



CLASSROOM ORDER AS COHORTING PRACTICES: A MUTUAL INTERACTIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN A KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM¹

(TAKIMLAŞTIRMA SÜRECİ OLARAK SINIF DÜZENİ: OKUL ÖNCESİ BİR
SINIFTA KARŞILIKLI ETKİLEŞİMSEL KAZANIM)

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ABSTRACT

As the part of a larger project aiming at unearthing the role of classroom interaction in the construction of classroom order, this study presented a sample of order mechanism in the classroom environment. Rooted in the theoretical and methodological principles of conversation analysis, it investigated the mechanism of how the order in the classroom was established, organized and sustained mutually by the teacher and students. The classroom talk of 20 children aging from 3 to 5 in a laboratory kindergarten located at a Midwestern university in the United States was recorded for one week. The analysis focused on the scenes of trouble that revealed the interactional organization of order with particular reference to the participants' demonstrable actions. The closer look at the order mechanism suggested that the order in the classroom was a mutual achievement constructed in the details of classroom interactions.

Keywords: classroom interaction analysis; conversation analysis; classroom order.

ÖZ

Sınıf içindeki etkileşimin, sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki rolünü ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlayan, geniş kapsamlı araştırmanın bir parçası olan bu çalışma, temel olarak sınıf düzenini sağlayan bir düzenek örneği sunmuştur. Kökleri konuşma çözümlemesinin kurumsal ve yöntemsel ilkelerine dayanan bu çalışma, sınıf düzeninin nasıl kurulduğunu, örgütlendiğini ve devam ettirildiğini ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin ortabatasında yer alan bir üniversitede okul öncesi sınıfa devam eden, yaşları 3 ile 5 arasında değişen 20 çocuğun sınıf içindeki konuşmaları bir hafta boyunca kaydedilmiştir. Araştırma, katılımcıların gözlemlenebilir davranışlarını temel alarak sınıf düzeninin yeniden oluşturulduğu anlara odaklanmıştır. Düzeni oluşturan düzeneklerin ayrıntılı incelenmesi sonucunda sınıf içindeki düzenin, sınıftaki etkileşimin ayrıntılarında oluşmuş karşılıklı bir kazanım olduğunu gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: sınıf içi etkileşim çözümlemesi; konuşma çözümlemesi; sınıf düzeni.

¹ This study is adapted from Mehmet Ali İÇBAY's dissertation entitled *The role of classroom interaction in the construction of classroom order: A conversation analytic study*.

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INTRODUCTION

The processes of maintaining order in any social setting and re-maintaining the same order when it is not followed by a member/members of the social setting are the most ordinary but unnoticed events in the social world. The closer look at these processes has proved the fact that maintaining order and re-maintaining it are basically regulated with the emergence of two parties, the first party having the power to organize the rules and at the same time to allocate the limited liberty among the members of the second party. Similarly, assembling order and re-assembling it once it is lost in a classroom, where the teacher as the cohorting party has the leading power to allocate the turn-takings among the students as the cohorted party, is the most ordinary but unnoticed events in the classroom life. Following the conversation analytic principles applied to the classroom environment, I aimed at showing how the order in a kindergarten classroom was restored mutually by the teacher and students with particular reference to the *two-party system* regulating the allocation of liberty among the members of the cohorted party. [1]

Every educational setting in its own culture involves various sorts of organizational mechanisms. Those mechanisms have different roles in governing the flow of behaviors among the members of that educational setting. Those mechanisms are established, sustained, and modified according to the consequences of explicit and implicit rules, principles and routines that are constructed mutually by teacher and students. Classroom order is one part of classroom life dealing with how these regulating mechanisms are practiced in the classroom environment. Having based its theoretical framework on the idea of classroom order as a mutual interactional achievement, this study intended to portray how these regulating mechanisms were constructed in the details of classroom interactions.

The issue of order in the classroom has been one of the major concerns for the people in the educational community not only because it involves the practical and observable consequences for the classroom practitioners, but also because it is built on diverse conceptual and theoretical frameworks from various fields of inquiry. Consequently, the nature of order in the classroom as a social phenomenon has resulted in a vast amount of literature ranging from the ones listing practical tips, such as how to arrange the desks in the classroom or how to call students before a question, to the ones suggesting the underlying theoretical motives in the management of the students as a group (for the discussion of classroom management as theoretical and practical field, see Doyle, 1986; Evertson and Weinstein, 2006).

