Laughter, excitement, and suspense in preschool interactions

Choreographing emotional stances as a multiparty achievement





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Choreographing emotional stances as a multiparty achievement

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Abstract

Most research on emotions, including that which takes a social perspective, is directed at negative emotions and their manifestation in social situations that involve conflicts, disputes, and arguments. This thesis instead aims to address children's heightened positive emotions and their interactional functions within the peer group and in learning encounters with teachers in preschool. Theoretically and methodologically, the thesis adopts a multimodal interaction analysis perspective. The data comprises 40 hours of video-ethnographic recordings of everyday activities conducted in a regular preschool in Sweden. The participants include 6 teachers and 50 children (ages 1-5, girls and boys). The following research questions underpin the thesis: How do young children invite co-participation and reciprocate laughter in multiparty interactions with peers and teachers? How do young children invoke excitement displays to initiate joint attention in multiparty peer settings in preschool? How do teachers choreograph suspense practices as a means to organize participation in educational activities? The thesis highlights the communicative and social affordances and challenges that young children encounter when interacting in large groups in preschool settings. The thesis contributes with knowledge in a largely unexplored area, i.e., heightened emotional displays in children's peer groups, and adult-child interactions.

Keywords: social interaction, emotional displays, adult-child interaction, child-child interaction, joint attention, multiparty interaction, peer cultures

Sammanfattning

Merparten av forskning om känslor, inklusive den som tar ett socialt perspektiv, är inriktad på negativa känslor och deras manifestation i sociala situationer som involverar konflikter, dispyter och argument. Denna avhandling syftar snarare till att rikta sig mot barns förhöjda positiva känsloyttringar och deras sociala interaktionella funktioner såväl i kamratgruppen som i deras dagliga interaktioner i lärsituationer med pedagoger i förskolan. Teoretiskt och metodologiskt intar avhandlingen ett multimodalt interaktionsanalysiskt perspektiv. Data består av 40 timmar videoetnografiska inspelningar av vardagliga aktiviteter som äger rum på en ordinär förskola i Sverige. Deltagarna inkluderar 6 pedagoger och 50 barn (flickor och pojkar ett till fem år). De forskningsfrågor som legat till grund för avhandlingen är följande: Hur bjuder små barn in till meddeltagande och till återgäldande skratt i flerpartssamspel med kamrater och lärare? Hur tar barn känsloyttringar till hjälp för att få till stånd en gemensam uppmärksamhet mellan flera deltagare i förskolans kamratgrupp? Hur koreograferar lärare spänningsmoment som ett sätt att organisera deltagande i utbildningsaktiviteter? Avhandlingen belyser de kommunikativa och sociala möjligheter och utmaningar som små barn möter när de interagerar i stora grupper i förskolemiljöer. Avhandlingen bidrar med kunskap till ett i stort sett outforskat område, det vill säga förhöjda positiva känsloyttringar inom barns kamratgrupp och i vuxenbarn interaktioner.

Nyckelord: samspel, känslouppvisningar, vuxen-barn samspel, barnbarn samspel, delad uppmärksamhet, flerpartssamspel, kamratkulturer

Acknowledgements

In January 2017, I started my journey as a PhD student. Coincidentally, it was also the same week that I heard about the late Swedish singersongwriter and poet Emil Jensen's winter talk in Swedish radio P1. It is a lucky coincidence. He addresses what he calls perhaps the most unfortunate misunderstanding of our species, where man in evolution has been portrayed as a selfish being and everything is about our individual survival. It is a bit unfair, since we are, first and foremost, fellow human beings, social beings. He proposes an alternative approach: 'survival of the fittest' has really always been 'survival of the nicest'. So let's instead turn the coin and temporarily move away from misery, crying and conflict and look at how we belong together and how we learn from each other and from all our good intentions and experiences. It is this that I have investigated in my thesis and in my everyday life, and it is marvelous! It is something I could not have done without the people around me. It is easy to be a silver-lining-kind-of-gal' when you are surrounded by so many amazing people. Writing a thesis is not a one-woman show – it takes a village. Fortunately I have a village. The dilemma, however, about having a village is the limited space in the acknowledgement section. Three pages simply provide too little space to thank everyone who has supported and inspired me on this journey. Having said that, I am still going to try.

