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Kreeta Niemi

Moral Beings and Becomings

Children's Moral Practices in Classroom Peer Interaction

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Truth is not born nor is it found inside the head of an individual person; it is born between people collectively searching for the truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction.

(Bakhtin, 1984).

ABSTRACT

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This study investigates children's social and moral practices as they appear in everyday classroom peer interaction. Its focus is on the relations between children's interaction and moral understandings in situ. Juxtaposing the most archetypal ways of addressing and investigating morality in mainstream educational psychology, this study approaches morality is as it handled and managed as part of everyday intersubjective interaction. Ethnomethodological approaches alongside with sociocultural views of thinking are employed as theoretical and analytical frameworks to delineate how children as moral agents use language and other semiotic resources to accomplish their local organization of morality. The data consisted of 26 hours of videotaped and transcribed classroom peer interaction in Finnish primary schools. Three communicative areas in which moral practices become plainly visible were chosen as basis for the analysis: 1) counting rhyme rule-making, 2) dispute threatening and 3) accusing practices. The significance of this study is fourfold, as it not only provides empirical, detailed accounts of children's morality and participation in classroom peer group activities, but also offers unique theoretical, methodological and also practical approaches to operationalize children's morality.

The dissertation consists of three sub-studies and an extended summary. The first sub-study examines how children exploit their understanding of morality by using a range of meaning-making resources in the context of a classroom counting rhyme. It shows that children are capable of knowing why some issues might be prohibited, and also of dealing with and playing with these issues. This account of children's sophisticated employment of moral agency calls attention to raising teachers' awareness and appreciation of children's capability to contribute to their own moral learning.

The second sub-study investigates children's threats in a classroom dispute and frame shifts between pretence and real. The study contributes to understanding of different moral orders in real and pretend frames, and points out that when insults occur in the real life frame they disrupt the established moral order. The findings suggest implications for how and when teachers should intervene in children's disputes.

The third sub-study explores children's accusations in the classroom. It shows how children use local classroom rules and teacher authority as resources and warrants to invoke multi-layered moral orders and identities, and to hold individuals accountable through accusations about their behaviour. The study highlights an important aspect of social organization regarding the social exclusion of peers. It also proposes that the use of classroom rules and teacher authority in the absence of the teacher is a common practice.

Overall, this study shows how the moral realm in school is multi-layered, multimodally mediated, interactively negotiated and multi-voiced, and it maintains that moral development must be understood in, and cannot be separated from, the social context and relations. Traditionally, morality in school has been seen as teacher transmitting values and rules to children, but this study suggests that, as an 'unofficial' counterpart, children's peer interaction in the classroom is an important contributor to children's moral and social competencies. Theories of children's morality should more directly include children's everyday interaction, the role of peers, and the voices of children and generalized others. It also encourages practitioners and researchers to acknowledge children as active agents in constructing moral realms in the school life and out-of-school activities, and to empower children's decision making.

Keywords: children, morality, classroom interaction, peer interaction, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology

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I dedicate this thesis to my late Mom.

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CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

What moral issues do children encounter in school with and without their teachers, and how do they deal with them? How are accountability and responsibility for actions embedded in children's interactions in school? How do these interactions compose and reflect the school context and wider society? These questions, of keen relevance to everyday school life, have been seldom studied in detail from the viewpoint of interaction. Addressing these questions is the overriding theme of this dissertation.

These questions are of increasing interest to professionals working with children and to all seeking to understand how children interact within the social world of school. This social world encompasses, for example, children's wellbeing, agency and voices, teacher control, indirect and direct bullying, the role of learners, teachers and new technology. Given the current concerns regarding the social dimension of education, it is of increasing importance to examine and uncover the features of moral practices in the classroom, especially children's interaction with peers without the presence of teachers. Such understanding is especially important presently in Finland in light of the new Finnish learning curriculum 2016, which aims to reform instructional practices further towards fostering a more active role for children, moving from teacher-led plenary activities to collaborative group work in more autonomous and self-directed peer groups. Furthermore, the new Finnish national curriculum guidelines emphasize children's school well-being and education that nurtures in them notions of 'truth, benevolence, beauty, justice and peace' (OPH 2015, p. 9).

This study deals with children's moral and social practices through the lens of classroom peer interaction. It focuses on how primary school children as moral agents use language and other semiotic resources to locally organize their moral practice in the classroom, especially in 'off-task' conversations among peers. Here, 'locally organize' means that participants are not simply acting out predetermined scripts, but rather that they are orienting to the immediate context of what has just been said, heard and understood (e.g. Schegloff, 2007).

Although there is a long history of research on children's morality, in this study the majority of previous research is problematic due to three reasons.

Firstly, children's moral development has mostly been approached from the viewpoint of cognitive and developmental psychology (e.g. Killen & Smetana, 2010) in which morality – a complex and multidimensional phenomenon of human life – has been converted into a measureable entity. The theories of Piaget and Kohlberg, for example, can first and foremost be seen to address moral development with respect to qualitative shifts in moral judgement by age (see chapter 2). This assumption that morality can be measured has led to the use of pre-given moral scenarios or dilemmas as a way of accessing and categorizing moral and social development. This tendency has turned attention away from, ignored or oversimplified the complexity of children's everyday interaction (see critique e.g. Danby, 1998; Goodwin, 2006; Evaldsson, 2005; Packer & Scott, 1992), resulting in some studies categorizing children as lacking interpersonal skills or having a negative interactional style.

The second disadvantage with the developmentally oriented approaches focusing on individual children's cognitive capabilities is that they not take into account context and social practices (however, see Donaldson, 1978). Focusing on the individual overlooks the notion of moral development as a collective activity that is realized in and through social interaction. Skill-deficit explanations view the individual child as personally deficient with significant implications for the developmental trajectory of the child. Ignoring context and social practices frames moral development as a property of individuals, rather than addressing the contemporaneous needs of the group or context to which the child belongs.

Furthermore, prior research addressing children's morality has predominantly interviewed children about their moral experiences or perceptions of moral events (e.g. Wainryb, Brehl, Matwin, Sokol & Hammond, 2005). However, interview methods tell what children can say about moral issues, but not what they actually do in a specific situation (e.g. Goodwin, 2006). In all, there is a lack of research on what children actually do and say in their moral practices. In addition, school moral education and the moral ability of children has mainly been understood as rule-following behaviour (e.g. Tholander, 2002; 2007).

Without wishing to be a mere critique of cognitive-oriented approaches, an alternative and novel point of departure is adopted in this study by investigating how morality is constructed as an interactional situated achievement. Although there is increasing interest in studying children's morality more broadly (see chapter 2, also reviews by Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007, 2012; Tholander, 2002), children's moral practices constitute largely unexplored territory in classroom interaction research. Analyses based on video records allow drawing on ethnomethodological and sociocultural principles in order to capture the participants' perspectives, practices and orientations instead of applying pre-established, theory-based analytical categories. This means moving away from the positivist approach of categorizing children according to stages and developmental expectations, and indicates a shift of focus from cognition and inner thoughts to the interactive and visible aspects of morality and collaborative process of language use in everyday life. In this perspective, morality is not

seen as a pre-existing property of the individual mind, but one built and realigned through talk and interaction (Bergmann, 1998; Turowetz & Maynard, 2010). In other words, the present study treats morality as a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon (e.g. Drew, 1998; Jayuusi, 1991; Sneijder and Te Molder, 2005; Sterponi, 2003; 2009).

A basic premise of this study is that although humans have an inner sense of morality, interaction is the ultimate context within which morality is displayed and understood through language and other multimodal resources such as embodiments and material artefacts (e.g. Bergmann, 1998; Buttny, 1993). Moral reasoning has a cognitive basis, but is shaped and constrained by cultural and situational norms, values and beliefs (e.g. Tappan, 2010). Thus, morality is studied here as coming into existence in and through talk-in-interaction, not as the internalization of a set of progressively higher moral standards, which is where the focus of the vast majority of research interest has been to date. Language and other meaning making tools are resources constituting a mediating tool through which moral issues are handled and managed. This means studying morality from the participants' point of view, for instance focusing on what children themselves identify as transgressing moral norms and what they hold each other accountable for, without specifying whether these actions appear to the researcher or reader as moral or not. Investigating morality from the participants' perspectives, i.e., as children's enacted displays of morality, brings forth a unique analytic focus and new possibilities for understanding morality work. Furthermore, this thesis does not attempt to define what is morally right within the school context, but might provide some questions and answers for those wishing to develop such understanding.

This dissertation addresses three main aims; to: (a) provide new knowledge on how moral processes and practices are managed and negotiated locally as moment-by-moment actions that constitute the social and moral reality of classroom peer interaction. This means also unveiling the 'hidden curriculum', i.e. seen but unnoticed aspects of school interaction (e.g. Jackson, [1968]; 1990); (b) bridge theories of morality with empirical accounts of moral work in children's daily lives in school; and (c) show how ethnomethodological approaches such as conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis (e.g. Garfinkel 1967, Sacks, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) alongside sociocultural work and analytical concepts such as the 'frame' and 'face' of Goffman (1959, 1967, and 1974) used in this study can contribute to the study of children's morality and, more generally, children's use of interactional resources to produce and make sense of intersubjectivity in interaction.

Using video recordings of children's social interactions is the dominant method to explore indepth this inquiry into the morality work of children. This data included children's interactions with their teachers and amongst themselves, with a focus on peer interaction in the classroom while working through learning tasks and 'off-tasks' and outside the classroom during break times and lunchtime table talk, all of which constitute extra-curricular talk. Additionally,

some ethnographic memos by the researcher are used to provide some contextual details of the settings.

Video recording enabled the interactions to be transcribed in detail and watched and listened to repeatedly, allowing detailed examination of how talk embodiments are jointly and sequentially organized and constructed (e.g. Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron 2012). Furthermore, the video recordings captured the nuances of a range of simultaneously deployed interactional resources that might otherwise have been overlooked (e.g. Martin & Evaldsson, 2012).

This work can be located among the interdisciplinary studies of children's naturally occurring interaction involving the analyses of practices used by children in organizing social action (e.g. Bateman, 2010; Butler, 2008; Cekaite, 2012; 2013; Cromdal, 2009; Church, 2009; Corsaro, & Molinari, 2008; Evaldsson, 2005; 2007; Goodwin, 2002; 2006; 2007; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; Danby 1998; 2002, Danby & Baker, 1998; 2001; Hutchby 2002; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Minks 2008; Svahn, 2012; Theobald, 2009; Tholander, 2002; 2007; Wootton, 1986). Such research is found in a variety of disciplines, including sociocultural work, education anthropology and psychology, and usually involves qualitative detailed investigation of videotaped interactions of children in interpreting and making sense of their interactions with peers and adults. Common to these approaches is to view children as social actors who actively engage in the creation and development of their own social and cultural ways and peer cultures as being worth studying in their own right (e.g., Butler, 2008; Corsaro 2003; 2005 Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Ochs & Izquiredo, 2009). This study also draws on the traditions of ethnomethodological and interaction research with an interest in studying talk and social interaction as external, observable and inductive phenomena rather than only individual mental processes (e.g. Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1996)

One of the motivations of this study has been also to unveil the implicit aspects of life in schools and society. This study is based on the assumption that to better understand children's school life and, for example, provide intervention on school engagement and wellbeing, provide new ways to learn and participate, and prevent school bullying, it is first needed to understand more deeply the moral and social practices defined by the participants themselves. The sequence analyses in the individual articles seek to offer a systematic description of how children's moral work is achieved and to increase understanding of children's morality and peer cultures, and thereby also of the workings of school in general. The ways in which moral action is achieved also bear reflections on the wider society which is reproduced in our everyday exchanges (Shotter, 1993; Zimmerman, 2008). Most importantly, children's moral work reflects their agency as active participants of the fast talking and fast acting world of the classroom requiring navigation of social networks and construction of one's identity.

1.1 Contextualizing the study: school as a moral playground

School is one of the most important arenas in which children come to understand themselves in relation to others and how to treat and see others and oneself (Mead 1962). This is where morality – what is valued, appropriate or inappropriate to do in a particular situation – comes to life as part of everyday interactions between members of the school community (Tholander, 2002). Upbringing and education are directed toward cultural ideals, and socializing children into culturally expected and accepted ways of being a morally responsible person has been a significant part of teachers' responsibilities (e.g. Cekaite, 2013; OPH, 2015; Wortham, 2006).

In Finland, moral education is not a subject of its own, but moral issues and ethics are addressed as part of everyday life in school. Teaching or instilling moral stances has been seen congruent with the core social values such as social justice and caring for others. Finnish school culture has traditionally been seen as based on trust and equality including free education at all levels, lack of national tests (excl. matriculation examinations) and high teacher autonomy (e.g. OPH, 2015; Sahlberg, 2015). Education is seen as an integral part of the Finnish welfare and culture, and the high ranking of educational achievement of the Finnish youth has been an example to many other school systems (Sahlberg, 2015). Learning environments have been organised to support group work and building of learning communities. Teacher- student relationships are characterized by low formalities and high trust. This trust-based relationship means that a relatively large freedom of movement can be allowed for the students within the confinement of agreed upon rules. Thus, during the school day, there are typically times associated with transitioning to and from breaks or independent activities when children can interact without direct adult supervision.

Being at school is a lot of how to be at school and with peers and teachers. In the course of schooling children are also evaluated not only as academic pupils, but also as moral actors (e.g., Klaassen, 2012; Wortham, 2006). Teachers have expectations of how pupils should talk, behave, treat others and comport themselves, and they usually employ practices that aim to socialize culturally appropriate ways of thinking, problem solving, valuing and feeling (Cekaite, 2013; Jackson, [1968] 1990; Tholander, 2002). Such routines are culturally constructed, maintained and shaped by local theories and ideologies of education and how the concepts of human, child and good life are defined (e.g., Austin, Dwyer & Freebody, 2005; Billig, 1996). Teacher's roles as mediators in classroom disputes, for example, can be seen as efforts to contribute to the classroom climate of trust (e.g. Kohlberg & Higgins, 1987, p. 105; Nucci, 2006, p. 723; Nucci & Turiel, 2009). Teachers have been traditionally positioned as gatekeepers of epistemic truth and morality and as a moral example to their students (Klaassen, 2012). Learning culturally appropriate ways of interacting is also an important dimension of becoming a competent social group member (e.g., Wenger, 1998)

and in contemporary society it is becoming more and more important to possess the social and moral competence to get along with others.