The main perspective framing the theoretical base of this paper views classroom order as a demonstrable public achievement rather than a set of instructions or consequences of different approaches. This theoretical stance is rooted both in the shift from the future-oriented research paradigm to the present-oriented paradigm (Bloome, Puro and, Theodorou, 1989), and at the same time in the approach viewing social reality as constructed in the details of naturally-occurring talk (for the discussion of social reality as interactional accomplishment, see Sacks, 1984a). Similarly, my specific interest in the seen but unnoticed mechanisms of how teachers and students collaboratively construct order in the classroom starts with the same framework and at the same time with a seemingly familiar observation.

The observation of a secondary school class in the study by Payne and Hustler (1980) showed that despite different formations of classes at different times, teachers were able to manage their students with relative ease. After a closer look at the different ways of how teachers could manage different students at different times in different classes, Payne and Hustler concluded that one general strategy teacher used to handle students in classrooms was “to constitute them as a class, as a collectivity, as a cohort” (1980, p. 50). As a result, the cohorting practices, the actions to sustain order in the classroom by turning individual students into a single unit, became the central theme in the joint research field of classroom interaction analysis and classroom order. Meanwhile, the researchers applying conversation analytic principles into the classroom environment found that the two-party speech exchange system was the underlying drive shaping the nature of classroom interactions (for the application of turn-taking system to classroom interaction, see McHoul, 1978). The formation of classroom as two parties and the reformulation of classroom talk as two-party speech exchange system generated the key idea of cohorting practices to understand the complex nature of classroom life. Consequently, the studies focusing on different aspects of classroom life with a conversation analytic perspective have based their theoretical base on cohorting practices (for a brief review of studies on classroom interaction from the conversation analytic perspective, see Macbeth, 2003; 2004).

Looking for potential explanations for the complicated achievements of teachers in sustaining the order in the classroom, Payne and Hustler (1980) focused on the order construction in the lesson beginnings and transitions between activities. One of the central findings in the study was the fact that providing that the number of persons in a conversation became overlarge, there was a tendency that the talk would break up into smaller groups, usually groups of two, participating in different conversations, unless there were some

organizational constraints in operation, or a form of mechanism governing the allocations of talk among the members in the conversation. Putting it differently, the natural tendency in any conversation involving more than two persons for them was to have groups of two, each of which had a speaker and a listener, and a system of rules regulating the exchanges between them (for the system of naturally-occurring talk, see Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974). However, the institutional characteristics of the classroom environment does not let the participants to have groups of two, but only to have a group of two parties, and a system of rules regulating the exchanges between these two parties: the teacher and the students as whole.

The study by Macbeth (1987) was one of the pioneering inquiries into how the ideas of cohorting practices and two-party speech exchange system were the central constructs in explaining classroom order. In the chapters where he was looking for the places to position the mechanisms of how order in the classroom was restored, he discovered that

[T]he structure of accountability we found was nothing of a disengaged or formal kind, but a contingent structure produced first as a closely placed sequence of remark and response, and then, in the skillful assembling of the sequences, as an emerging asymmetry of power and resources for shaping its course and what it came to (p. 448).

His treatment of classroom talk as “utterly common objects” (Macbeth, 1992, p. 123) stressed the two fundamental points in a conversation analytic study of classroom order: (a) the order is constructed with the demonstrable actions of the participants, which become available to the researcher through the sequential analysis of the turn-takings in the interactions, and (b) the order in the classroom is organized around the struggle of unequal power resulting in the teacher-driven but mutually constructed cohorting practices.

Similar to the effort for looking specific moments in the classroom flow in the study by Macbeth (1989), Payne and Hustler (1980) also discovered that there were certain times during the course of a lesson when the cohorting practices were positioned more obviously. Those moments included those certain places in the lesson “when the teacher is concerned to bring about some change of activity for everyone” (p. 60). Considering the efforts in those two studies, it can be said that both studies focused on the particular times in a lesson when the teacher attempted to move the students as a cohort from one activity to another, and thus lost the cohortness gained in the previously established moment. Following the same tradition, this study focused on the trouble moments in the circle time period which were thought to yield the construction of classroom order mechanism.