First of all, I would like to thank all of those who participated in the study; all parents, children and educators who made the study possible! I would like to thank my supervisor Asta Cekaite for the time, patience and support you have shown during these years. I have learned a lot from you, your analytical eyes and sharp mind. You have been there and made me stop and see the big picture when I was too eager to run after

new exciting projects. It has made me mature into a better researcher. I am also most grateful to my second supervisor, Sally Wiggins, who has provided me with help and support, given me useful comments, and been there for me in times when I needed it. Without your help, critical comments and guidance, this thesis would not have been possible!

Learning how to do research and write a thesis is not done in the blink of an eye. The critical reading help and comments I received under 60% and 90% from Karin Aronsson, Annuka Pursi, Polly Björk-Willén, Mats Andrén, Lina Lago, Olga Anatoli Smith were invaluable. I also want to thank Emilia Zotevska for moral support and grit. And I owe thanks to Sarah Mitchell, Yelyzaveta Hrechaniuk with whom I had many lovely and enlightening conversations. Thank you for sharing your thoughts and providing analytical eyes on interactional matters that I would never have seen myself! Many thanks also to my colleagues at Tema Barn (Tema T and colleagues from the preschool teacher program) - new and old as well as those who have flown the nest. Working in an environment that is so rich in inspiration and creativity is a blessing and you all have taught me things that I will always carry with me. I would also like to recognize all of you who have provided help with technical or institutional matters during my time at the university, especially Eva Danielsson who has been a real ray of sunshine. In addition, I want to thank Disa Bergnér, Anna Ekström, Ann-Carita Evandsson, Helene Melander for all the data sessions we have had together and Michel Tholander who supported me to take the step into the research world to begin with. And thank you Rebecka Tiefenbacher, you are not only insanely sharp, but a great colleague!

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In a classic Swedish Pettsonväder and the sweet tones of Robert Broberg's 'The destination means nothing – the journey is everything' Linköping, November 2023

Emilia Holmbom Strid

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List of studies

This thesis is comprised of three articles, here referred to as Study I, Study II and Study III.

Study I

Strid, E. & Cekaite, A. (2021). Embodiment in reciprocal laughter. In J. Robles & A. Weatherall (Eds.), *How emotions are made in talk*, (pp. 163-186). John Benjamins.

Study II

Strid, E. & Cekaite, A. (2022). Calibrating joint attention and affective stances in young children's peer interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 198, 29-42.

Study III

Strid, E. (2023). Choreographing young children's participation in teacher-led activities through suspense practices. (Accepted for publication in *Research on Children and Social Interaction*).



1

Introduction

The preschool context is an exciting and challenging environment that provides possibilities, as well as placing communicative and social demands on children. It is an essential component of children's learning and social relationships, as well as emotional and moral development (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). Many children (approximately 85%) in Sweden spend much of their time in preschool (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2023). Therefore, children's peer-peer, as well as teacher-child interactions constitute important sites that contribute to children's development of social, cognitive, and emotional competencies (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). This thesis aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of young children's social worlds and interactions that they experience on a daily basis in early childhood educational settings. In particular, it explores an under-researched area, which is emotionally valorized children's and teachers' interactions in an early childhood education, i.e., preschool, in Sweden. The thesis examines the social practices where emotional displays indicating positive emotions feature in children's peer groups and teacher-child encounters in multiparty institutional settings.

While there is a wealth of research on didactic, organizational, and policy-related aspects of early childhood education, research from a social interactional perspective is to date limited in scope. In this thesis, I concur with and adopt a view that 'children's perspective' is a way of

studying children's interactions, and a way of gaining deeper understanding of children's everyday life, social relationships, and socialization processes in various social contexts (Gan & Danby, 2021). This approach is associated with ethnomethodological and multimodal interaction analysis (Goodwin, 2006) that provide possibilities to examine how young children "initiate, respond, and design their moment-bymoment upfolding actions by mobilizing various communicative resources, including the use of talk, body, and materials in the environment." (Gan & Danby, 2021: 5-6).