However, moral education, learning and socialization, also takes place between children themselves. Daily life in schools involves not only learning moral issues and internalizing values under the guidance of teachers but also facing and managing moral issues in and through interaction with others (e.g., Cekaite, 2012; Cromdal, 2009; Danby & Baker, 1998; Maybin, 2006). Moral learning is not only one-way from teacher to child, but involves managing moral issues practically through personal interaction. In daily interaction children are agentive actors in their own institutionalization into schooling, and actively construct morality rather than absorb it (e.g. Tholander, 2002). Sometimes children's moral abilities and value systems go unrecognised and unrespected by adults (see Danby & Emmison, 2014).

Children also come to know and understand moral issues through their activities and ongoing learning in interaction with others beyond the direct supervision of the teacher. Children participate, with or without the presence of the teacher, in a range of interactional tasks such as accounting and attributing responsibility for actions, respecting others' integrity, balancing between autonomy and constraint, dealing with rules, norms and decision making, and judging what is fair, appropriate or right to do (e.g. Cekaite, 2013; Goodwin, 2006, Danby & Baker, 1998; 2001; Nucci, 2006; Svahn, 2012).

Thus, children themselves play a significant role in moral practices and actively contribute to others' moral development and identity in several, not yet systematically reported, ways. Engaging in encounters with peers affords children opportunities to become more sensitive to social interactions and to attend to the different relational dimensions that exist in moral realms (e.g. Cromdal, 2006; Maybin, 2006). Children can actively enact and explore social rules and relations, identities, voices (in a Bakhtinian sense) and roles normally not accessible to them when they are subordinate to teachers (c.f. Goodwin, 2006).

1.1.1 Need for further research

Educational research on children's morality in school has often prioritized the acceptability of the behaviour and teaching of the teacher, or how students show respect for each other and the teacher (see Austin et al. 2003; Heap, 1985; Nucci, 2006; Tholander, 2002). The ways in which teachers influence children's moral development through personal interaction has been mostly described and examined in terms of the Vygotskian (e.g. 1978) metaphor of 'scaffolding', defined as a child performing above his or her normal level supported by the teacher (e.g. Tappan, 1997; 2006). While these aspects are undoubtedly important and informative, this study believes that such studies of classroom interaction have more to say about the moral processes at work in school and the influence of peer interactions.

This study offers a window into a relatively under-researched area of children's morality and classroom interaction. It examines the dynamic processes of moral meaning-making in classroom peer interaction. Peer interaction here re-

fers to interactions occurring when the children are in the classroom working through learning tasks and 'off-tasks' as well as outside the classroom during break times or when sitting together at lunchtime, all of which constitute extra-curricular talk.

Although the role of peers and peer interaction are viewed as important contributors to children's learning and moral identities (e.g. Piaget, 1965; Rogoff, 1998; 2003), and given that children spend a great deal of their everyday school life with others and teachers are being advised to increase their offering of group and project work, there is a surprising relative scarcity of investigations into the unofficial world of peer culture, i.e. what children say while not under the direct guidance of the teacher (see Austin et al. 2003, Maybin, 2006). There has been a tendency in classroom discourse research to be concerned with more formal pedagogically and institutionally shaped activity and how children are engaged in teacher's activity (see Heap, 1985; Koole, 2007; Thornborrow, 2003). This scarcity of investigation can be attributed to difficulties in collecting data and to the propensity to categorize unofficial peer-interaction as off-task and of no benefit to learning (Austin et al, 2003). For example, Tholander (2002, p. 27) suggests that teachers are only partly aware of how peers contribute to each other's moral socialization, and how children enact themselves as moral agents outside the teacher's gaze is generally overlooked or considered unworthy of systematic analytic attention (e.g. Danby & Baker, 1998).

One of the key claims of the present study is that exploring in detail children's interactions in the absence of a teacher reveals the different moral realms at work, as well as how these moral realms are working in practice (e.g. Hutchby, 2002). However, although teachers are not directly present, their presence cannot be discounted. In the articles reveal how the students orient to the teacher's presence through body postures and how the teacher's authority is talked into being and used as a resource. Even if the teacher is not physically present in the classroom, he or she is expected to arrive at any moment. In addition, the children operate in spaces and structures that have been designed and regulated by their teachers.

In investigating children's peer interaction in its own right, the idea is not to evaluate whether its features have a positive effect on learning outcomes, but to reveal children's own methods for making sense of their everyday contexts using the interactional and cultural resources they have at hand. Reduced teacher supervision creates a peer group context for children in which to become active agents in their own and others' socialization into moral practices and sociocultural norms and, thus, children's agency may differ compared to when being in the presence of teacher. This study thus also sheds light on children's agency, which will be discussed later on.

Focusing on peer interaction in the classroom also means unveiling and questioning 'taken-for-granted' or 'seen but unnoticed' (Broady, 1986; Garfinkel, 1967) practices and thus looking at classroom interaction from a different angle and with open eyes. In the words of Jackson:

> Our ways of looking at the classroom should not be unnecessarily restricted by prior assumptions about what should be going on there. ((--)) In short, we must be prepared and willing to give up many of our comfortable beliefs about what classroom life is all about (Jackson, 1968, p. 176)

1.1.2 Children as agentic social actors

Traditional childhood research has viewed children and their social worlds as not-yet-competent versions of adults and their social worlds (e.g. Butler, 2008; Danby, 1998; Speier, 1973, Waksler, 1991). As previously implicated, this means that children have been seen as becoming something that they are not. From this perspective, children have been treated as developing and lacking something, not as actors in their own right. In practice, this has meant that adults, such as teachers, have attempted to define the abilities and interests of children at the various stages of their development in order to plan pedagogical and cultural activities that are challenging but not too difficult to manage to the children (Danby, 1998, p. 35).

However, there has been a significant paradigm shift from the traditional view of children as incomplete and becoming, to children as competent social actors in their own social and cultural worlds (e.g. Butler 2008; Corsaro 2005; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998; Mashford-Scott & Church 2010; Rogoff 2003). This paradigm shift, inspired by sociological childhood research and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, can be viewed as a step forward in giving children greater voice and visibility in society (e.g. Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-de-Bie, 2006). This means that children are seen as worthy of investigation in their own right, and researchers have started to investigate children's knowledge, perspectives and interests from the children's perspectives (Danby, 1998; Maybin, 2006). A remarkable contribution to this paradigm was made by Opies (Bateman & Butler, 2014; Butler, 2008; Opie & Opie, 1959) who spent time observing and reporting on children's play, lore and language in the playground.

The present study adopts the concept of the child as a competent being in their own social, cultural and moral world (see also Corsaro, 2005). This entails viewing children not only as *becoming* but as *being* something, and unveiling the complexities of their interactions. In other words, children are understood as agentive actors who actively engage in the creation and development of their own social and cultural worlds (Corsaro, 2003; 2005, Rogoff, 2003). Studying children's interactions in their own right is also crucial in order to make children's agency and voices more visible (e.g. Vandenbroeck & Bouvern-de-Bie, 2006).

In recent years along with the above described paradigm shift, the concept of agency has become widely used with regard to children's development and education. Promotion of agency is regarded as the basic foundation for learning and wellbeing outcomes from both an educational and human rights perspective (e.g., Bandura, 2001; Corsaro, 2005; Hutcby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Macfarlane & Cartmel, 2008; Valentine, 2011). While there is wide general acceptance of the importance of agency, the concept is only vaguely understood, especially with

respect to how it emerges or is constructed in moment by moment interaction (see Al Zidjaly, 2009). Agency has been referred to as quality which enables a person to initiate intentional action and achieve personal and interpersonal goals (e.g. Mashford-Scott & Church 2010).

From the ethnomethodological perspective adopted in this study agency is viewed as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that is negotiated in local contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories. This study, thus, contributes to an understanding how children act as (moral) agents in naturally occurring moment-by-moment interaction. It also illuminates how social structures at school within with children interact can both enable and constrain children's agency.

1.2 Thesis outline and research questions

This introductory chapter has outlined the significance of this study, which will be underscored in the following chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the literature addressing theories of morality and moral development, and introduces the ethnomethodological perspective on morality, in which the focus is shifted to the encounters and intricacies of everyday interaction.

Chapter 3 describes the theoretical and methodological approaches informing this study. While ethnomethodology (EM) formed the basis of the theory and analysis, some of the assumptions and practices of conversation analysis (CA), and membership categorization analysis (MCA), and sociocultural theory (SCT) are discussed. In addition, Erving Goffman's microsociology, which is usually seen as a bedfellow of EM, offered important tools, especially the 'frame' concept, which is also introduced. Chapter 3 also describes the processes and practices of the fieldwork. Chapter 4 provides a summary of the three studies, and reports the results of the individual articles.

The closing chapter 5 pulls together the concepts, theories and observations of the analysis and summarizes the main points of the study. It comments on the implications of the findings, which have theoretical, empirical, methodological and practical relevance. The chapter closes with a discussion of further research building on the findings of this study.

As previously discussed, children's morality remains little understood from the social point of view. This study aims to contribute to three key areas: children's morality in interaction, children's peer interaction in the classroom, and application of ethnomethodological resources to study of children's morality and participation. The present study emphasizes the key role of talk and interaction through which moral practices are accomplished. Because the social and moral practices that children create by themselves have remained a largely unexamined area, the aim is to investigate how children use language and other semiotic resources in carrying out their everyday moral practices. In addition, the aim is to formulate a conceptualization of children's morality that considers

everyday practices within school activities. Investigation from the perspective of seeing morality as an intrinsic feature of everyday interaction will offer a fresh viewpoint on research of (children's) morality. More specifically, to address these aims, the following research questions are addressed:

1. How do children use talk and other meaning making resources to engage in and organize their everyday moral practice in classroom peer interaction? In particular, how moral activities, such as rule negotiating (Sub-study I), disputing, and threatening (Sub-study II) and accusing (Sub-study III) are accomplished within peer group interaction?

2. What do these practices tell about children as moral actors?

These overarching aims are addressed in each of the three sub-studies and in this summary of the thesis.

2 MORALITY THROUGH SOCIAL INTERACTION

> 'The facts upon which morality depends are those which arise out of active connections of human beings with another, the consequences of their mutually entwined activities' John Dewey (1922).

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first presents classic research on the development of morality, mostly by Kohlberg and Piaget. Although these paradigms have been later heavily critiqued (e.g. Packer, 1987, Schweder 1982; 1990; Turiel 2002; 2007; Tholander, 2002) they continue in one way or another to prevail in developmental and educational psychology, and much educational research has been conducted within Piagetian and Kohlbergian paradigms (e.g. Narvaez & Lapsley 2009; Nucci, 2006; Tappan, 2006). The second part provides an introduction to the ethnomethodological, conversation analytic and sociocultural perspective in the study and understanding of morality.

2.1 What is morality?

Morality is a complex, interdisciplinary and multilayered concept, the investigation of which has been principally approached through psychology (cognitive, cultural, developmental, and social), education, philosophy, sociology (macro and micro), theology and anthropology (social and linguistic) (e.g. Alt & Reingold, 2008; Hitlin & Vaisey, 2010; Killen & Smetana, 2006; Krofolic, 2009; Nucci, Narvaez & Krettenauer, 2014; Tappan, 1997, 2006; Turiel 2007; 2008; Wainryb & Brehl, 2006). Although there are different theories of morality, it can be generally denoted as a domain concerned with concepts such as good and bad, right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate, and the evaluation of the status of particular actions in that domain (e.g. Hitlin & Vaisey, 2010, p. 5). Socially and culturally defined codes and principles of how to treat others and oneself are included in this domain, and it can be assumed that people's understandings with respect to beliefs, values, intentions, emotions and situational norms are crucial components of how they comprehend the world (e.g. Krofolic,

2009; Miller, 2006; Blasi 1993). In interaction, morality deals with meaning-making concerning what is appropriate, fair and right to do in a particular situation (e.g. Bergmann, 1998; Rommetveit & Linell, 1998). The pervasiveness of morality can be detected in every aspect of life: in everyday encounters participants hold each other accountable for their actions, values, claims and moral stances, often via invoking rights and responsibilities to accomplish those acts (e.g. Buttny, 1993; Paolicchi, 2007).

Scientific interest in children's moral growth also has a very long history, for which reason it is not possible in the context of this study to provide a complete overview of research on morality. Since this study considers morality in relation to children and the school environment, and attempts to open up new ways to capture and theorize morality, it seems logical to frame this study in relation to research on the development of morality and those studies that specifically explore children's morality. It should also be noted that in this study girls and boys are not treated as possessing different styles of moral reasoning. Although some studies, for instance by Kohlberg (e.g. 1984) and Gilligan (e.g. 1996), have argued the existence of separate moral worlds of boys and girls, it has also been demonstrated elsewhere that the similarities between boys and girls are greater than the differences (e.g., Goodwin, 1990, 2006; Sheldon, 1992, 1996).

2.2 Traditional views of moral development; stage theories

The general understanding of moral development is deeply rooted in the psychological domain, in particular to Jean Piaget's (e.g., 1965) and, later, Lawrence Kohlberg's (e.g., 1981; 1984) theories of the moral development and justice reasoning. Researchers on morality owe a debt especially to Kohlberg for bringing the study of moral development into the mainstream of educational and psychological research. Although these theories have received considerable critique (e.g. Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Tappan, 1997; Tholander, 2002; Turiel 2002; 2008), they are considered classic texts to which researchers return and debate time and again (Tappan, 2006).

The main focus of Kohlberg's and Piaget's sometimes labelled *structural-developmental* or *cognitive-developmental theories* is the universal principles of development of moral standards. Moral understandings begin to be formed in childhood, and developmental transformations, or stages, in moral thinking and behaviour take place from childhood to adulthood. Moral development is seen as a process in which moral understandings come to be distinguished from prudential and conventional understandings and then supersede them (e.g. Shweder, Mahapatra & Miller, 1987). According to Shweder et al., (1987) children do not adopt moral concepts and definitions from their social environment as such, but construct them in active relationship with their environment.