THE STUDY

This study was basically based on the conversation analytic perspective to the investigation of social life in the classroom life. As an example of pure descriptive study, it described how a particular social phenomenon, the construction of classroom order, was produced, maintained, and shared in a kindergarten classroom with specific references to what the teachers and students did in their interactions. Instead of taking a hypothetical version of the world, this study with the committed belief in the idea that “detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs” (Sacks, 1984a, p. 24) used authentic video-recordings as its basis for finding commonalities among the cases. Consequently, the form of social phenomena that this study was focusing on was “always transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequences” (p. 25).

The study started with video-recorded conversations in the classrooms not only because the focus of interest with specific reference to the actual conversations could be studied again, raising the level of trustworthiness and validity in the inferences as well, but also because the readers who would be interested in the sort of work presented in the fragments could have the opportunity to have a different interpretation. The idea underlying the methodic stance is “to take singular sequences of conversation and tear them apart in such a way as to find rules, techniques, procedures, methods, maxims,” which are referred to mechanisms collectively in this study, to use them to generate the orderly features in the conversations, and then to come back to the singular things observed in a singular sequence with the mechanisms that handle those singular features and at the same time handle other prospective events (Sacks, 1984b, p. 413). Hence, the sort of analysis followed in the analysis of the scenes has a dualistic pattern: (a) bottom-up analysis to find the particular instances to dig what is covered, and then (b) top-down analysis to find commonalities across those particular instances.

Order as interactional accomplishment

Establishing order and restoring it when lost in a classroom environment is the most ordinary yet most complex social accomplishment. The primary reason for the dilemmatic characteristic of classroom order is rooted in the insiders’ familiarity with their social accomplishments and at the same time in the outsiders’ difficulty in portraying the native’s point of view. Similarly, the part of

the difficulty is rooted in the fact that the teachers and students in the classroom “give little thought to the complexity of the interactional work they perform” (Bremme and Erickson, 1977, p. 153; Shultz and Florio, 1979). Hence, in order to unearth the complexity of order as social accomplishment and simultaneously to have a closer picture of how the participants view classroom order, the study focused on the organizational mechanisms in the circle time in a kindergarten classroom.

The data for the main study were collected from three classrooms in three high schools in Ankara, having a 47 hour video-recording database from 69 different sessions with 15 teachers. The analysis focused on the scenes of trouble that revealed the interactional organization of order with particular reference to the participants’ demonstrable actions. The scenes of troubles were composed of four particular groups of moments in the classroom life: (a) class beginnings, (b) transitions between activities, (c) post-humor moments, and (d) specific-student calls. The results demonstrated in the details of recordings how the participants in the classroom attributed meaning to order, how they showed their understanding of classroom order through their demonstrable action, and through their actions how they applied their mechanisms of classroom order to other contexts.

The data for the study was collected in a laboratory kindergarten located at a Midwestern university in the United States. There were 20 students aging from 3 to 5 in the laboratory kindergarten. The students were coming from different ethnicities, and their parents were working in different departments in the university. The kindergarten classroom included rooms for different purposes. A typical day in this kindergarten involved the following activities: (a) the free play time when the children selected activities from the variety of resources in the room, (b) the small group time when the children spent time actively exploring materials and experiencing small group processes and interactions, (c) the large group time when children all met together with the teacher to sing, exchange ideas, or hear about community news/plans for the week, (d) the outdoor time when children played together in a yard attached to the kindergarten building, and (e) the lunch time when children sat at small tables to have lunch and talk at the same time.

The field visits included mainly the interactions in the large group time, which the teachers and children at the kindergarten called ‘circle time,’ because at the outset of the study the ‘circle time’ periods were considered to yield the most interactive time between the teachers and children and also among the children. However, in order both to have a thick description of what they did in the whole course of the day (Geertz, 1973), to be included in their process of understanding how they made sense of their kindergarten lives (Mehan, 1982), and also to have

a comparative analysis of talks across certain situations within the kindergarten culture, towards the end of the week, the video-recorded interactions also included the small group time and outdoor time activities. However, the analyses reported in this paper focused on the third day of the field visits because (1) the level and quality of sound in the classroom was sufficient to transcribe without any huge loss, and concentrated on only the interactions in the circle time period because (2) the trouble actions in the circle time were considered to be telling cases of how the participants reconstructed specific order mechanism.