Recent developments within interactional approaches to human sociality have foregrounded emotion (e.g., emotion as stance) as characteristic to social interactional encounters. Attention to emotions is required in order to more fully understand the basic aspects of human sociality. This is especially relevant in understanding young children's sociality, development, and socialization (Ochs, 1996; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; Demuth, 2013). The thesis thus takes as a point of departure children's affectively valorized social interactions in a preschool setting. Directing attention to positive affective features is pertinent in that they are highly relevant for social relations, well-being and social ambience, empathy and social connectedness (Bai, Repetti & Sperling, 2016). Generally, however, we know very little about children's spontaneous expressions of positive emotion, their social functions and how they are responded to, - maintained, reciprocated, or ignored - in daily life, particularly in children's lives in early childhood settings (Bai, Repetti & Sperling, 2016).

The main focus of this thesis is the positive affective stances¹ that children display in social interactions with their peers and teachers, the interactional functions of these stances, and their multimodal design. I will specifically examine characteristic, but understudied, interactional practices where what have been called 'positive emotions' or 'heightened affective stances' feature and are displayed. Studying children's peer group interactions and adult-child interactions in a pervasive sociocultural setting such as preschools is one of the keys to understanding children's social relations and their everyday lives. It can provide knowledge about children's peer group cultures, their social interactional practices situated within the affordances and constraints of the preschool educational setting, and the linguistic and social landscapes that characterize children's everyday lives. Heightened emotional stances and positively valanced displays in this thesis are conceptualized and examined as multimodal social phenomenon (Goodwin, 2006). By studying children's and teacher's interactions in close detail it is possible to examine how displays of emotion are mobilized for various interactional purposes, including how participants achieve alignment, for instance by sharing emotions.

Aim

The overall aim of the thesis is to gain a much-needed understanding of children's social interactions and participation in preschool encounters where they use and respond to heightened emotional stances, such as laughter, excitement, and suspense. The thesis will demonstrate how positive, heightened emotional displays are used as interactional

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¹ The notion of positive emotion is used here to broadly denote emotions that are typically associated with happiness and joy (for a critical discussion of the concepts see pages 19-20).

resources to choreograph participation and shared interactional moments in peer groups. The following research questions are used to address this aim:

- 1. How do young children invite co-participation and reciprocate laughter in multiparty interactions with peers and teachers?
- 2. How do young children invoke excitement displays to initiate joint attention in multiparty peer settings in preschool?
- 3. How do teachers choreograph suspense practices as a means to organize participation in educational activities?

The thesis will demonstrate how positive, heightened emotional displays are used as interactional resources to choreograph participation and shared interactional moments in groups where usually many children participate. It will further examine how these affectively valorized practices feature in how children's peer groups, and teachers handle social and communicative affordances and demands of preschool setting where large groups of children spend their everyday life. The socializing potentials of peer group, and teacher–child interactions are also discussed.

Theoretical and methodological perspectives

This chapter describes the basic theoretical and methodological assumptions that inform the present thesis, namely ethnomethodology and multimodal interaction analysis.

Ethnomethodology and the study of everyday life

Ethnomethodology was initially a branch of sociology that originated from Garfinkel's sociological work, starting in the 1950s. It redirected attention to the investigation of social actions in order to build an understanding of how social order is accomplished (Garfinkel, 1967). The approach is "dedicated to explaining the ways in which collectivity members create and maintain a sense of order and intelligibility in social life" (ten Have, 2007: 24). Today, the basic tenets of this approach are further developed in Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis (EMCA) and multimodal Mondada, interaction analysis (Goodwin, 2000; 2016). approaches are invested in using video-recordings of social practices in the examination of social actions, social practices and human meaningmaking as fully embodied.