Jean Piaget (1896-1980) provided the foundation for research on moral development by conducting a series of observational investigations of children's moral judgments and actions studies referred to, by Piaget, as clinical inter-

views (Helkama, 2001, p. 181; Turiel, 2002; 2008). He characterized moral development as a process of a fixed sequence of stages taking place under the influence of age and environment (e.g., Lapsley, 2006). Piaget theorised that an optimal environment could propel children's development onto the subsequent stage. He proposed that young children's sometimes peculiar moral judgements were due to their limited understanding of intentionality and that psychological understandings are implicated in moral thinking (Wainryb & Brehl 2006). According to Piaget's theory, children move from egocentrism to more sociocentric perspective-taking and become more autonomous and less authority-oriented in their moral thinking; in other words, egocentrism diminishes as the child matures (Killen & Smetana, 2006). Piaget argued that moral development has two orientations, heteronomous and autonomous, the former emerging within the context of adult-child relationships and the latter within peer groups among equals (e.g., Lapsely, 2006.) The central premise of Piaget's theory is that concepts such as fairness and justice develop out of emerging understandings of mutual respect, co-operation, and behavioural guidelines (Helkama, 2001).

Lawrence Kohlberg (1927-1987) critiqued and extended Piaget's ideas, creating a theory of justice reasoning in which moral functioning represents the ways members conceptualize issues of right and wrong based on their understandings of justice, rights, and fairness (e.g. Kohlberg, 1981, 1984). His work concentrated on considerations of measuring morality and normative progression of self-reported moral analysis. In Kohlberg's famous 'Heinz's dilemmas' (e.g., a story in which Heinz has to steal drugs for his mortally ill wife) presented to boys of different ages, the participants' responses functioned as the criteria for the basis of moral development. In Kohlberg's theory moral development progresses from early stages in which morality is intertwined with self-interest and social norms, to more consistent, independent and responsible behaviour (Nucci, 2008, p. 657).

There are three levels to Kohlberg's theory of moral development, each level containing two stages. In the first, pre-conventional level (ages 0-10), children act to avoid punishment and obey authority. Children consider authority as an outside party and moral reasoning is based on the concrete consequences of acts. At the first stage, children think that if a person is punished, they must have done something wrong. At stage 2, children realize that more than one view can be held by those in authority. They begin to recognize the needs of others and to view acting appropriately as a pragmatic exchange in the pursuit of self-interest: you do things for others only if you deem them useful for yourself (e.g. Colby & Kohlberg, 1987; Helkama, 2001, pp. 186-188; Lapsley, 2006, pp. 46-47).

At the conventional level (ages 10-20), children or young adults begin to internalize authority, moral values, and standards, and moral reasoning is related to the approval of others and immediate surroundings. Self-interest is subordinated at first to the interests of shared relationships, and reasoning thus based on the norms of the group to which the person belongs (stage 3) and of society itself (stage 4). Furthermore, rule obeying is related to avoiding being guilty, and approval is considered to be earned by being pleasant.

At the final, post-conventional level (Age 20+ - maybe never), justice is at first considered prior to social conventions and legal regulations and then 'the self-conscious use of procedural justice checks on the validity of one's moral deliberation' (Kohlberg, 1984). A person differentiates a commitment to uphold moral standards from the requirements of being a member of society, which is to say that the person differentiates moral and legal points of view. Moral reasoning is, thus, based on individual rights and justice, and at the final stage (6) the person develops his or her own set of moral guidelines.

2.3 Challenging the cognitive models

The Piagetian and Kohlbergian cognitive models of morality view it as an internal psychological state and subject to a stage-wise process of maturity that takes place universally with respect to everyone. The models are based on the assumption that people act the same way regardless of the situation at hand. When only the level of moral development matters, morality can be predicted, and contextual affordances and constraints essentially overlooked. However, empirical research has not found a strong relationship between more advanced moral thinking and moral conduct (e.g., Stets, 2010, p. 386). For example, classic research in social psychology demonstrates the surprising extent to which human behaviour can be determined by immediate social demands, such as authority (Milgram, 1963) and conformity (Asch, 1951). Furthermore, cognitively oriented theories fail to explain why individuals do not always act in the same way, why they sometimes follow conventional rules and sometimes use the rules in a different way. In addition, what people do in interaction is complex, unforeseeable, and is often related to issues of social identity, power relations, and broader social and cultural processes (e.g. Packer & Scott, 1992; Tappan, 2006; Turowetz & Maynard, 2010).

In subsequent departure from the stage theories, some psychologists argued that the morality that children develop is a function of the culture in which they grow up (e.g. Schweder, 1990; 1991). In the theoretical accounts belonging to the *cultural psychology* tradition children's moral development is conveyed in three ways: a) everyday routines, b) the language of moral order guardians and c) emotional reactions. (e.g., Shweder & et al, 1987). Cultural psychologists have investigated, for example, children's conceptions of harm and care, fairness and reciprocity, and authority and respect (Haidt & Graham, 2007) and argued that children learn the morality of their elders through participation in everyday cultural practices (e.g. Haidt & Graham 2007). However, this theory lacks insight on how children learn from cultural participation and, thus, may make children appear as passive undergoers determined by their participation in cultural practices (see Miller, 2006).

In the view of *social domain theory*, children are seen as actively constructing their morality rather than absorbing it from their culture (e.g. Shaw & Wainryb, 2006). Domain theory rejects the role of culture and sees moral development as occurring through children observing the intrinsic effects of particu-

lar acts (Turiel, 2008). Investigations drawn from the social domain theory have examined, for example, how children judge some actions to be wrong and inappropriate (Wainryb & Brehl, 2006). However, there is little knowledge of how this information is compatible within interactions in actual day-to-day contexts.

Although developmental psychology research has moved beyond the Kohlbergian and Piagetian roots, for example towards cultural psychology and social domain theories, interaction in children's everyday social contexts has not been the central point of interest with respect to study of morality (however, see Donaldson, 1978). As previously discussed, there is a lack of knowledge about how children's moral practices are accomplished and how moral agency is displayed in moment-by-moment interaction, especially in the classroom and school playground. The reason for this is that most research on children's moral development has relied on written reports or experimental settings in which children have been asked to reason about hypothetical or real-life moral dilemmas, have been given scenarios, or have been asked to explain their conception of morally acceptable conduct (e.g. Gilligan 1996; Hawley 2003; Nucci 2006; Richardson, Mulvey & Killen, 2012). Although important in their field, such research does not tell much about lived interaction for several reasons.

Firstly, children's reasoning about hypothetical scenarios does not reveal what moral issues children actually confront in their personal interactions. Such scenarios are also typically oversimplified, whereas moral events in children's everyday lives are complex and unpredictable. Moreover, while such interviews might reveal what children say about moral issues, this is not necessarily compatible with how they would act in reality (Goodwin, 2006).

Another disadvantage of these studies is that they have been conducted in decontextualized ways with the individual separated from the context, and morality understood as something that happens primarily in the cognitive space of people's heads (e.g. Packer, 1987; Packer & Scott, 1992). The context has been conceived as a domain where an individual morality is played out. Thus, children's moral reasoning has been researched outside of social interaction and collaborative processes.

Furthermore, the use of pre-given categories in previous studies has led to the labelling of some children with skill-deficit explanations. When viewing children as deficient in some personal capacity, they have failed to place the child in their social setting. Moreover, these studies have labelled some children as having a negative interaction style, which has led their moral behaviour to be treated as an internal psychological state and the individual's 'problem' rather than as an interactional achievement.

In all, there is a lack of research on what children actually do and say in their moral practice. In addition, school moral education and the moral ability of children has mainly been understood as rule-following behaviour. However, predetermined and internalized norms do not regulate the actions of people in the way that it has been traditionally assumed. People are not just rule-followers, but also rule-creators, rule-breakers, rule-benders and rule-disputers (e.g. Tholander, 2002, p. 42). This will be discussed in more detail in the empirical and conclusion parts.

2.4 Ethnomethodological approach(es) to studying morality as a practice

To uncover children's moral practices as they actually unfold, the present applies an ethnomethodologically oriented approach to morality, which looks at how morality is constituted in interaction through the use of language and other multimodal resources (e.g. Cuff, 1994; Drew, 1998; Jayuusi, 1984; 1991; Turowetz & Maynard, 2010, p.504). From this perspective, children's morality will be investigated in terms of morality as social action. It is suggested that this can complement the cognitive psychological tradition by revealing how moral processes unfold in mediated interaction between individuals.

Studies in ethnomethodology (EM) including conversation analysis (CA) and discursive psychology (DP) have started to explore how individuals employ moral action in their everyday conduct interdependently with others (e.g., Drew, 1998; Jayuusi, 1984; 1991; Sterponi, 2003; 2009). This shifts the focus to how people in their everyday lives produce and are objects of moral evaluations, assign and are assigned blame or praise, display opinions about what they perceive as appropriate or inappropriate, and make choices regarding how to treat others in the midst of interaction (e.g. Buttny, 1993; Sneijder & Te-Molder, 2005; Stokoe & Edwards, 2007).

In his book *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), Goffman outlined how mundane interaction is much about moral identity and maintenance of 'face', in which everyone can maintain and claim appreciation as a social being in interaction (Goffman, 1959; 1967). According to Kendon (1992, p.30) Goffman's point was that 'people acted better than they know, and that more ingenious observations were needed to uncover this moral world'. And Goffman's ideas of this world, of the nature of the offences that we can give to each other for example, and the remedies available for avoiding such eventualities, unfold for us in people's daily lives a range of everyday moral sensibilities and duties which speaks to the distinctively human condition'.

For Goffman, morality in interaction is constructed by the ways in which participants position themselves as moral actors, and that social interaction is an autonomous entity worth investigation in its own right (Goffman, 1959; Heritage, 1996). People do many things in interaction in order to maintain their own and others' face, and interaction is much about creating moral identity. At the centre of this moral realm of interaction is the individual and the ways in which the individual is treated by the self and others (Goffman, 1959).

Inspired by Goffman and later by Harold Garfinkel (see method chapter), studies in ethnomethodology (EM), conversation analysis (CA) and discursive psychology (DP) started to explore *mundane morality*, that is, how people in everyday social interaction create the moral realm that they inhabit, for example holding each other accountable for their actions, making claims and taking stances, or invoking rights and responsibilities to perform those acts (Sterponi, 2009). This means that morality is a situated activity that is locally accomplished

and shared in everyday face-to-face interaction. Thus, morality, which has traditionally been treated as an individual mental construction, is defined as an interactional and situated practice that is best seen when participants themselves identify wrongdoing against local norms and claim responsibility in social interaction (e.g. Bergmann 1998; Buttny, 1993; Jayuusi 1991; Stokoe & Edwards, 2007; Tholander 2002). It is also important to note that in the analysis morality is portrayed as an exclusively discursive accomplishment and without reference to inner psychological structures (Drew, 1998; Turowetz & Maynard, 2010). Crucially, the goal is to examine morality *in* interaction and distinguish it from the morality *of* interaction.

The central distinction between individual- and interaction-oriented (EM, CA, DP) approaches arises from their approach to ontology. The individual approach regards people's talk as reflecting people's inner thoughts of morality, whereas the interaction-oriented perspective views language not as a comment on given, underlying reality, but as a constitutive feature of created social reality (e.g. Kurri, 2005, p. 10; Tholander, 2002, p. 37). Language in interaction enables people to decide what they are doing, what is appropriate to do in a particular situation, how they expect others to behave in the activity of the moment, and how peoples' situated identities are socially built. The main distinctions between the two approaches are presented in Table 2.1 (adapted from Michael Tholander, 2002, p. 33).

TABLE 2.1 Differences between cognitive and conversational approaches to morality

	Cognitive/individual approach	**Ethomethodological and interactional approach** [1]
Role of language	Mirror to mental processes and representations	Creator of moral reality in a given situation.
Role of context	Domain where morality is expressed.	Domain where morality is constructed.
Concept of development	Through stages.	Accumulation of moral repertoires.
Definition orientation	Individual's competence.	Mundane practice displayed in interaction and in social relations.
Interest	Individual's moral reasoning.	Morality enacted in daily interaction.
Communicative model	Monological.	Dialogical.
Epistemological focus (how information about morality can be gained)	Through questionnaires, interviews and laboratory experiments.	Through recordings of naturally occurring interaction.
Ontology	Viewpoint of individual's reasoning.	Socially produced and can be analysed as such.

[1] A collection of approaches such as EM, CA, and Socio cultural theory

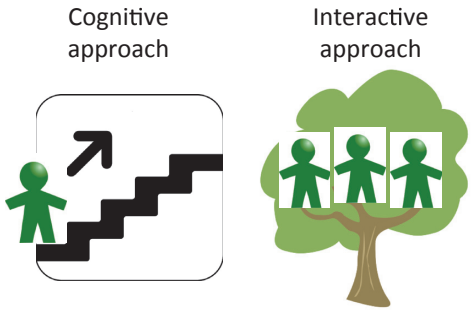

FIGURE 1 Differences between the cognitive and interactive approach to morality

Figure 1 represents a schematic illustration of the tendency of the cognitive approach to view children in a forward looking way, within a stage-like model of development in which children are seen as undergoers through a number of phases on their way to adulthood. Within stage models of morality, being adult is characterized as mature, rational and complete, and children, in contrast, are viewed as moral becomings rather than moral beings (see e.g. Butler, 2008). In the interactive approach, children are understood as social and moral actors who actively engage in the creation and re-production of their own social, moral and cultural worlds as an intersubjective process and everyday life experience (e.g. Corsaro, 2003; 2005).

2.4.1 Morality as interaction: what to study?

> Morality is constructed in and thorough social interaction, and the analysis of morality has to focus, accordingly, on the intricacies of everyday discourse. Through a thorough analysis of descriptive practices and the mechanisms of everyday interaction the working of morality can be revealed. (Bergmann, 1998; p. 286)

From the EM/CA perspective, morality is an intrinsic, although often invisible aspect of interaction. People usually do not explicitly talk about their own and others' morality, but there are several ways in which they bring moral issues into social interaction and, thus, consider themselves and others as moral agents. When people engage in morally-oriented activities, such as judging or making claims about others or giving accounts of their own behaviour, their activities both reflect and compose moral reality in the frame at hand (e.g. Heritage, 1996).