The first scene was captured in a circle time event. The teacher and students were singing a song. Having seen that there were a few students talking to each other instead of singing, in line 2, the teacher warned them, *preschoolers I just (.) I wanna remind you that.* [2]

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1    SS:  ((singing the song))
2    T:   preschoolers I just (.) I wanna remind you that
3    S1:  [I wiped it on you:
4    T:   if have you (.) Liz ((looking at Liz.)) (0.2)
5        if you have anything in your ha:nds (.)
6        it'll need to be behind your bo:dy
7        and that while we're singing songs at the circle
8        (0.2) Bob ((looking at Bob.)) (.)
9        if you are choo:sing not to sing THAT song
10       you wouldn't need to sing any words
11       but when you are making noises (.)
12       that is hard for other people to hear that song at circle
13       time (.) so if you don't want to sing it you don't HAVE to
14       (.) you can just sit there quiet
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The sketchy look at the scene offers us an example of dual functional mechanism (Heap, 1982). The first function points the first stage in the construction of order mechanism. Namely, through the teacher's re-explanation of the rule, the teacher and students were reconstructing the previously established order. The rule in a singing activity in the circle time period was as follows: (a) Students should take part in singing. (b) If a student does not want to sing, he or she should keep silent and wait for the following activity. (c) However, at any time during the singing activity, he or she should not talk to their friends, disturb each other, or make noises. The closer look at the scene discloses an embedded function. The second function of the mechanism embedded into the first function was an example of cohorting practice when order was diffused.

Focusing on the sequential development of the turns, we locate a layer of order mechanism. In line 4, after a student's turn in line 3, the teacher changed

her gaze, looked at the student who uttered in the previous turn, and directly spoke to her. At the end of her call, she gave a pause.

3 S1: [I wiped it on you:
4 T: if have you (.) Liz ((looking at Liz.)) (0.2)

Similarly, in line 8, after a pause, the teacher changed her gaze, looked at the specific student, and gave a micro pause.

8 T (0.2) Bob ((looking at Bob.)) (.)

The order mechanism in these fragments is rooted in the “remarkably compact formulation of the central rule of classroom speaking:” when the teacher talks, students do not talk and are responsible for discovering each next moment when this rule operates (Macbeth, 1992, p. 124). Both Liz and Bob were talking when the teacher was explaining the rule for the singing activity, and as a result of their talks, they were warned. The seemingly straightforward explanation of the scene explains for what reason or on what grounds the students were warned by the teacher, but does not uncover how the mechanism of classroom order works then and there. Therefore, the closer look at the two instances in the scene revealed the mechanism of how the two parties collaboratively restored order. The first move was the short pause in the teacher’s turn. The pause in the teacher’s turn was both the time for change in the teacher’s gaze and at the same time the time for the break in the regular classroom flow. [3] The second move was the action of calling the specific student’s name. At this point, the student who was not following the rule was called by the teacher. Finally, the third move was the other pause in the teacher’s turn. The second pause is the transition from the embedded sequence to the regular classroom flow (see Figure 1).

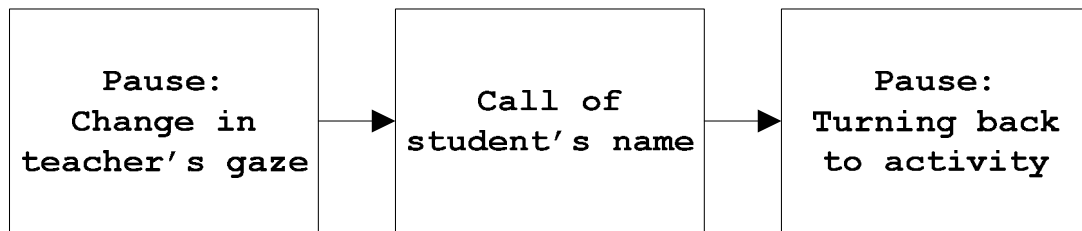


Figure 1. The Order Mechanism of Teacher's Call.

