999; Mayall, 2002).

The role of the teacher was also important. Prior studies of listening corners found that teachers were quick to intervene and repeat about the rules if they were forgotten (Bjørnestad, 2013; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland and Matre, 2005). In this study repetitions of rules were also found when the children broke them (Excerpts 1 and 3), and after the rules were explained or repeated by the teacher, the children generally followed it (e.g., as in Excerpt 1). Interestingly, both teachers allowed rules to be broken on certain occasions. This occurred when children took initiative to support peers who did not have answers or who gave incorrect answers (Excerpts 2 and 4). Thus, as previously noted, there were opportunities to break rules to support other children, or to build shared understandings, or move activities forward.

An important implication of this study for teachers' practices was how to align needs for children's participation and involvement in listening corners. Listening corners included many children, and it was a challenge for the teachers to involve all children and keep their attention. The children had to wait for long periods of time before speaking, but the children also broke rules and participated on a more active level than expected.

Seen together, the four excerpts demonstrated some ways children interacted and cooperated with each other in listening corners. Through their participation children displayed a great deal of competence, both in mastering rules and in challenging them. The study found listening corners to be teacher-led settings in which teachers and children have asymmetrical rights (see Bjørnestad, 2013; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland and Matre, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004). When children conquered spaces, they worked to make such rights more equal. They also positioned themselves as knowing participants who distributed knowledge and built arguments together (see also Cobb-More et al., 2009; Corsaro, 2015; Houen et al., 2016; Mayall, 2002).

An important limitation of the conclusions from this qualitative study, is the challenge to obtain a broad perspective of such findings. Still, comparable findings are presented in other listening-corner studies (see Bjørnestad, 2013; Flem et al., 2005; Fottland and Matre, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2004). Thus, the findings of this study provide a basis for further research on how children participate in, how teachers and children interact in, and how to alternatively organize activities in listening corners to create more opportunities for active

children. This study can be used to research alternative ways of thinking about classroom leadership in regards to increasing interactions and cooperation between children.

Acknowledgements

Within the aim of obtaining a complex understanding of the research, video recordings, transcripts, early analyses, and drafts of the research were presented and discussed in closed and interdisciplinary research groups. The feedback from fellow researchers was valuable in overcoming some challenges related to subjectivity and credibility, and improved the analyses of the data.

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