Within this view, one salient path to understanding how morality is enacted in interactions is *accountability*. Unseen aspects of morality become visible when *breaches* (or transgressions) in social practice occur (e.g., Bergmann, 1998; Cekaite, 2013; Evaldsson, 2005; 2007; Pomerantz, 1998; Sterponi 2009). A breach means a violation of a socially accepted rule or norm (Garfinkel, 1967). A breach of local rules or norms starts an account episode, through which moral stances are talked into being and made sense of. An account episode is a conversational sequence that initiates with the signalling of a breach, and then continues with

an account that aims to mitigate or deny the moral charge associated with the breach (Bergmann, 1998; Buttny, 1993; Garfinkel, 1967; Scott & Lyman, 1968).

Harold Garfinkel, the founder of EM (see next chapter), showed how familiar daily activities are treated by participants as 'natural' facts of life to which little attention is normally paid. When someone acts unexpectedly or inappropriately, people often respond by making claims and signaling responsibility for a breach of the norm (e.g. Garfinkel, 1967). However, what is counted as a breach is locally negotiated in interaction and, thus, something becomes a breach only in and through being taken up as a breach (Drew, 1998).

Examination of episodes containing accounts reveals how morality is built into the mechanics of everyday interpersonal exchanges. It is important, however, to make a distinction between breaches of social norms, and breaches of the organization of conversation. As will be discussed in the next chapter, conversational interaction is pervasively organized at fine level of detail by norms. Conversations may contain breaches of turn-taking, for example, which do not imply any breaches of moral norms. Thus, every breach in conversation is not moral unless it is treated as moral by the participants. In this study, the data selected for analyses presented in the articles contained breaches of local rules and norms. The analyses illuminate how children call each other to account for or remediate (mis)conduct, and they also display the transmission of moral values and moral discourse.

Below an adjacency pair example is given which is drawn from Article 3 of a case of a breach regarding social norms rather than that of organization of conversation. This example and its analysis shows that a breach perceived as moral has clear distinctively features which differentiates it from a breach of conversational rules. In this example, moral work is displayed through one child accusing the other of breaking local rules, using the morally loaded word and category 'cheater', and creating polarized categories of "you and us" which often constitutes an initiation to exclusion.

Eino: You have been cheating us.
Pate: How so?

When participants request and provide accounts, the practices involve individual and interpersonal positioning with moral boundaries. Therefore, the practice of accountability affords the local construction of participants' moral identity (Sterponi 2009; Turowetz & Maynard, 2010; Zimmerman, 2008). The other type of moral action related to this phenomenon concerns responsibility. Bakhtin (1981) used the term response-ability, where a person performs an action and others hold the person accountable for that action (see also Linell, 2009). Response-ability and accountability thus posit the individual as an autonomous and responsible actor while at the same time regulating and mediating the individual's moral actions.

In sum, moral aspects and practices of accountability and responsibility are seen as always being present in interaction. As stated by Jayyusi (1991, p.

242): 'The constitution of action, events, and "facts" are inherently moral, whether these moral features are explicitly topicalized and made the focus in situ, or whether they remain resources, present but unnoticed organizing properties of talk and action'. By paying attention to people acting and responding to each other's action and creating the moral realm they are in, EM/CA approaches provide a unique contribution to morality research. Thus, from the perspective of interactional theory, children's morality will not be investigated as the internalization of a set of progressively higher moral standards, but in terms of morality as social action. In contrast to traditional models of morality, the moral value of an action is not seen as something stable. Rather, moral value is something that is constructed in interaction as an intersubjective process. Analysing moral practices means finding discursive acts, not objective facts (Harré & Stearns, 1995). It is important to point out that in the analysis morality is portrayed as an exclusively discursive accomplishment and no reference to inner psychological structures is needed.

2.5 Theory of morality informed by sociocultural theory

Especially the first sub-study of this dissertation combines ethnomethodological and sociocultural approaches in examination of manifestation of practices of morality in children' everyday classroom interaction. Socioculturally oriented theory of morality can be seen resonating with the ethnomethodologial approach, as both approaches pay attention to talk and other meaning making resources, and treat them as embedded within, and informed by, the communicative practices of the wider sociocultural community (Tappan, 2006). Both approaches see moral reasoning as an interactional and situated activity shaped by the particular social, cultural and historical context in which it occurs and are, thus, in their basic premises incompatible with the individualistic view of moral development. In order to understand moral practice transpiring in interaction, understanding of the context in which it happens is of critical relevance (e.g. Bhatia, 2000, Day & Tappan, 1996).

Sociocultural theory is strongly grounded in Vygotsky's (1934/1987) empirical and theoretical work on higher mental functioning. Vygotsky proposed that learning and contact with the world in general are mediated by the use of talk and semiotic signs, and this mediation can be implicit or explicit (Wertsch, 2007). Much of sociocultural work has focused on the ways in which mediational means shape human mental functioning, and sociocultural theory has been applied to a number of issues in human development and education (e.g. Rogoff, 2003).

Combining both sociocultural and ethnomethodological approaches in analytical techniques such as conversation analysis offers useful tools for elucidating how moral learning takes place as situated activity and for clarifying in detail what transpires between participants of intersubjective action.

2.6 Children's moral practices and agency

As discussed, in recent years studies in conversation analysis and discursive psychology have started to explore morality as everyday social practice. Interest in examining children's morality from these perspectives is therefore growing, but thus far only little attention has been paid to how children deal with moral issues in every day classroom interaction in the absence of direct teacher supervision.

Substantial work on everyday morality as practiced among children in the classroom has been done by Michael Tholander. In his study (2002), Tholander focused on students' moral practices in Swedish junior high schools by analysing selected sequences containing sub-teaching, gendered teasing, and gossiping. He demonstrated how teasing in school can be seen as a way of controlling norm transgressions, and how pupils often rely on their peers both in the staging of teases and in response work. Furthermore, he illuminated how girls and boys orient to gender in teasing practices, and how cross-gender teasing is far more common than same-gender teasing. His study revealed some of the skills and competencies that pupils must master in order to engage successfully in peer group interaction. His conclusion was that 'school is perhaps not foremost a place where one learns a set of moral norms, but an arena where one learns to practically manage oneself in and through talk-in-interaction' (2002, p. 75).

Svahn's (2012) ethnographic work on a 5th grade class in a Swedish elementary school, which included an ethnomethodological approach, is yet another example of research that has contributed to a more thorough understanding of moral practices in peer interaction in school and, more specifically, everyday practice of school bullying. She focused on children's participation in peer group activities as well as in school-based anti-bullying activities within school settings. For instance, her study revealed how school bullying intervention practice set the stage and the trajectory for a gossip dispute event in which the accused girls come up with their own versions of the account and formulated their own versions of the account and the future consequences for the girl deemed accountable for telling on them (Evaldsson & Svahn, 2012). Svahn argues that there is a need to challenge the individualistic approach to bullying, and to recognize the social and moral orders that children orient to in their everyday life at school (Svahn, 2012).

In an Australian study of classroom management practices, Powell, Danby and Farrell (2006) illuminated how girls and boys co-constructed gendered activities to reconstruct moral rules in the classroom. They showed how the girls competently participated in the covert activity of passing notes outside of the teacher's gaze, whereas the boys competently participated in passing notes overtly, thereby gaining the membership of their male teacher into their activity.

Other studies concerning children's moral peer practices can be found in examinations of children's interactions in the playground and other school-free settings. For example, peer exclusions and hierarchies have been explored in

studies investigating children's friendships and interactions, demonstrating how children create peer exclusion through co-producing hierarchies (Bateman, 2010; Evaldsson, 2007; Goodwin, 2002, 2006; Griswold, 2007; Sheldon, 1996). Bateman, for example, described children's use of the collective pro-terms we and us to explicate affiliation and exclusion in peer interactions (Bateman, 2012), as well as using primary school playground huts as places for exclusion and inclusion (Bateman, 2010; 2012). Sheldon (1996) provided an example of play where two girls exclude a third girl in spite of the latter playing the role of a pretend character relevant to the ongoing action and logic of play. Furthermore, in the data analysed by Goodwin (2002), exclusions were performed indirectly as well as explicitly and directly in the form of insults, imperatives, and stories, where an excluded girl was treated as a non-person. Griswold's (2007) findings indicated that children accomplish subordination and authority through talk and body positions in role-play, and authority was seen to be ratified by participants voluntarily positioning themselves as subordinate. In a study by Kyratzis (2007), children drew categories from adult culture and created divisions in hierarchy and authority.

This study also contributes to the multidisciplinary studies of children's agency. Although the concept of agency is multidisciplinary and used for many purposes, it can be generally understood as concerning how people act in intentionally and socially appropriate ways in order to set and achieve personal and interpersonal goals (e.g. Al Zidjaly, 2009; Davies, 1991; Rogoff, 2003; Valentine, 2011). On one hand, agency relates to a person's ability to act independently, and on the other hand, it can be seen as arising through intersubjectivity, because intersubjectivity enables the actor to gain perspective of others and beyond the immediate situation (Gillespie & Cornish, 2010). In recent years, agency has become recognized as an important aspect of children's lives, and children are increasingly considered as active citizens and influential participants in their socially and culturally situated activities. Promotion of agency has been foundational to learning and wellbeing outcomes (e.g., Corsaro, 2005; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Masford-Scott & Church, 2011; Valentine, 2010) from both an educational and human rights perspective.

By investigating the contexts in which moral practices are managed by emphasizing children's agentive use of language and embodied interaction, and uncovering the practices children use to create their own moral arena and address moral aspects that they themselves deem as moral, this study also sheds new light on children's agency. Events naturally occurring in children's interactions can reveal children's own methods and practices, aspects usually unseen by adults, and in this way encourage practitioners to empower children's reasoning and decision making.

3 DATA AND METHODS: ANALYSING TALK AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

> Talk is unique, however, for talk creates for the participant a world and a reality that has other participants in it. Joint spontaneous involvement is aunio mystico, a socialized trance. We must see that conversation has a life of its own and makes demands on its own behalf. (Goffman 1967, p. 113).

The key analytic methods and constructs used to disclose moral practices and inform the interpretations of what children do in their interactions with each other were *conversation analysis* (CA) together with other ethnomethodological (EM) resources including *membership categorization analysis* (MCA), *multimodal analysis,* (e.g. Sacks, 1992) and Goffman's concept of *frame* (1974). These frameworks lend to analysis of data from an emic perspective (insider's view of reality) enabling investigation of how children jointly construct the interactional event in which they are engaged and orient to the issues that they themselves deem as moral. An emic perspective also allows the freedom to observe children's genuine interaction without being restricted by limited, pre-defined categories of behaviour (Seedhouse, 2005).

This chapter briefly presents these methods with a focus on conversation analysis, and comments on their relevance to the study. At the end of the chapter the fieldwork of the study and an outline of the research phases are presented and research ethics are discussed.

3.1 Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology (henceforth EM), literally the study of people's methods, was first coined by sociologist Harold Garfinkel in the 1960s and has since emerged within sociology as a discipline with a unique focus on the relationship between social structure and daily practice (Rawls, 2010, p. 105). Garfinkel and Erwing Goffman identified significant gaps in the study of social life, and Garfinkel, inspired the writings of Alfred Schutz and other phenomenologists,

noted that every activity can be conceived as having a 'self-organizing' character (see Garfinkel, 1967). In other words, Garfinkel argued that social life is fundamentally a matter of practical reasoning, and that members' commonsense knowledge should become a topic of study, rather than simply a resource (Hutchby & Wooffit, 2007). Thus, researchers should seek the orderly features of social activities in the way they are produced by those who participate in them. The aim is not to understand how norms and rules are internalized, but rather to identify the methods that members use for accounting for their actions and those of others (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1996; Hutcby & Wooffit, 2008). This means that no action is produced mechanically by participants according to set rules or requirements. Rather, participants produce the orderliness of their activities locally in the course of the activity itself (Cuff & Payne, 1985, pp. 155-157).

EM is concerned with observing mundane everyday practices and the fundamental question of 'how such mundanely available ordinary action is accomplished?' (Heritage 1996; Hester & Eglin, 1997). Understanding about who people are to each other and what they do are constituted in and through interaction, through conduct in here-and-now social activities (Heritage 1996; Garfinkel 1967). The main premise of EM is that social order – as an ongoing result of face-to-face interaction – is something that manifests in everyday mundane interactions and is observable and reportable both to researchers and to all members of society. Thus, the role of the researcher is to explore how participants perceive order and meaning in their lives and describe these empirically by producing descriptions of everyday social organization activities and how these activities are produced and recognized by members (Heritage 1996; Hung 2011). The relevance of EM for this study is that through its resources it is possible to observe children's interaction directly as it happens. Therefore, the aim in this study is to document the coordinated courses of action that the children accomplish, rather than analytically or theoretically pre-empting what those courses of interaction would look like (Austin et al., 2000).

3.2 Conversation analysis

The insights of ethnomethodology provided the basis for conversation analysis, which is both an established research area and research methodology (Heritage, 1996). Conversation analysis (hereafter CA) was established in the 1960s and 1970s, based on the work of sociologist Harvey Sacks and colleagues Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (e.g. see Heritage, 2004; Ten Have, 2007). Although it has its roots in EM, it has its own principles and procedures and focuses exclusively on actions that are manifested through talk and non-verbal interaction (Sert & Seedhouse, 2011).

Conversation analysis is a micro-analytic examination of conversational practices that produces fine-grained descriptions of how talk and embodiments in interaction are carried out (e.g., Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Psathas, 1995,

Tainio, 1997). It aims to 'describe, analyse, and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life' (Sidnell, 2011, p. 1). Drawing on the premises of EM, CA identifies and examines participants' own methods of producing and interpreting social interaction, enabling the analysis of data from an emic perspective. A very fundamental idea within CA is that conduct in interaction is orderly at a fine level of detail, and this orderliness is an outcome of participants' orientation to norms in both its production and interpretation (Sacks, 1984: Sidnell & Stivers, 2011).

EM and CA are not concerned with what people are thinking or what are their intentions, but what they are doing (Heritage, 1996). Thus, participants' intentions or references to their mental representations are left out. Mutual understanding between people in interactions, intersubjectivity, can be defined as a process occurring between members that cannot be attributed to any one person in interaction (e.g. Rogoff 1998; Rommetveit, 1985). With the use of CA, analytic access can be gained to the situated achievement of intersubjectivity by focusing on the situated organization of talk and its specific organization (Edwards, 1997; Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008). For this study it provides an approach to the interaction which is not removed from the children's own understanding of the relatedness of each utterance.