Order as mutual accomplishment

The second scene was taken from the end of a circle time event. In this kindergarten, a regular way to end a circle time was done with a garment/color game. The student whose name was being implied by the teacher with the type or color of clothing was allowed to leave the circle time zone.

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1 T: so take a look at your feet (0.3)
2 if you: nee:d to put socks on your feet (0.2)=
3 S1: =>socks on your [feet<
4 T: [go get dressed (.)
5 ((touching one of the children's feet.)) ((xxx))
6 S2: don't Mark= ((Mark stands up.))
7 T: =Mark you have socks on your feet already HA
8 S2: (xxx)
9 T: ((speaking to another child.)) any socks on your feet (.)
10 go ahead (honey)
11 if you have already all of your clothes on and don't nee:d
12 to get dressed (0.3) °quiet
13 SS: (xxx)
14 S3: °qui::et qui::et [qui::et°
15 T: [if you have (.) purple socks on (0.5)
16 S4: I like (xxx) I like (xxx) Sue pink socks on
17 T: you don't have purple socks on ((xxx)) white socks on (0.2)
18 if you ha:ve (0.4) tights on (0.2)
19 pink[socks on (0.2)
20 S5: [>Sue has pink socks on<
21 if you have pink shoes on (.)
22 white pants (0.2) a:nd socks socks with pictures on them

The overall look at the interactions in the scene provides us the process of how order mechanism for leaving the circle zone was practiced in the classroom. In lines 1 and 2, the teacher told the class that the first group of students who were allowed to leave the circle time zone was the ones without socks. However, in line 6, Mark stood up and attempted to leave the group although he had his socks on his feet. One of the students in the group noticed that Mark was leaving the group. After that, in line 6, she warned him, *don't Mark=*. In the following turn, having noticed someone from the group warned him, i.e. Mark was leaving the zone, the teacher reminded Mark of the rule, implying that he had to turn back to the zone.

6 S2: don't Mark= ((Mark stands up))
7 T: =Mark you have socks on your feet already HA

Similarly, in line 19, the teacher told the students with pink socks to leave the circle time. Although Sue had pink socks, she stayed in the group. As a result, in line 20, another student told the group that Sue had pink socks, and thus needed to leave the group.

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19   T      pink[ socks on (0.2)
20   S5:    [>Sue has pink socks on<
21   T      if you have pink shoes on (.)
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Basically, these two instances in this scene are the examples of troubles when classroom order was not followed by students and thus begin restored by the two parties. Explained previously, the specific reason why the trouble scenes were purposefully selected as telling cases, which make the order mechanism regulating the flow of behaviors observable and available to the outsiders, was stemmed from the participants' familiarity with their accomplishment during the regular classroom flow. Putting it differently, experienced teachers were told to manage their classes in such taken-for-granted ways that those teachers were not consciously aware of the nature of their practical accomplishment. The teachers became aware of the outcomes of their practical achievement when a trouble took place in their classrooms. Other than those moments in the classroom, those experienced teachers did not pay particular attention to what they consciously did for the order in the classroom. Consequently, the order mechanism can be said to be accomplished in unnoticed ways in a classroom, and to make itself available to the outsiders when troubles have the participants reconstruct the organizational mechanisms (Payne and Hustler, 1980).

The closer look at the sequential development of the turns in the scene showed us how the order mechanism was established with particular reference to the re-negotiation of the rule in a trouble. The initial move in constructing the order was the stage step where the mechanism regulating the game was constructed through the negotiations between the two parties in the classroom. The second move was the action step where the students either were following the actions on which the mechanism of order was operating, or where the students were not following and warning took place. The third move was the alert step where the student(s) who did not follow the rule was warned either by the teacher or their classmate(s). The following move was the modified action step where the student warned adjusted his or her behavior to follow the rule. The last move was the transition step where the participants turned back to the regular classroom flow from the reconstruction of classroom order (see Figure 2 for the overall procedure).