Human actions are viewed as fundamental social phenomena and methods through which social order of societies and communities is constituted in everyday activities. A bottom-up exploratory approach is used "by paying attention to the most commonplace activities of daily life" seeking "to learn about them as phenomena in their own right." (Garfinkel, 1967: 1). Although everyday life may seem fragmented, an ethnomethodological approach notes that it is in fact orderly and "it is

accomplished by members in the world of embodied and material practice." (Garfinkel, 2002: 6). For instance, Sacks (1984) formulated that interaction has "order at all points" (p. 22). Notably, the ethnomethodologically inspired exploration is geared at understanding social phenomena as members' concerns. Publicly available phenomena are examined by taking so-called emic or participants' perspectives, i.e., how the participants themselves give meaning to actions. Participants recognize what each other is doing and build their own actions, and respond to each other's actions, while orienting to and implementing the social order (Cekaite & Ekström, 2019). Thus, when observing interaction, "[i]t is their [the participants'] understandings that are wanted for analysis." (Sacks et al., 1978: 729). Research examines social practices by paying attention to how participants achieve mutual understanding through social interaction. Analysis deals with the interaction as it unfolds sequentially turn-by-turn. The meaning-making processes are publicly visible for participants – and therefore also for researchers – and can be explored by attending to the sequential order of interaction (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). Shared understandings are made visible between the interacting parties through their actions, manifested through turn-taking that includes both talk-in-interaction and multimodal resources beyond talk (as foregrounded by a multimodal interactional analysis approach, Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016).

Multimodal Interaction Analysis

Multimodal interaction analysis is linked to EMCA (Conversation Analysis); it expands the study of talk-in-interaction to the study of the whole situation and acknowledges that participants make use of different semiotic resources, such as gaze, bodily positioning, mimics, facial

expression, gestures, or utterances when designing a certain action (Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016). The actions are embedded and intertwined within the immediate environment, i.e., the local socio-material ecology. Multimodality and embodiment within this perspective are often used synonymously. This approach to the analysis of human action and human interaction "takes into account the simultaneous use of multiple semiotic resources by the participants" in "both stream of speech and the body, graphic and socially sedimented structure in the surround, sequential organization, encompassing activity systems, etc." (Goodwin, 2000: 1490). The notion of multimodality as multimodal semiotic resources, or embodiment, encompasses different phenomena, rather than being a stable homogeneous set of features and resources. Therefore, as formulated by Mondada in relation to "resources for building social action" (2016: 361), "[1]n order to make sense of and identify the relevance of multimodal cues, co-participants as well as analysts must rely on the way they are assembled in an orderly way, and their composition as well as their position."

A relevant notion for understanding how social interaction and situated meaning-making is constructed is the notion of *participation*. Goodwin and Goodwin (2023: 119-120) consider social interaction through the lens of participation that is defined as "a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions and stances that contribute to the further progression of the same events." A recent rendering emphasizes participation as fully embodied; it is argued that people "display how they position themselves towards others with whom they are interacting in the midst of another's turn – through their facial expressions, eye gaze, and body comportment, as well interjected

verbal commentaries." (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2023: 119-120). Participation is thus colored by both moral and emotional stances (Goodwin, Cekaite & Goodwin, 2012; see also Ochs, 1996).

In summary, EMCA and multimodal interaction analysis present useful theoretical and methodological approaches for examining young children's social worlds, their interactional practices and competences (Goodwin, 2006; Keel, 2015; Gan & Danby, 2021). Attention to a full range of embodied features is especially important when studying young children's social interactions, as their verbal skills are still developing. Learning, socialization and emotions can be fruitfully approached by focusing on the participants' perspectives and their multimodal meaningmaking practices that emerge within the social orders of early childhood education sociocultural institutional contexts that characterize many children's childhoods.

Emotion and stance

With the starting point that emotions are an intersubjective phenomenon that occurs between people, interactional research studies examine how participants' emotion displays feature in social interaction. Emotions have been studied from many various perspectives, e.g., psychological, cognitive, neurobiological (just to name a few), and a large bulk of research is based on experimental approaches. While conventionally emotions are considered in terms of physiological arousal, and are defined as having basic universal value (Darwin, 1872/1965), some of these approaches recognize that "emotions are not just responses to physiological states of arousal but involve interpretation that is shaped

by the influence of others." (Robles & Weatherall, 2021: 5). Social interactional studies approach emotions from a different perspective².

Emotions are considered as social phenomena that are situated and unfold between social actors, and they are examined with a focus on how they are produced, displayed, and interpreted. Studies examine the social meaning that is ascribed to them in social interaction, within a particular social and moral order of the socio-cultural setting. According to this approach, the sequential organization and larger units of talk are important, and various verbal and embodied resources are of significance when emotions are conveyed, interpreted and are linked to social actions in specific social situations (Ochs, 1996; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012; Robles & Wetherall, 2022).