3.2.1 Basic principles of conversation analytic research

Video- (or audio-) recorded naturally occurring data. CA is generally based on video or audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions. As the participants have provided consent and are aware of the recording of their conversations, the recordings are conducted as non-intrusively as possible to minimize their impact on 'natural' behaviour (see Potter 2002). Videotaping captures the data in a way that most closely resembles its original form and can be considered to serve as a memory aid, allowing the researcher to carefully examine individual events multiple times (see Sidnell & Stivers, 2012; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Through recording the interaction of participants engaged in everyday interaction, these interactions can be transcribed in detail and watched and listened to repeatedly, which allows careful examination of how talk and embodiments are jointly and sequentially organized and constructed. Inseparable from the naturally occurring video data is the manner in which the interaction in transcribed (e.g. Jefferson, 2004). In CA transcripts every single utterance, pauses, overlap, changes in volume, laughter and nonverbal actions are included. By including also the non-verbal aspects of interaction, such as laughter, body posture, changes in pitch, lengths of pauses, nonverbal gestures, and overlapping speech, with CA it is possible to reveal how much these aspects of interaction matter in engaging in and making sense of social interaction (e.g. Depperman, 2013; Goodwin, 2000; Kidwell, 2011).

Since one of the fundamentals of CA is that **no detail of interaction can be assumed to be irrelevant for the participants** (Heritage 1984, pp. 241–243), the data and analytic tools have to make all details available for analysis. An un-

willingness to dismiss features of interaction as unrelated to the focus of examination makes a particular strength of CA (Church, 2009, p. 35).

Interaction is seen as sequentially organized and the nature of turn-taking is at the heart of CA. CA focuses on how interactional practices are produced and made relevant to the participants themselves. These can be uncovered by studying the sequential organization of talk, i.e. the way in which actions and utterances are ordered (e.g. Schegloff 2007). Based on this assumption, the participants realize and make sense of social action through orienting to sequential organization. Each turn in a conversation is understood as doing something and as consequential for the ongoing social action (Sidnell & Stivers, 2012; Ten Have, 2007). Both the speaker and the recipients each reflect on previous turns and construct forthcoming talk. Through the sequential analysis of talk it is possible to examine how participants make sense of what a prior speaker is saying or doing and produce talk from one turn to the next in a trajectory of action (e.g., Heritage 1996: 241; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Sacks 1984). Thus, the analysis is based not on what participants are intending to do, but on what actually happens when participants engage in practical activities and making sense of them (e.g. Sidnell & Stivers 2012).

In CA, social interaction is recipient design. Each turn is created for a particular recipient in a particular conversation (Sacks, et al. 1974), and thus every turn in conversation characterizes and embodies the speaker and recipient(s). Thus, in their interaction participants display assumptions about what they know or do not know. For example, a question to one participant by another participant both proposes that the second participant is knowledgeable about the information required, and that the first speaker is less informed (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990).

Analysis is bottom-up and data-driven. Characteristic of EM and CA is the avoidance of preconceptions that may influence the analysis while encouraging the emergence of data that guides the researcher (e.g. Garfinkel, 1967; Ten Have, 2007; Seedhouse, 2005). When a CA makes use of categories such as male, female, old, young etc., the researcher is obligated to demonstrate analytically that these categories are relevantly part of the analysis and performed by participants on the scene (Goodwin, 2006; pp. 13-14). In other words, CA requires unmotivated observation and a priori categorizations should be avoided, unless there is evidence in the details of the interaction that the participants themselves are orienting to such a categorization (Seedhouse, 2005; Sert & Seedhouse, 2011, pp. 1-2).

Interaction is both context-shaped and context-renewing. Any participant's turn or action is doubly contextual, both context-shaped and context-renewing, because its contribution to an ongoing interaction cannot be adequately understood except by reference to the sequential environment in which it occurs (e.g. Heritage, 1996; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). It also forms part of the sequential environment in which the next contribution will occur (Seedhouse, 2005). Thus, the meaning of an action is shaped by the sequence of the previous actions from which it emerges, and that social action is itself dy-

namically created in and through the sequential organization of interaction (Heritage, 2005).

Social solidarity and maintenance of face. As discussed in the previous chapter, Erving Goffman outlined how mundane interaction is much about people's moral identity and maintenance of 'face', in which everyone can maintain and claim appreciation as a social being in interaction (Goffman, 1959, 1967). One systematic mechanism of interaction revealed through CA is its tendency to promote solidarity and reduce conflict by prompting the provision of utterances that strengthen relations between speakers (e.g. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Austin et al. 2000).

3.3 Other approaches used to complete the analysis

In this study, CA is used in all individual sub-studies. However, three other means of complementing the analysis are utilized in the articles. In the first and second sub-study the data analysis is completed using the analytical tool of Goffman's frame (1974). In addition, a multimodal perspective (e.g. Depperman, 2013; Hazel, Mortensen & Rasmussen, 2013; Lindwall & Ekström, 2012; Streeck et. al. 2012) is applied in the first sub-study. In the third article, membership categorization analysis (MCA) is used as another methodological framework.

3.3.1 Goffman's concept of frame

Goffman's frame concept offered an important view of how talk and nonverbal communication, such as embodiments, work as an intermediary between act and context. It revealed how children establish, maintain, and change shared frames and apply them to ongoing activities to make sense of situations and to know what kinds of actions are expected (Goffman, 1974). The frame is a shared perspective or working consensus regarding the definition of the situation, 'Just as a picture frame involves an instruction that what is enclosed by it must be regarded according to different premises than its surroundings, a communicative frame bounds the messages exchanged within its confines.' (Bateson, 1976; Streeck, 1983).

Participants in interaction establish frames in order to gain some idea of what is expected of them, and apply them to ongoing activities to make sense of situations (Goffman, 1974). Frames are seldom verbally stated; instead, participants use a variety of contextual cues to signal and establish the frame. A core requirement for participants is to achieve, maintain and switch shared frames and, in doing so, achieve a degree of consensus regarding a definition of the situation at hand (Streeck, 1983). Participants are expected to align their orientation to 'what goes on' and systematically disattend out-of-frame activities going on at the same time. For example, play is differentiated from serious talk, and identical linguistic forms can have quite different meanings in these two different frames. Frames should be seen as dynamic and not given once and for all. In

addition, there can be frames within frames, in which a subset of the interaction can be bracketed as a separate embedded episode. (Goffman, 1974; MacLachlan & Reid, 1994; Streeck, 1983; Aarsand, 2008.)

3.3.2 Membership categorization analysis

Membership categorization analysis (MCA) also has its roots in ethnomethodology and was, like CA, developed by Harvey Sacks. MCA focuses on how participants accomplish everyday activities by using and making sense of categories of themselves and others, places or activities (e.g. Baker 1997; Hester & Eglin 1997; Jayyusi, 1991; Sacks 1992; Silverman 1998). Sacks (1992, 40) states that 'a great deal of knowledge that members of a society have about the society is stored in terms of the categories'. Categories are shared and public cultural resources through which people construct their understanding of society, themselves and others. With the use of MCA, it is possible to illustrate how language use organizes reality into shared entities, and how cultural, social and moral orders are established, maintained and challenged in and through language. Membership categories are essentially terms used in the identification, description or referencing of persons (McHoul & Watson 1984), and with MCA it is possible to reveal how participants exploit membership and non-membership to explicate affiliations and exclusions, and construct situated identities (e.g. Antaki & Widdicombe 2008; Baker 1997; Butler 2008; Housley & Fitzgerald 2002; Watson 1978).

Categories are tied to particular actions or characteristics that both constitute and reflect expectations of normative behaviours of a specific situation and a group. Watson notes that because certain activity descriptions are related to certain membership categories ('category-bound activities'), describing an activity in a certain way can supply the relevant identity of the persons involved (Watson 1978). With the use of MCA it is possible to show how in interaction members invoke and accomplish selves and others as incumbents of particular categories, and the inferential order these descriptions rely on (Hester & Eglin, 1992). What is significant in this study related to MCA is that Sacks's notion of category bound actions, rights, and obligations not only points out the moral features of category concepts but also the moral accountability of certain actions or omissions (Jayyusi 1991, 240).

3.4 Multimodal interaction

In social interaction, actions are not usually organized within a single medium such as talk but instead constructed through simultaneous use of multisemiotic resources such as gestures, body postures, laughter, changes in pitch, and material and mental artefacts such as books, tables, figures (e.g. Depperman, 2013: Ivarsson, Linderoth & Säljö, 2009). Social interaction can always be seen as multimodal, and words and displayed action should be understood as reciprocially

intertwined (Hazel, Mortensen & Rasmussen, 2013; Lindwall & Ekström, 2012). All multimodal resources may mediate not only interaction, but instruction and learning, shared understanding and development, support cognition, organize knowledge and participation, and understanding is bound to these resources (e.g. Luff, Heath & Hindmarsh, 2000, Nevile, 2015).

Analysing data from a multimodal perspective means treating the visual and semiotic aspects of interaction as an important focus of the analysis (e.g. Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron, 2011). Multimodal analysis combined with CA has, for instance, been used to show how talk and different multimodal resources have complementary relationships (e.g. Goodwin, 2000; 2003; Haddington, Keisanen & Nevile, 2013; Lindwall & Ekström, 2012; Streeck, 2003). There prevails some obscurity with the term *multimodal*, because it is used by different research communities in somewhat different ways than in CA (e.g. see Depperman, 2013; Kress & van Leuuwen, 2001). In addition, the term 'embodied interaction' is also used to refer to the interconnectedness of gestures and talk (Streeck, 2013). In this study multimodal perspective is utilized along with other approaches especially in sub-study I.

3.5 Fieldwork and outline of the research phases

This study is based on video-recording of spontaneous interaction and ethnographic observation of five primary classrooms in Finland. Video-recordings and observations were carried out between May 2011 and January 2012 in five different classrooms drawn from five urban schools. There were two Grade 1 classrooms, and one classroom from Grades 2, 3 and 4 each. The schools were selected based on a voluntary basis as being typical, mainstream schools situated in the province of Central Finland. All school were public schools with catchment area in the neighbouring community. Children participating in the study were between ages 7 and 11 years. The whole database included 26 hours of classroom interaction, from which the data for the separate sub-studies were drawn. Data were collected both during class time and during the lunch periods and breaks when the children were in the classrooms (in the latter instance occasionally without adult supervision).

Before data collection, participant consent forms were given to teachers and the children's guardians in the five classrooms. All participants, parents and legal guardians were informed about the aim of the research project in parent meetings. The information comprised the aims, practices of data gathering, analysis and storage of data, anonymization of data and reporting of results. It was emphasized that participation in the study is voluntary and withdrawing from the study is possible at any time. Participants were also informed that the research will not be focussed on any particular child and the children's skills or competencies will not be evaluated in any way. Written consent was received from all target participants.

The video-recorded data was collected by the author of this study with seemingly minimal disruption of the ongoing normal classroom action. The aim was to video-record all interaction occurring in the classroom without the researcher's involvement. Two digital or three video cameras on tripods were used; one located at the back and the other(s) to the side of the classroom. The cameras functioned as kinds of non-participating bystanders that enabled the observation of actions occurring between children that teachers often do not know or notice (see Davies, 1989). The researcher was present, kept a diary of observations, and minimized her participation in the ongoing action by taking also the role of a bystander. She responded to the children usually only if they initiated contact with her. She also conducted some interviews with children and teachers on an ad hoc basis to obtain specific information. However, the emphasis was on the videotaped data, and the goal was not to collect a representative sample of ethnographic field work, but to allow for variation in the data (see Tholander, 2011).

The analyses are based on video tapings of the particular episodes and their transcriptions. Transcriptions with respect to verbal and non-verbal action were made using conversation analytic system of transcription developed by Jefferson (2004; for more details please see the appendices of the individual articles). All names of the participants were changed to ensure anonymity. In the process of reporting the findings of the sub-studies, the transcriptions were translated from Finnish into English, and both the Finnish original excerpts and their English translations were included in the journal papers.

In CA research, transcriptions serve as accounts of the features of the interaction that have been identified as relevant for the analysis. Transcriptions are typically constrained by the perspective of the researcher, the purpose of the research or they are bound to the theory of choice (e.g. Church, 2009). In order to minimize these unintended constraints the transcription processes involved repeated reviewing of the video data to ensure that each episode was documented as closely to the actual events as possible (see Silverman, 2004).This required the researcher to return to the video data on a regular basis to make slight amendments to the transcriptions throughout the analysis. According to Sacks (1984, p. 26,) video recordings make data analysis transparent to others and available for scrutiny of analytic claims and interpretations.

Since this study had it interests in children's moral practices in naturally occurring interaction, the first step of the analysis was to search for particular episodes, themes and patterns in the videotaped material that were relevant to the research aim. After identification the potential episodes with relevant themes were transcribed. Initial interest focused on 'accountability'-sequences in which at least one child was held accountable for breaching some social rule or norm. Through a repeated review of the video recordings and their transcriptions, phenomena of interest began to emerge.

The topic of the first sub-study was identified based on an episode which included children using a teacher banned counting rhyme, and at the outset one child was held accountable for reciting the rhyme. Preliminary observation of

the episode illuminated how the children engaged in rule negotiating of the rhyme with the use of embodiments and frame shifting. The first sub-study was based on extended case analysis (Hutcby & Wooffit, 2006, pp. 120-122) concerning the multifaceted rule negotiation processes in an uncharted context of children's use of rhymes. The CA methodology was used to operationalise some of the key elements of the sociocultural perspective on moral development

Frame shifting was identified as salient strategy also in an episode of classroom dispute between two boys which drew upon the resources of the video game world and a verbally-constructed fight. This episode became the context of interest in the next sub-study (II). As in Study 1, an extended case was chosen to in order to unveil how different frames (e.g. those of pretend and real life) are utilized by children in their interaction.

The third sub-study started to form as it became evident in the process of reviewing that videotapes that children's accusations were quite common in the data. Two different episodes were chosen to illuminate accusations as they are collaboratively accomplished in classroom peer interaction in the absence of a teacher. In both cases, one child was accused of a breach regarding local classroom rules and local peer group norms. The analysis utilized membership categorization analysis, Rules 1 and 2 constituting the construct of accountable actions by Sacks (1992), and the participation framework by Goffman.