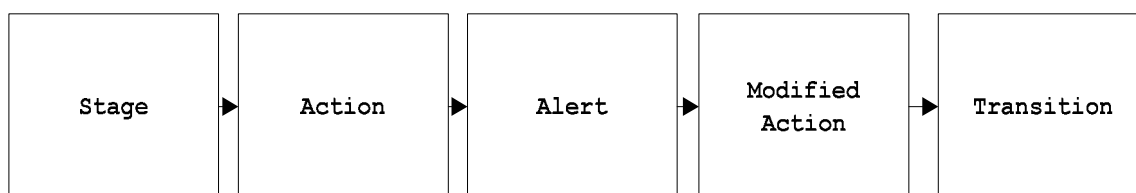


Figure 2. The Sequential Analysis of Order Construction

The common characteristic in the two scenes so far is the steps involved in constructing the classroom order. These steps together generate the organizational mechanism governing the flow of behaviors in the classroom. The following table shows us how two different sequences in circle time are following the same order mechanism.

Table 1. The Comparison of Two Scenes

Step	Scene 1	Scene 2
Stage	T: so take a look at your <u>feet</u> go get dressed	[Do not speak while T or S is speaking.]
Action	((Mark stands up.))	S: (xxx) ((Liz is talking while T is talking to the class.))
Alert	S: don't Mark= T: =Mark you have socks on your feet already HA	T: (.) Liz ((looking at Sophia.))
Modified Action	((Mark turns back to the circle time zone and sits down.))	((Liz stops speaking.))
Transition	T: any socks on your <u>feet</u> (.) go ahead honey	T: (0.2)

The comparison in the table shows us how order mechanisms are constructed. The first striking point in the comparison is the fact that the rule in the second scene, not speaking while someone is speaking in the classroom, discloses its construction through the comparison of the steps in the first scene where the rule was constructed through the teacher's explicit utterances. The other remarkable detail in the construction of order mechanism is the two-party accomplishment.

The social phenomenon, order in the classroom, is assembled by the collaborative actions by two parties, the teacher as the cohorting party and the students as the cohorted single party. The literature on classroom order emphasized (see Brophy, 2006; Evertson and Weinstein, 2006) that the work of classroom order was predominantly the teacher's task to accomplish. Paraphrased with the terminology of this study, the cohort assembling was considered to be the teacher's task in the classroom. Namely, the teacher was held responsible for initiating, sustaining, and re-sustaining the cohorting practices when the cohorted students were transformed into a dissolved unit. However, the findings in this scene showed that the students also joined in the construction of order. Both Mark and Liz, for example, were warned by their classmates to follow the rule for leaving the circle.

Order as cohorting accomplishment

The previous discussions in this paper so far uncovered two characteristics of classroom order, i.e. order as interactional and mutual accomplishment. The primary feature of order, order as cohorting accomplishment, needs to be unearthed to complete the picture.

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1 T let's talk about what's happening um
2 for the rest of the time here at school toda:y
3 and then we'll get back to your (xxx) choices
4 the first thing I wanted to sho:w you ((taking paper.)) was
this
5 and it's (.) um Erin cut this from um the newspapers
6 ((a student leaning towards the paper.))
7 sit sit down sit >I wanna make sure everybody sees it<
8 and what it says (.)
9 it says <LIBrary reborn from rubble>
10 S1 [rubble
11 T [rubble
12 S2 =rubble (xxx)=
13 T =rubble sometimes what they call if there is a whole bunch
14 of like [rocks and concrete
15 S3 [(xxx)
16 T JoE (.)
17 and [this was
18 S3 [(xxx)
19 T >(xxx) go sit right here< ((girl stands up.))
20 Joe come sit my lap please ((Joe sits.))
21 leave your staff there [Joe
22 S3 [(xxx)
23 T Joe leave your staff there
24 well this is um

The third scene was taken from a lecture in the circle time. The teacher was talking about an article in the local newspaper. Meanwhile, a student was interrupting her talk. As a result, the teacher was trying to stop him from talking to his friends. As applied to the previous two scenes, we will focus on the embedded sequence in line between 15 and 23, and will find in the details of their interactions how order was constructed.

15 S3 [(xxx)
16 T JoE (.)

The first pair in this embedded sequence was Joe's talk while the teacher was talking about the article. The same mechanism to reassemble the order applies to this pair: The teacher changed her gaze, looked at Joe, called his name, and gave a micro pause. However, her warning did not prevent Joe from talking to his classmate sitting next to him. As a result, the teacher made use of another order mechanism, changing Joe's place in the circle time.