There are complex links between emotion and affective stance as they are defined and discussed in various research perspectives (for an overview see, e.g., Rydén Gramner & Wiggins, 2020; Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012). In this thesis the terms "emotion" and "affect", and the terms "emotional stance" and "affective stance" are used interchangeably, in accordance with the terminology used in the EMCA, multimodal interaction analysis, and discursive psychological literature. The focus is on stance as defined by Du Bois (2007) and emotion as stance (Goodwin et al., 2012), that is responsive towards other participants, their actions, and other foci of concern³. In this thesis affective stance and emotional stance, and emotion as stance are used synonymously (cf. Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012). According to Du Bois (2007: 163) stance is a social act through which social subjects "simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with

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² Conversational analytical studies apply a perspective that does not distinguish between various conceptualizations of 'emotion', 'affect', and 'feelings' (Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012).

³ Research conceptualizes several types of stances, affective, epistemic, and deontic.

respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field." Stance and stance-taking are thus dialogic, intersubjective endeavors. As conceptualized by Kärkkäinen (2006: 700), "stance is not primarily situated within the minds of individual speakers, but rather emerges from dialogic interaction between interlocutors in particular dialogic and sequential contexts." Taking a stance is a way of relating to someone else's stance as a social act. Stance-taking allows the participants to position themselves towards a specific focus of concern as it is manifested, for instance in the previous turn in social interaction.

Ochs (1996: 410) defines *affective stance* as expressing "mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern." Interactional research emphasizes that affective stances are deeply embedded in the interactional context (Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012; Goodwin et al., 2012): "[o]nly when the dialogic context is taken into account does stance become complete." (Du Bois, 2007: 152). Stance-taking makes visible, re-produces and negotiates socio-cultural norms and values (Demuth, 2013; Demuth, Raudaskoski & Raudaskoski, 2020). As noted by Ochs (1996: 420), "[i]n all communities, affective stances are socio-culturally linked to social acts [...] sadness may be conventionally linked to condolences, negative affect to complaints, positive affect to praises, and so on." Taking a stance is a way of relating to someone else's stance as a social act; participants create intersubjective understanding and engage in relation-building in interaction through affective stances and related social acts.

Dialogicity and multimodality of stance-taking

Stance-taking indicates a range of relevant responses: the recipient can either align or disalign with the speaker who displays a particular stance. In this way, stance-taking is dialogic; it becomes a co-operative endeavor. Participants build accumulatively on each other's turns (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006; Bateman, 2020). A display of stance can invite the other party to align with it, for instance by affiliating and reciprocating the affect of the other (cf. Andrén & Cekaite, 2017: 2; see also Goodwin et al., 2012; Ruusuvuori, 2013; Jin, Kim & Chen, 2022). The recipient can also contrast and invert the previous stance. Affiliation through stance-taking can be conceptualized as a process of creating a "shared stance"; it is linked to relationship work (Kärkkäinen, 2006: 713; Andries, et al., 2023: 11). Specific social activities are characterized by a co-produced, shared affective stance, such as when tellings/narratives are about to be finalized and the topic closed, the participants can seek a shared understanding, e.g., a shared stance on the topic (Goodwin, 2006; Kärkkäinen, 2006).

The display of stance is not purely linguistic. While emotions can be verbally labeled, named and used for rhetoric purposes in social interaction, e.g., saying 'I'm happy', 'I'm glad', they are usually displayed by using not only verbal, but also embodied means (Goodwin et al., 2012). Stance is accomplished by mobilizing linguistic and embodied resources and it can be explored by examining "how one actor's body aligns with others' bodies and proposed courses of action." (Goodwin et al., 2012: 25) Notably, these resources are not isolated or interactionally predefined. Rather, stances are expressed through a contextual configuration of various semiotic modalities (Goodwin, 2000), or in other words as a "multimodal gestalt" (Mondada, 2016: 346) where various resources,

verbal and embodied, have a combined interactional effect. Concerning the issue of how to categorize affective stances, recent interactional research provides compelling evidence that similar kinds of embodied resources can be used to configure a broad range of stances. Therefore, they can become a "challenging object of inquiry" (Robles & Wetherall 2022: 17) and require detailed analysis. Simultaneously, attempts to identify clear-cut stance categories have been criticized in that studies demonstrate the heterogeneity in the social functions, and embodied design of stances (see Andries et al., 2023: 13)⁴. Thus, it is not relevant to assign a specific verbal, prosodic, or embodied resource to a "clear type of stance." It is thus suggested that "[i]nstead of trying to assign clear types to stance, it might be more accurate to classify stance expressions based to several features, allowing for overlap." (Andries et al, 2023: 13).