The analyses of the three sub-studies are based on extended case perspectives, and sub-study III utilized also the double case perspective. The benefit of analyzing an extended case is that they can be analysed in their entirety, and it is possible to track in detail their various conversational resources which inform and drive the process (Hutchby & Wooffit, 2008, p. 121). Extended sequences can show how the episode unfolds as complex action on a turn by turn, and action by action basis (see Schegloff, 1987) from the beginning to the end. In sub-study I, for instance, detailed analysis utilizing an extended case revealed a great richness of mutltimodal resources and precise timing in coordinated talk. Although the cases in this study are unique and the aim is not to make conclusions based on statistically generalizable data, the cases can disclose interactional phenomena and social worlds of universal interest. The issue of single case study is further discussed in Chapter 5.5.

3.6 Ethics of the study

The research was planned and carried out according to the guidelines set by the Finnish National Advisory Board and ethical best practice regarding research with children (e.g. Einarsdottir, 2007; Johnson & Christensen, 2010). The appropriate permissions were requested from the school principals and participating teachers and from the children and their parents or legal guardians. In four of the five schools the study was also introduced at a parents' meeting in the presence of the class teacher. Parents were invited to sign permission on an entirely

voluntary basis. Participants were given the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any time.

To ensure confidentiality, all identifying information on the participants was omitted in reporting the results. In the articles, the children were referred to by pseudonyms. Some pictures of the children are included in the research articles, but the children's faces are obscured. The researcher has had the sole right of access to the research data.

4 OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGINAL STUDIES

STUDY 1

Niemi, K. 2015 (in press) "Because I Point Myself as the Hog": Interactional Achievement of Moral Decisions in a Classroom. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2016.02.002

The first article dealt with children's situated moral negotiations in classroom peer interaction in the absence of a teacher. The conversation analytic methodology was used to operationalize some of the key elements of the sociocultural perspective of moral development. In addition, Goffman's concept of frame was also utilized as an analytic framework.

The first-grade children observed had been using a counting rhyme that they recited when competing over ranking or turn-taking. Their teacher banned the rhyme, arguing that someone might feel hurt if identified in the rhyme as a 'hog'. The children, however, still wanted to chant the rhyme and so began circumnavigating this impasse by shifting the frame and constructing different counting rhyme rules to the overarching teacher-advised rules while reciting the rhyme.

The analyses of single extended episodes offered a rich and complex picture of collaborative production of morality. Moral meaning-making was spontaneous and began from a transgression of a teacher-imposed rule, which was at first treated as an accountable action. While reciting the rhyme and constructing new game rules, the children demonstrated that they knew the implicit meaning of the counting rhyme and what action they could be held accountable for: pointing and name-calling as a hog. These implicit meanings were never verbalized as such, but displayed with the use of a variety multisemiotic tools. These semiotic tools were distributed throughout the interaction and were the means by which the children resolved the contradiction between the teacher's will and authority and their own will to chant the rhyme and exert their moral autonomy and ownership of the issue.

The children's moral negotiation was a collaborative intersubjective process using spoken words and multisemiotic resources. Intersubjectivity required sensitivity to others and the ability to look from and reconcile different perspectives. The study also showed how shared frames of reference are important aspects of intersubjectivity, whether the frames are explicitly recognized or remain implicit.

An important aspect of children's morality revealed here is that even though the children contravened the teacher's (or school institution's) will and asserted their own authority over that of the teacher, their own solution was still in line with the teacher's rule. The children were capable not only of knowing why some issues might be prohibited, but also of resolving and playing with these issues, emphasising their moral capability.

The study enabled close observation and analysis of semiotic, conversational and interactional mediations of moral functioning in real life through the example of children's moral practices. Moral cognition is distributed across environments, in social relationships and in cultural artefacts, such as counting rhymes. The counting rhyme was a locally renegotiated peer cultural artefact, through which was possible to sustain and transmit their own peer culture. This account of children's sophisticated employment of moral agency suggests that teachers need to be aware of and pay attention to children's capability to contribute to their own moral learning.

STUDY 2

Niemi, K. 2014. "I will send badass viruses." Peer threats and the interplay of pretend frames in a classroom dispute. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 66, 106-121.

The second study dealt with threats, especially pretend threats, in children's everyday dispute interactions in the absence of their teacher. The analysed episode concerned a dispute between two first-grade boys. The main aim of the study was to extend understanding of children's interactions and disputes by showing how young boys constructed threats in pretend frames within a classroom peer dispute by drawing upon the resources of the video game world and a verbally-constructed fight. The study utilized conversation analysis and Goffman's concept of frame as analytical frameworks.

The analysis revealed how the boys switched from one pretend frame to another or to a real-life frame, and how different realities and multiple roles were omnipresent in the children's interactions. It also illuminated how pretend threats worked differently to others sorts of threats and, in contrast to other studies on threats, they escalated the dispute sequence.

Using pretence, the participants posited threats and built attack strategies in video game and mass fight frames, even though they were in a classroom and unable to carry out the threats at that moment. The use of threats in a pre-

tend frame, such as a video game frame, were also opportunities to bring outside-school activities into the classroom. The boys did not have the chance to play video games in class, but they used the violent and fighting aspects of video games as a resource in the dispute. However, after fighting in the video game frame, the boys started to build attack strategies in a fight frame located in a pretend frame, but with 'real' people. It would appear that what happens in the video game world impacts the real world.

Another interesting observation was that the dispute occurred as other children were arriving at the classroom and the teacher had yet to enter. The other children settled down and read their books almost without paying any attention to the dispute, which was taking place across the classroom. The only time that a third person intervened was when one child called the other a 'lousy friend'. This study thus illuminated that there are different moral orders in real and pretend frames, and when insults do occur in the real-life frame they disrupt the established moral order.

The study uncovered different and overlapping realities in children's peer interaction and allows a clearer insight into children's social worlds in relation to engagement with new technologies. By invoking different frames, it was possible for the boys to elevate their status in different frames and with the use of threats. The border zone between real and pretend is fluid, and harmful threats, including violence, were invoked in both frames. The video game world influenced the real world and vice versa, and this interplay was kept ongoing through the children's social competencies. However, the moral order was different in the pretend and real-life frames.

The study also showed how the teacher settled the dispute by rebuking one boy and telling him to apologize. However, this common practice among teachers of singling out one party as responsible neglects that disputes are always interactional and therefore cannot be confined to any one individual. Singling out may not, therefore, be the best way to resolve conflict. Moreover, it is important to note that labelling a child as antisocial is counterproductive and risks typecasting the condemned child.

STUDY 3

Niemi, K., & Bateman, A. 2015. 'Cheaters and Stalkers': Accusations in a classroom. *Discourse studies*, 17 (1), 83-98.

The third study explored children's accusations as collaboratively accomplished in classroom peer interaction in the absence of a teacher. In both cases, one child was accused not only of noncompliance regarding local classroom rules, but also of wrongdoing against peers. Causations of disobedience to the local rules were invoked as the children threatened the accused with telling on them to the teacher and the ensuing repercussions. The theoretical and methodological

frameworks were conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis combined with Sacks' (1962) paper on 'Accountable Actions'.

The analysis was based on two video-recorded episodes that had analogous features. The first episode was drawn from a 'homework detention', commonly called 'laiskanläksy' in Finnish, roughly translated as 'homework of the lazy one', where a group of children had to stay after school to complete a previously assigned homework task. The second extract was from an indoor break period held in the classroom following a physical education class.

The analysis showed how accusations were collaborative achievements, and the participation framework was co-produced and re-organized in a systematic way, resulting in one child being excluded and positioned against the others. The sequential organization in each of the two observations showed that wrongdoing was implicated in previous turns and accusations were responded to with denials, but without accounts or counter-accusations, as compared to previous literature. Denials were used as a response to accusations, but they failed to gain acceptance from the accusers. Both claim situations led to 'a reality analysis' (Hester & Francis, 1997) in which the accusers provided evidence-based knowledge against the accused to support their accusation. Epistemic access constituted the participation framework such that the accusers had evidence-based knowledge and, thus, were able to talk on behalf of the one accused. Thus, epistemic issues, which have traditionally been understood as individual and cognitive, can be seen as an interactional resource used for managing participants' rights and social and moral responsibilities.

In both cases, the children created a one-against-the-others format in which the accused person had a lower participation status and was referred to in the third person. The accused children were not only categorized as cheaters or stalkers, but also as transgressors of local classroom rules, thus downgrading their position as moral actors and marking them out as deviant to the group. These negative categories, ensured with address terms, were used efficiently and competently by the group of children to co-produce the social and moral orders. Thus, the accused's situational identity, or identity-in-interaction, was downgraded with categorization tied to the wrongdoing.

The study also shows how exclusion of children is noticeable as a co-construction of social order and is achieved through reciprocal interactions between members of a group. An important issue regarding social exclusion of peers is that the alignment and/or affiliation between members can be as much about excluding a member as it is about solidarity of the majority. Thus, the accused children not necessarily have means to defend themselves, particularly as the majority of the group invoked the teacher as aligning with their moral stance. Indirect bullying, including the exclusion of peers through categorization, can easily go overlooked by teachers. One practical implication is that it would be advisable for practitioners to pay attention to peer language use and be sensitive to excluding or stigmatising language.

5 GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter draws together the overall findings of this dissertation and discusses the significance of the results. It begins with an overview of the findings, and in the following sections the significance of the findings from the analysis of the three sub-studies and their empirical, theoretical, methodological and practical contributions are evaluated. Furthermore, recommendations for practice in classroom settings are made and, finally, directions for future research are proposed and the limitations of the study are addressed.

In the introductory chapter it was noted that the great majority of existing research on classroom research has focused on the formal pedagogical aspects of schooling, for example on how children are engaged in teacher-lead activity. As a result, research on moral practices in classroom peer interaction is relatively uncharted territory. By paying attention to the ways in which children negotiate and establish moral order as an intersubjective action in authentic classroom situations, this study has provided insights to the seen but unnoticed aspects of school and peer culture. These, often fleeting moments are essential for exerting children's agency in school and in wider society. These insights are significant also in light of Finland's new national school reform, which fosters collaborative and project learning (e.g. OPH, 2015) and sees learning as inherently interactive and taking place in formal as well as informal settings of school life.

In the first and second introductory chapters, the limitations and problems of the developmental psychological view of moral development were discussed, in particular with respect to converting (children's) morality to a measurable entity in order to measure differences in individuals' moral reasoning, and fitting morality into pre-set categories or stages of moral development. In addition, the practice of categorizing children as unskilled in their social (or cognitive) behaviour according to the pre-determined categories of the researcher was questioned (see also Packer & Scott, 1992). This study grew out of this dilemma and approached morality as social action by studying children's morality in naturally occurring interactions. In these first chapters, the notion of adopting a participant-oriented perspective, which means examining events that the partic-

ipants themselves deem as moral, (e.g. Tholander, 2002) was presented. It was also discussed that analysis of children's moral practice does not necessarily entail that children behave in a morally 'good' and rational way.

In the second section of chapter two, the idea of morality as observable, reportable conduct of social action was introduced. A paradigm was presented in which the conversational analytic method fills the gap concerning how morality can be approached as interactional and intersubjective achievement in moment-by-moment conversational interaction, as it can reveal children's actual moral daily practices. The basic premise of the study was also presented, which is that morality is not a psychological mechanism that is reflected and displayed in a social context, but rather something that is constituted through social action, especially through language and other meaning making tools.

The three qualitative studies of this thesis outlined the interactional resources and practices children use to accomplish their local organization of morality in the classroom, especially in peer interactions among themselves. The use of these resources in connection with children's morality and participation raised many important questions that demand further reflection. In this concluding chapter the results of the individual articles attached to the thesis are not reiterated as such, but rather the goal is to touch upon issues related to all of them by making recommendations and presenting the empirical, theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the study. The combined results presented here create a bigger picture of the overall study.

5.1 Contribution to theory: children's methods and resources in moral practices

The aim of this study was to analyse morality through the lens of interaction. During the research processes three communicative genres – counting rhyme rule-making (Study I), disputing (Study II) and accusing practices (Study III) – were identified as foci of interest. By paying attention to these communicative genres, children's own methods of moral meaning making were uncovered. Some of the key resources common across all of the sub-studies are discussed next. These resources include the use of classroom rules and teacher's authority; use of frames, especially, play frames; and use of semiotic resources and embodiments.

5.1.1 Use of classroom rules and teacher's voice and authority

One of the common themes across the sub-studies was how children utilized teacher- imposed rules and teacher authority in different ways for their own purposes. The first article (Study I) dealt with first graders' counting rhyme rule-making when the rhyme was banned by their teacher. The children resolved this contradiction by shifting the frame of action and constructing a subgroup of different counting rhyme rules to the overarching teacher-given rules

while reciting the rhyme. By doing do, the children were able to comply with their teacher's moral stance while at the same time extending their own autonomy and agency. The study thus highlights that the question of school rules is not one of merely abiding or resisting, children are also able to make teacher's rules compatible with their own, which underscores their moral agency.

In the third sub-study (Study III) children used negative depictions to address persons they deemed as transgressors of teacher-imposed rules. The children who were thus negatively categorized were also, at least situationally, excluded from the group. They were also discussed in the third person singular or, in Goffmanian (1963) terms, as 'nonpersons', being spoken about, but not to, and thus treated as even worse than nonparticipants. Thus, moral decisions concerning the teacher-imposed rules can serve as a basis for group loyalty and increase group-thinking and set in place mechanisms that exclude and create in- and out-group members (see also Bateman, 2010; Hester, 2000). The findings illuminate ways in which exclusions arise as on-going joint action, and complement the findings by Killen and Smetana (2010), for instance, who argue that children make comparisons between groups of people when they decide whom to include or exclude.

The teacher's voice, in a Bakhtinian (1981; 1984) sense (see also Maybin, 2006), and authority were invoked by the children in Study I and III in establishing accountability for breaching a local teacher-given rule. In so doing, the children brought teacher-orders into their interaction, leading to the construction of interaction as morally multi-layered and multivoiced. In Study III, the teacher's voice was invoked to support the moral stance of the majority by the majority threatening the accused children with telling the teacher and stating the ensuing repercussions. It is important to note that telling the teacher about a breach was used as a resource only by those who accused, and not by those who were accused of wrongdoing. This suggests that teacher support cannot always be seen as a resource to support or defend oneself during exclusion by a group of peers. At a more generalizable level, this indicates that teacher authority is not a self-evident existing resource, but one whose use is negotiated locally in interaction.