17 T and [this was
18 S3 [(xxx)
19 T >(xxx) go sit right here< ((girl stands up.))
20 Joe come sit my lap please ((Joe sits.))

The remarkable point underlying the interaction in this scene is the parties' mutual accomplishment of reassembling the order through modification. In the first step, the teacher used the order mechanism explained in the first scene. However, seeing that it did not work, the teacher made use of another maneuver. Putting it differently, by changing Joe's place and making him sit on her lap, she prevented him from having further talks with his friends, and thus reassembling the order in the classroom.

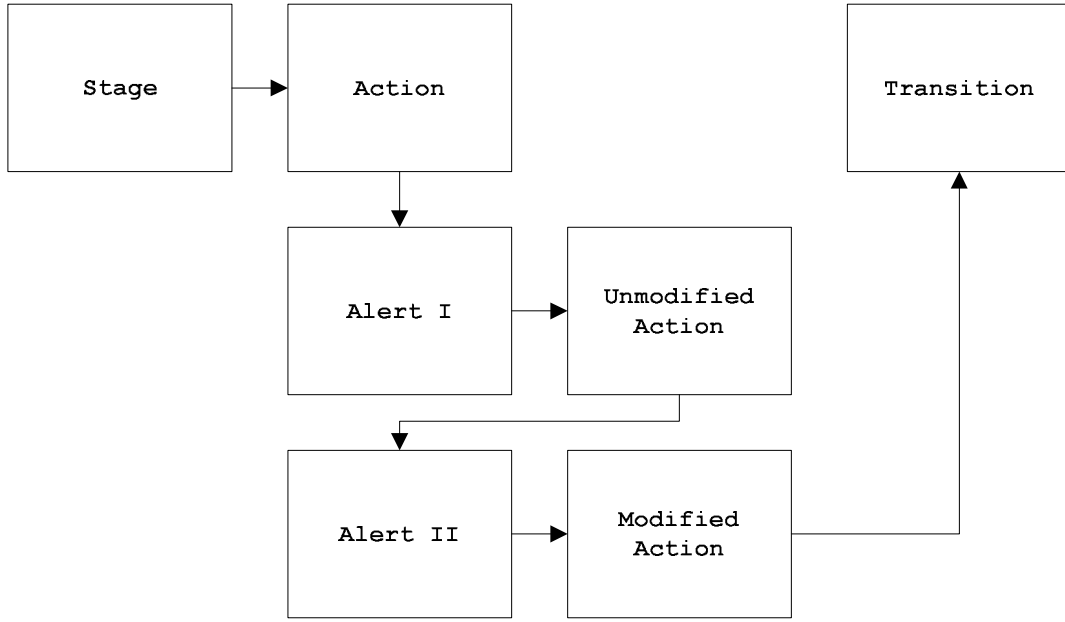


Figure 3. The Overall Process of an Embedded Sequence.

Creating an orderly classroom environment is one of the most challenging tasks. The challenging part actually results from the nature of classroom environment: A classroom is composed of an adult, the teacher, leading 20 or more students, in a set of previously determined sessions. Transforming these persons into a single unit that will behave collectively, that will have the same destiny, and that will speak as a single entity is an enduring task. The need to socialize, the drive to share, and the motive to have secrecy among these children will inevitably result in separate talks in the two-party speech classroom environment. The struggle between achieving the two-party speech exchange system and regaining the multi-party speech exchange system will lead to order problems in the classroom. As observed in the interaction between the teacher and Joe, gaining the two-party system in the classroom needs collaboration from both parties. The resistance by a student not to take part in the coordinated actions of the cohorted party actually means modifying existing maneuvers to make the resisting body fit into the cohorting body. Joe's resistance in our scenario led the teacher as the cohorting unit to find another order mechanism to employ, the change in calling Joe's name to changing his place, and then to making him sit on her lap.