The results bring to the fore the novel issue of how teacher-imposed rules can be utilized as a powerful device to exclude others and position moral identities of oneself and others. Children can exploit classroom rules to strengthen the social position of themselves and their peers, as well as to sanction and control behaviour that is considered appropriate or inappropriate. It is also important to note that teacher-absent contexts can also be arenas for children to signal shared affiliation (Study I), but also to establish asymmetries in which the teacher's authority is invoked as aligning with the moral stance of the majority (Study III).

These findings regarding children's rule-making also corroborate previous studies of children's use of classroom rules (e.g. Cobb-Moore, Danby & Farrell, 2008; Danby & Baker, 2001; Martin & Evaldsson, 2012; Wootton, 1997). Corsaro and Schwartz (1991), for instance, indicate that adult rules and restrictions can

be seen as frames or boundaries which children use to reflect their own action. In Study I, in particular, children playfully negotiated at the border of what may be hurtful or inappropriate and yet still compatible with the teacher's moral stance.

5.1.2 Presence of multiple frames

Another theme evident across the studies was frame shifting (see Goffman, 1974). As discussed in the theory section, shared frames of reference are important aspects of intersubjectivity, whether the frames are explicitly recognized or remain implicit, as in Studies I and II. These two studies, in particular, showed that children used different frames and slipped easily from one frame to another, e.g. from pretence to real world. This frame-switching opened opportunities for alignments and different interpretations; for example, a real-world threat placed within a pretend frame mitigated its moral force, allowing disputes to escalate (see also Kyratzis 2004; Sheldon 1996). This illuminates the multifaceted nature of children's interactions and the differences in moral order in altered frames.

In Study II, a third-party intervention in a dispute was required when the dispute was shifted from pretence to a real-life frame. This shows that a shared frame is important to children, and playful aggression or playful insults can be accepted in the pretend frame, but in the real-life frame they disrupt the established moral order. It has been suggested that boys, especially, can cope with playful aggression (e.g. Pellegrini & Blatchford, 2000). However, this study shows that such interaction can continue without disruption of the moral order only if the intended meaning is clearly stated as being playful. In disputes and games, such as with the counting rhyme, what is hurtful or inappropriate is always under negotiation (Studies I & II).

Children also established play frames in the classroom. In Study I, children established a counting rhyme in a peer play frame, and in Study II video game playing and fight frames were used as a resource in a classroom dispute to accomplish threats within a play frame. In Study III, one child was excluded from shared play by others accusing her of breaching a teacher-imposed rule and the child's action was considered as a breach against group solidarity. The Study I and II findings, in particular, indicate that through playing or using elements of play, children tested and displayed their understandings of morality within a particular frame.

In play frames, the children brought elements of their own culture, such as out-of-school activities, to the fore. In the absence of their teacher and alongside their school work, the children were able to elaborate and utilize elements of their own culture. These findings are important indicators of how children can simultaneously manage multiple frames (see also Candela, 1996; Maybin, 2006), and that more often than not multiple activities are taking place in the classroom (see Koole, 2007). Bringing other realities and communities to the classroom alongside the pedagogical dimension can be a significant resource for

children's identity building: what goes on outside the classroom is reproduced inside the classroom.

5.1.3 Use of multimodal resources and embodiments

The third common theme across the sub-studies is the way in which children deployed multimodal resources to construct inter-subjective understanding of their practices. Use of these resources was constructed in situ without a predetermined script. Especially in Study I, much of the moral negotiation occurred via embodiments, which illustrates how much moral negotiation can be also non-verbally accomplished (e.g. Goodwin, 2003). The use of gestures was a central resource for children as they analyzed prior talk as fun or non-hurtful. The analysis highlights that much of the moral information that children learn is implicit rather than explicit, and usually demands intersubjective interaction to understand it. In Study II, gestures supporting talk were missing and the disputing boys bodily oriented to the learning task at hand. In the other example of Study III, gaze, alongside talk, was directed at co-members of the same group category, which is compatible with Griswold's (2007), and Evaldsson's and Svahn's (2012) studies of how subordinate positions and exclusions are produced with embodiments.

In Study I, children used a counting rhyme, a peer cultural artefact that blended different voices with other communicative modalities (see also Corsaro, 2003). In Study II, a children's book received semiotic meanings in a similar way to how the children referred to play in Study III. What was common to these artefacts was that they were all loaded with moral meanings (e.g., a 'bad book'), which reveals the fine-tuned subtle features of children's moral work.

5.2 Overall theoretical contribution: morality embedded in social context

The sub-studies of the thesis have shown how children's morality is manifested in social interactions and relations, and how morality is interweaved into practices of classroom peer interaction. The main point of the thesis is that children's moral reasoning and sense of morality develop in the dynamic and multiple contexts of everyday life, and peers and artefacts are important mediators of values and morally suitable actions. Moral reasoning and moral cognition are thus intersubjective actions intertwined with accountability and responsibility. This study puts forward a conversation analytic notion of morality as an omnipresent feature of human life, meaning that morality is always present in interaction, but it is explicitly noticed when breaches in social practice occur (e.g. Bergmann, 1998; Garfinkel, 1967; Jayuusi, 1991; Sterponi, 2009).

This study suggests that morality is achieved and mediated by language and social interaction, and that moral action is not a matter of the individual, but is embedded in the social context and sociocultural setting. Thus, an indi-

vidual's action may vary in different settings. Language provides the principal means for each participant in the interaction to express and negotiate what is morally acceptable and expected behaviour in the activity of the moment. Language also provides a repertoire from which different voices (such as teacher's voice) and words of 'others' can be drawn.

Although the goal was to investigate moral action, not primarily moral development, this study does address some developmental issues. It illuminates that moral development can be seen as an agentive process in which children become aware of their accountability, responsibility, and exploit the semiotic resources they have at hand. Moral development does not necessarily entail that the child internalizes a stable set of abstract moral codes of action as the traditional theories appear to assume, rather, that the child becomes skilled in using cultural practices, repertoires and artefacts for local construction of morality and in making situated judgments of what is 'acceptable in the culture of their specific environment' (Rogoff, 2003; Tholander, 2002). This notion aligns with the idea of Vygotsky (1978), that development first takes place in interaction and is thereafter integrated into inner dialogue. Thus, children make note of moral components from the social domain and gradually extend their own internal repertoire of moral reasoning (e.g. Tappan, 2006), i.e. practice being a moral agent. In addition, once children have negotiated moral meaning they prepare themselves to engage in future activities: the situated moral identities constructed during the action can be used as resources for further encounters.

Thus, moral development can be seen to take place in situated activity. Both moral development and action depend on with whom and in which action the child is interacting. Moral development is neither entirely dependent on the influence on others, nor sole entity of individual intentions. This can be juxtaposed with the Vygotskian (e.g. Wertsch, 1985) concept of zone of proximal development. As the child's development is dependent on with whom the child is interacting, moral development is based and dependent on their experiences with peers and intimate others in their social surroundings (see also Forman, 1992; Ochs & Kremer-Sadlik, 2007).

In contrast to the previous theories of morality discussed in chapter 2, this study represents a different type of approach to understanding children's morality, one that is not bound to the level of development. This study suggests that context supersedes stages of maturity (if stages do indeed exist) and overrides the need to assess the capabilities of the child. Moral identities are not set or stable, but in flux and tension, and in relational dialogue with one another. A theory of children's morality should focally address children's everyday interaction and the role of peers as well as other interaction partners and specific context-sensitive knowledge. It should be also be sensitive to the multilayered character of morality in interactions with multiple participants drawing from diverse resources and accommodating to several frames and normative codes at the same time.

This study contributes also to peer culture studies by showing that children are capable of using multiple moral frames to maintain face in on-going

interaction (Studies I and II) as well as intentionally making face-threatening moves (Study III). Children create their own moral arena and contribute to their own and each other's moral agency. Thus, moral learning is most critically about how to manage oneself in everyday encounters with others (see also Tholander, 2002).

5.3 Methodological contribution: practice-oriented perspective

By adopting a practice-oriented perspective it was possible to investigate children's actual interaction and provide empirically driven accounts of children's everyday moral practices by examining actions that children themselves deem as moral. The practice-oriented perspective draws on the principle of CA that participants display their understanding of one another's utterances both as a resource in the analysis of previous utterances and as a support in formulating the next contribution (Sacks et. al. 1974; Peräkylä, 2011).

Rather than evaluate children's competencies or measure their moral development, the aim was to describe how children construct moral practices and display their agency. The analyses highlighted children's agency in using interactional and semiotic resources to accomplish their local organization of morality, and how children do this in their daily lives. This has proven far more illuminative than the use of limited, pre-set categories (see also Bateman, 2001; Butler, 2008, Church, 2009).

As has been shown, empirical research has not found a strong relationship between more advanced moral development and moral conduct (e.g., Stets, 2011, p. 386). By providing a context-sensitive approach, this study alongside some other studies (e.g. Corsaro & Molinari, 2008; Goodwin, 2006; Kidwell, 2011; Kriswold, 2007; Sterponi, 2003, 2009; Svahn, 2011) showed how concrete examples of naturally occurring data can unveil multiple and complex issues happening in moment-by-moment interaction. Conversation analysis (Studies I, II and III) and the other ethnomethodological resources used, including Goffman's concept of frame (Study I and II) and membership categorization analysis (MCA) (Study III), opened up a novel perspective from which to explore morality through videotaped interaction without the use of predetermined criteria. Goffman's frame (1974) enabled often rapid frame switches and overlapping frames in children's interactions to be revealed (see previous page). Membership categorization analysis enabled the investigation of how 'moral concepts came to life' (Jayyusi, 1991, p. 233) when children used morally downgrading categorizations of some of their peers. In this sense, MCA can be seen as an ideal method for examining the constitutive role of interaction. Video recordings allowed the nuances of a range of simultaneously deployed interactional resources to be captured. By including nonverbal aspects of interaction, such as gestures, body postures and role of artefacts, it was possible to see how much these aspects of interaction matter when children are making sense of their social interaction. This study also highlights how children's non-verbal

action plays a significant role in their interaction and how such actions, like pointing, can gain moral meanings in the course of interaction.

The benefit of this kind of practice-oriented research is that it enables actual interactions to be studied and demonstrated as they happen. The micro-analytic investigation of turn-by-turn sequences showed moral work to be an ongoing, unfolding and co-constructed. Because conversation analysis avoids abstract a priori theorization and categorization of phenomena, it can also unveil unexpected things and identify previously not recognized phenomena – the detailed method helps uncover issues that otherwise would remain out of reach. Classroom and peer interaction studies would benefit from the use of an emic perspective and naturally occurring data to provide insights on issues that children themselves deem to be morally meaningful.

5.4 Practical contribution

This study has several practical implications for practitioners working with children, for educators in teacher training and teachers, parents, and policy makers. It could be beneficial to incorporate the findings of children's agentic use of moral resources into programs fostering school well-being and prevention of bullying, and in planning workshops for teacher students or teachers (see Stokoe 2011, pp. 125−137, for workshops based on CA research results).

The overriding aim of this study has been to uncover how moral practices are accomplished through language use. It was shown how daily interaction necessarily touches upon moral issues – whether explicitly topicalized or remaining as resources – that are unnoticed but nevertheless comprise organizing properties of talk and action (Jayyusi, 1991, p. 242). As the results indicated, through language use some children were positioned in stigmatizing and morally downgrading roles and some were also excluded from their instant group. One implication of the findings is that it would be advisable for practitioners to pay attention to peer language use and be sensitive to excluding or stigmatizing language. Often teachers' attempt to reduce social exclusion by urging children to include everyone in the activity (e.g. Woods, 2013). However, the kind of exclusion evident in this study is hidden and therefore likely to remain unnoticed by teachers; subtle acts of exclusion can be carried out while appearing to the teacher as if everyone is participating equally.

In recent research on school bullying (e.g. Canty, Stubbe, Steer & Collins, 2016), children's (not adults') definitions of bullying have been related to what has been called indirect bullying, such as name-calling and situated exclusions. In the cases of the present study, the excluded children had no means to defend themselves, particularly as the majority of the group invoked the teacher's stance as aligning with their moral stance. Overt and public physical aggression is easy to recognize, but indirect bullying is typically hidden and can be totally overlooked by teachers or children who are non-participants. Being called a cheater day in, day out, without the means to defend oneself is likely to have

effects on one's self-confidence and can even become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). In the light of this study, it is important to acknowledge that playful language, taunts and gibes, even if meant to be just for fun, may be experienced as hurtful. Classroom discussions on what kind of language use the students themselves deem as hurtful and pejorative may be more useful than teacher-imposed rules. Finally, it is important for teachers to acknowledge that social exclusions are done collaboratively as a social action (Hester & Eglin, 1997; Hester, 2000), thus, they have a close connection to social interaction, and not necessarily or solely to an individual's personal features or properties.

A second implication relates to school rules. Teachers' classroom management is usually embodied in different kinds of rules that teachers sometimes make on an ad hoc basis, such as in Studies I and III. Instead of following the rules passively, the children harnessed the rules for the purposes of their peer culture. Needless to say, certain core rules are needed to keep routines going and to guarantee sufficient order and safety so that children feel secure. Too finely defined or very controlling rules may, however, lead to a development where the children's own culture and school culture move further away from each other, resulting in children establishing their own sub-cultures with very different underlying rules (Goffman 1961; Wieder,1974). School rules can potentially also hinder children in learning to be dialogic, as in Study III: justification of actions by relying on a strict interpretation of school rules does not necessarily foster dialogic negotiation.

Central to any attempt to bring about school reform aiming at more active and collaborative student learning is the need to define ways to promote children's agency in everyday school life. A strong strand in fostering agency is the empowerment of children's decision making and inclusion in classroom rule-making. Children need to be allowed opportunities to reason for themselves about what promotes wellbeing and what things are morally downgrading for their own learning community. Without opportunities to practice autonomy children cannot exercise agency and responsibility taking. By being granted both of these opportunities and being seen as having decision making capacity, children can become empowered and willing to engage in school life (Masford-Scott & Church, 2011). Including participatory approaches in which children have opportunities to take part in everyday decision-making also means a shift from teacher-centered to more child-centered pedagogy.