DISCUSSION

As the part of a larger project aiming at uncovering the role of classroom interaction in the construction of classroom order, this paper presented a sample mechanism of how order was constructed and restored mutually by the teacher and students in a kindergarten classroom. Basically, the study presented here tried to show in the details of classroom talk how a public phenomenon, maintaining order and re-maintaining it when lost, was made meaningful and observable in a classroom environment. Focusing on the interactions between the teacher and students in circle time event, it demonstrated how order mechanisms were established, sustained and modified in different moments of circle time event.

As the findings from the three scenes displayed, the mechanism of order in the classroom follows a number of moves. Putting simply, the mechanism starts with the negotiation of rule that regulates the flow of interactions in the classroom. A good illustration was the singing rule in the circle time. If a student does not want to take part in singing, he or she should keep silent and should not disturb others. However, it should be noted at this point that the trouble-free classroom flow does not disclose the establishment of the first move, i.e. how the teacher and students negotiate the rule, how they come to the terms about proper actions, what sort of student actions are determined to create troubles, etc. As a result, it can be said that any trouble at any point of classroom flow makes the participants re-experience the stage and thus reconstruct the order mechanism through negotiation of the broken rule. In the next stage, providing that the students continue acting as negotiated in the first stage, the order mechanism temporarily ends. However, providing that a student or a group of students act(s) as opposed to the criteria negotiated previously, such as talking while teacher is speaking, either the teacher, or the student(s), or both parties together warn the student(s). The student(s) who has/have been warned modify their actions in the following stage. At the end of the order mechanism, there is a pause tying the embedded sequence of order mechanism to the following activity in the classroom flow (for a complete discussion of tying mechanism, see Icbay, 2008; Sacks, 1992).

A task of a conversation analytic study is to present the unnoticed everyday events with the detailed analysis of naturally occurring talk, and at the same time with two-way reasoning of the sequences in the talk, is to find commonalities between different cases. Presenting a layer of ordinary and public phenomenon, order in the classroom, this paper also linked the findings to Sacks' idea that children "begin to discover that there are some things which they can violate, that, if the adult doesn't know, isn't told, doesn't find out about, nothing

happens” (Sacks, 1992, p. 79). Similar to what Sacks foresaw, the children in the study discovered what organizational mechanisms worked at which stage and which ones did not work after specific actions by attributing meaning to the teacher’s turns after their ‘trouble’ action. The application of Sacks’ idea to classroom order offers a complimentary explanation of why students keep acting as opposed to the rules though they are informed about the consequences of their ‘trouble’ actions. However, this discussion should be left to the readers because any answer to the inquiries beyond whats and hows invalidate both the theoretical and methodological bases of a conversation analytic study.

The main limitation of the study was the duration and timing of the video-recordings. The study began its one-week recordings in the middle of a semester when the teacher and students were thought to have already built the negotiation stage. Consequently, the first stage could be made meaningful through the closer looks at trouble actions. However, how the teacher and students in a classroom negotiate and construct the order mechanisms still needs to be answered in a further study. Besides, this study as an example of pure conversation analytic research could not compare the characteristics of teachers and schools in terms of their own ways to gain the classroom order. The questions of how teachers at three schools differed in restoring the order and of how the school characteristics played a role in the construction of classroom order could not be answered in this study. Consequently, further studies that will focus on different schools and that will work different teachers can have another dimension where they can compare the schools and teachers in terms of how they restore order in the classroom.

The concluding remark about the study overall is that this study as an example of CA work presented one layer of classroom life. This CA layer provided a base for the other layers to build on portraying the classroom life and classroom order. The multi-layers at the end will help us understand how order works in the classroom. Hence, researchers from different fields such classroom ethnographers should present the other layer to this CA layer.

NOTES

[1] To Dr. David Bloome and Dr. Douglas Macbeth, I owe the debt of thorough reviews of the earlier drafts of this paper. To Audra Slocum, I owe the debt of her support and comments on this work.

[2] I followed the transcription convention by Jefferson (1979). The speaker designation is shown as follows: the teacher is T, student speakers, S, and successive student speakers are numbered, e.g., S1, S2, etc., C as the whole classroom.

[3] The discussion of what constitutes regular classroom flow is ambivalent. However, regular classroom flow in this paper denotes to the periods in the classroom without any trouble actions when the teacher or students do not need to restore the order. Putting it differently, regular classroom flow is the amount of time in a class period, during which the established order continues until the next trouble.

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