A third practical implication relates to dispute solving and touches upon the same issues as those discussed above. Study II showed a teacher solving a dispute between children by singling out one party on which to lay the blame. Clearly, disputes that hinder school work need to be settled. However, children need opportunities to reason for themselves and to take ownership of their own actions. The teacher's role should be more that of a facilitator than a law-enforcer (Church, 2012; Mashford-Scott & Church, 2011). An overly strong teacher role in dispute settling entails the risk that some children feel misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Fourthly, the analytic method and data used in this study provided actual and detailed descriptions of daily school life and made 'commonplace scenes visible' (Garfinkel 1967). Insights into the moral, social and cultural world of peer interaction helps practitioners become aware of issues important to children. For example, children are likely to link out-of-school experiences into their school life as part of ubiquitous learning, and thus out-of-school activities and experience could be more intertwined with formal pedagogy, activities and tasks.

The present study aimed to depict a realistic view of classroom culture and to focus on those aspects of school life that are easily overlooked because they take place outside or at the margins of pedagogical work. Everyday life in school may include learning to defend oneself within the bounds of teacher-set goals for moral education, but a bully can be at the same time guarding the normative moral order of school (see also Davies, 1991).

The fifth practical implication of this study is to show how conversation analytic tools can be helpful in promoting teachers' awareness of what is happening in the classroom and of the ways of applying dialogic pedagogy. For example, workshops where teachers and researchers examine video data of classroom interaction could provide valuable insights into children's peer interaction.

5.5 Limitations and areas for future study

This section addresses the scope of the findings and the limitations defining the boundaries of the research. The data corpus used in the study was not large, and two of the sub-studies (I and II) were based on single or extended, episodes. Furthermore, sub-study III included cases having parallel features under analysis. As the aim was to describe moral practices as unfolding moment-by-moment interaction, the data were chosen in order to reveal on-going and evolving interactions, allowing analysis of the sequential trajectory of the interactions. In order to analyze children's morality from a novel perspective, it was advantageous to choose small samples of interactions and subject them to close investigation. The case studies of the sub-studies were drawn from broad and thoroughly examined video material. Although each encounter is unique and therefore beyond repetition or comparison, the findings are likely to have uncovered features of children's interactions that inform about classroom life more generally.

What can be also seen as a limitation of this study is that it focuses on observable micro-level interaction from a particular angle. In future, it should be considered whether descriptions of the broader macro-level, e.g., how a specific peer community has evolved, could add to our understanding of the moral work taking place.

However, in the discussion of validity and reliability in CA studies Peräkylä (2004, pp., 283-294) argues that in order to ensure the requirements of

reliability of the observed interactions, video (or audio) data should provide detailed transcriptions of the events. Peräkylä further argues that CA involving detailed and direct accounts of interaction is possesses high reliability in comparison to some other methods of social research. However, to ensure reliability, highly accurate transcription of the data is necessary, and the transcript must include as much information as possible about the relevant features of interaction such as prosodic features of the conversation, events, and intonation. .

A crucial dimension of validity in CA concerns the generalizability of the findings which are typically based on relatively small data (Peräkylä, 2004, p. 295). From the viewpoint of traditional understanding of generalizability, case studies may be nonoptimal and suspect to biases. Peräkylä offers, however, another approach which centers on the concept of possibility: "Social practices that are possible, i.e. possibilities of language use, are the central objects of all CA case studies on interaction in particular settings". As a conclusion, the results of this study cannot be generalizable as descriptions of what children and teachers always do, but they can be generalizable as descriptions of what children and teacher can do. Furthermore, although each social encounter is unique and therefore beyond repetition or comparison, the findings are likely to have uncovered features of children's interactions that inform about classroom life in general.

It should be noted that data collection was conducted in a specific cultural context. The Scandinavian situation may differ from some other educational settings (see Tholander, 2002) in that children have opportunities to interact in their classrooms without full-time teacher supervision. However, in the sense of Wittgenstein (1953) and Bakhtin (1981) that there is no private language, but rather a socially shared reality, this study provides valuable universal information about moral life in schools.

When children's moral development and morality are seen as dynamic and multifaceted, there is much to explore. This study, alongside the work of Tholanders (2002; 2007; 2011), highlights children's moral practices in classroom peer interaction from the interactionist point of view. Several topics arise from this perspective that demand future examination, such as how children posit the teacher as an accountable actor, and issues around social exclusion and rule-making. Moreover, this study was conducted in a particular context, and comparing different contexts could be fruitful.

The micro-analytic approach applied here could be combined with attention to larger societal discourses. A longitudinal study of one specific group would also be a way to deepen the findings. In addition, conversation analysis could be combined with a more quantitative approach, for example to analyse recurrent or deviant patterns first identified using quantitative data. Conducting stimulated-recall interviews in which short extracts of video-recorded episodes are shown to participants would also provide interesting additional information, as such interviews enable participants to give accounts of their experiences and to make points of interest.

5.6 School as a social and moral playground

Throughout the sub-studies it was evident that morality was embedded in the social organization of classroom life with its many frames and layers. Classroom peer group is a fertile layer for moral negotiation. The classroom contains at least two frames: the more official classroom frame in which pedagogical tasks are accomplished, and the unofficial context consisting of components of children's culture and out-of-school activities. Children's peer interaction can appear disorganized and non-coherent with series of unconnected sequences; however, detailed analysis of this interaction reveals high order and children's complex work of identity constructing.

Classroom peer interaction affords children resources for development of moral reasoning and moral agency and learning of valuable social skills. Bakhtin (1986) suggests that children learn to participate in speech genres (both oral and literate forms) of different spheres in the course of their language learning. The different discursive practices in which children are involved can be seen as multifaceted socializing sites, where learning how to evaluate the moral aspects of actions as well as practicing discursive skills, i.e., how to manage oneself as a morally responsible person, takes place.

5.7 Children as moral agents

This study showed that the actions children display in dealing with moral issues in classroom interaction are far more complex and nuanced than predetermined stage-models would suggest. By unveiling these practices children were able to be seen as authoring themselves as moral agents, and at the same time classroom peer interaction was highlighted as an arena with ongoing moral negotiations. In acting as moral agents the children acquired cultural codes, values and repertoires, and used each other as fundamentally important resources for grasping perspectives and the meaning of their actions (e.g. Waksler, 1991). Teachers can respect children's moral learning and agency by giving them opportunities for moral reasoning and responsibility taking. The experience of being respected by adults empowers children to act as active moral agents in classroom life.

It is also important to underscore the point made in the introductory chapter: children deserve to be viewed, as reflexive social actors with the ability to analyze their own position in sociocultural environments rather than as imperfect versions of adults. This study provides support for arguments against construction of dichotomies such as incompetent—competent or immature—mature, and other types of pre-established categories.

The picture that this dissertation paints is one of children actively constructing their own ideas of valued and inappropriate behaviour and creating their situated identities. Based on this study, moral development cannot be seen

as moving from one stage to another, or moving away from something, but as having different resources in use as moral beings. By seeing children not as incomplete becomings but as whole and active moral beings, their competence as able actors in the present can be realized to the full.

YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY)

Tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin lapsia moraalisina toimijoina luokkahuoneen vertaisvuorovaikutuksessa. Autenttisten videoaineistojen ja yksityiskohtaisen empiirisen analyysin avulla selvitettiin, miten moraalinen toiminta rakennettiin erilaisissa konteksteissa ja käytänteissä kielen ja muiden semioottisten resurssien kautta. Toisin kuin perinteisissä kehityspsykologisissa tutkimuksissa, tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteena ei ollut lähteä tutkimaan ennalta määrättyjä moraalisia ongelmia, vaan pureutua siihen, mitä asioita ja tekoja lapset itse neuvottelevat vuorovaikutuksessa sosiaalisesti ja moraalisesti epäsopiviksi tai suotaviksi, ja mitä merkitystä tällä on meneillään olevalle toiminnalle, toimijoiden välisille suhteille ja koulun kulttuurille. Tätä kautta oli tarkoitus saada tietoa erityisesti lasten omaehtoisesta toiminnasta ja institutionaalisen koulun merkityksestä lasten vertaisvuorovaikutuksessa.

Tutkimuksen teoriataustana olivat etnometodologia ja keskustelunanalyysi. Lisäksi sovellettiin myös sosiokulttuurista teoriaa sekä Goffmanin mikrososiologiasta erityisesti *kehyksen* (1974) ja k*asvojen* (1959) käsitteitä. Näissä kaikissa lähestymistavoissa moraalin nähdään todellistuvan vuorovaikutuksessa, suhteissa toisiin osallistujiin rakentuvana intersubjektiivisena prosessina, eikä ainoastaan yksilön päänsisäisenä kognitiivisena järkeilynä. Moraalinen toiminta paikannettiin aineistosta esimerkiksi selontekovelvollisuuden *accountability* (Garfinkel, 1967) kautta. Selontekovelvollisuus liittyy yksilön vastuuseen toimia kulttuuristen sosiaalisten normien mukaan, ja mikäli normeja rikotaan, voidaan rikkoja asettaa antamaan selityksen toimistaan.

Pääasiallisena analyysimenetelmänä sovellettiin keskustelunanalyysia. Lisäksi eri osatutkimuksissa hyödynnettiin myös multimodaalista analyysia (Goodwin, 2000) ja kategoria-analyysia (Sacks, 1992). Tutkimusaineisto kerättiin vuosina 2011 ja 2012 videonauhoittamalla viidessä suomalaisessa alakoulun 1.-4. luokassa tapahtuvaa vuorovaikutusta. Yhteensä aineistoa kerättiin 26 tuntia. Tutkijan etnografiset muistiinpanot antoivat tukea aineiston analyysissa. Aineiston ja sen litteroinnin pohjalta valittiin tarkemman tutkimuksen kohteeksi aiheet kolmeen eri osatutkimukseen, joissa lapset toimivat keskenään ilman opettajan läsnäoloa. Näitä olivat 1) loruleikin sääntöneuvottelu, 2) luokkahuoneriita ja 3) oppilaiden syytökset. Väitöskirjan kolme tutkimusartikkelia raportoivat osatutkimusten tulokset.

Tutkimuksen tulokset nostavat esiin tapoja ja keinoja, joilla moraalia rakennettiin lasten keskinäisessä vuorovaikutuksessa. Keskeiseksi osoittautui erityisesti lasten tapa käyttää koulun ja opettajan asettamia sääntöjä ja opettajan 'ääntä' (Bakhtin, 1981) eri tavoin ja eri tarkoituksiin. Koulun säännöt olivat lasten toiminnassa resursseja joita he käyttivät peilauspintana ja leikittelivät sillä, mikä voi olla sallittua ja mikä toisia loukkaavaa (Tutkimus I). Lapset saattoivat ottaa myös koulun säännöt resursseiksi syyttää toisia niiden rikkomisesta, sulkea heidät ulkopuolelle ja luoda heille kielellisiä kategorioita ja sosiaalisia rooleja, kuten 'huono ystävä' (Tutkimus II ja III). Keskeistä oli myös erilaisten tulkintakehysten hyödyntäminen, joiden kautta myös koulun ulkopuolisia ak-

tiviteetteja voitiin tuoda mukaan luokkahuonetoimintaan. Se mikä oli moraalisesti suotavaa riippui kehyksestä jonka avulla toimintaa tulkittiin. Esimerkiksi kun lasten riita ajautui kuvitteellisista videopelikehyksistä todellisen maailman kehykseen, se johti kolmannen osapuolen väliintulon (Tutkimus II).

Tutkimus uudistaa olemassa olevaa moraalin kehityksen teoriaa korostamalla, kuinka moraali on aina sidoksissa kyseessä olevaan vuorovaikutustilanteeseen. Yksilökeskeiset moraalin tasomallit tai valmiit mittarit eivät riitä selittämään moraalista toimintaa, vaan kyse on aina yksilön suhteesta vuorovaikutukseen, jossa läsnä ovat toimijoiden väliset suhteet, tulkintakehykset ja kulttuuriset resurssit. Tutkimus nostaa myös esiin kuinka keskustelunanalyysillä ja muilla etnometodologisilla resursseilla voidaan tuoda näkyväksi toimijoiden hienovaraisia tapoja rakentaa moraalista toimintaa hetki hetkeltä rakentuvassa vuorovaikutuksessa. Se myös osoittaa, kuinka autenttisten aineistojen analyysin avulla on mahdollisuus silloittaa kuilua, joka usein erottaa normatiivisen moraalia koskevan keskustelun varsinaisesta koulun arjesta, jossa moraalisuus on monitahoista ja usein kätkeytyneenä puheenvuoroihin, sanavalintoihin ja myös ei-kielelliseen toimintaan.

Tulokset tuovat uusia näkökulmia siihen käytännön työhön, jota opettajat ja kouluyhteisöt tekevät lapsen moraalisen kasvun mahdollistamiseksi. Tutkimus myös paljastaa koulun olemassa olevia, mutta usein huomaamatta jääviä käytänteitä, joiden ratkaiseminen edellyttää ensin niiden tunnistamista. Se osoittaa, että aikuisten on välillä hankalaa päästä käsiksi niihin tulkintakehyksiin, joita lapset moraalisissa neuvotteluissaan soveltavat. Tutkimusten johtopäätökset korostavat, kuinka tärkeää olisi huomioida lasten oma aktiivisuus ja omat tavat rakentaa moraalisia käytänteitä ja moraalista toimijuutta, ja ottaa lapset entistä paremmin mukaan keskusteluun koulussa suotavasta toiminnasta. Sallimalla entistä enemmän mahdollisuuksia lasten moraaliselle toimijuudelle, voidaan koulusta luoda entistä dialogisempi ja yhteiskunnan tarpeisiin vastaava.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

‘BECAUSE I POINT MYSELF AS THE HOG’: INTERACTIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF MORAL DECISIONS IN A CLASSROOM.

by

Kreeta Niemi, (2016)

Learning, Culture and Social Interaction

II

"I WILL SEND BADASS VIRUSES." PEER THREATS AND THE INTERPLAY OF PRETEND FRAMES IN A CLASSROOM DISPUTE.

by

Kreeta Niemi, 2014

Journal of Pragmatics, 66, 106-121.

III

‘CHEATERS AND STALKERS’: ACCUSATIONS IN A CLASSROOM.

by

Kreeta Niemi & Amanda Bateman, 2015

Discourse Studies 17 (1), 83-98.