The way of expressing an affective stance - or, the 'how' - intensity of affective stances - is associated with normative aspects concerning their duration, timing, sequential, and contextual position. They are relevant elements in ascribing emotions and stances specific social meanings within socioculturally informed social and moral orders. Affective stance-taking is therefore a focus of socialization practices in adult-child interactions, where shared normativity is negotiated and established (Ochs, 1996; Demuth et al., 2020).

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⁴ A recent review on multimodality of stances notes that the expression of 'surprise' is associated both with affective and epistemic acts. A single embodied feature such as an eye-roll, or a shrug can have several interactional functions, e.g., epistemic, affective, or deontic functions (Andries et al., 2022).

Children's peer groups and peer cultures in preschool

In order to situate the practices that are examined in the present thesis within the social interactional landscape of preschool, this chapter presents and discusses research that has contributed to the deeper understanding of preschool as a social arena for children's everyday experiences, socialization and learning.

Children's social life in preschool settings is characterized by many social and communicative possibilities and challenges. Here, peer group interactions are frequent and rich, as many children spend time and participate in various activities together (Björk-Willén, 2006; Corsaro, 2017; Church & Bateman, 2022). The peer group constitutes a particularly significant site for the development of social relations; becoming and acting as a member of a peer group community is a multi-faceted process that entails engagement with many members of the peer group, taking on different communicative and social roles, and developing various social interactional genres and practices (Cekaite et al., 2014). Notably, children's peer talk and peer interactions establish, shape and reshape what can be seen as their childhood culture, or in other words children's peer cultures (Corsaro, 2017). The activities, verbal and embodied, in which children engage constitute major means for their social relational work, and define the social organization of the peer groups (Kyratzis, 2004; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; 2011). The interest in children's peer groups, their interactions and peer cultures, is informed by childhood sociology and linguistic anthropology. This directs attention to children's social worlds in their own right (Goodwin, 1990; Corsaro, 1992; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; 2011), studying them from the participants' point of view (Gan & Danby, 2021).

A growing number of studies have explored the common characteristics of peer interactions and children's social worlds in early childhood educational institutions. According to Corsaro, peer cultures are established when children interact and spend considerable time together. Peer cultures are defined as "a stable set of routines, artifacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share with each other" (1992: 489). In preschool settings, children, by participating in social activities such as free and educational play, mealtimes or teacher-led activities, create peer cultures simultaneously as they engage in the process of "interpretive reproduction"; actively orienting to the adult world, expectations and values. According to Corsaro;

"children are always participating in and are part of two cultures—their own and adults'—and these cultures are intricately interwoven (Corsaro 2011). Further, children interpret - and contribute to - adult culture through their collective actions in the peer cultures they create throughout their childhoods." (Corsaro, 1992: 489).

Children shape their peer culture and establish peer group social activities, developing and shaping what can be considered peer group interactional practices. Children's peer interactional practices may feed on the knowledge of adults', but their practices also differ from those of adults (see Goodwin 1990, Church, 2009, on the organization of children's disputes). What children experience and learn in adult-child interactions can be interpreted and re-interpreted, and in peer groups social values, identities and interactional practices are established (de

León, 2007; Evaldsson, 2007; Gan & Danby, 2021). Peer group interactions thereby provide a site of socialization through the use of language and embodied resources. The socialization process is dynamic, and peer group values, norms, and expectations are under constant negotiation between peer group members as children hold each other accountable for their social actions, as well as affective expressions (Goodwin, 1990; 2006; Kyratzis, 2004; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011).

Interestingly, in addition to the richness and affordances of peer interactions in preschool settings, peer group membership, social interactions and relational work are to some extent enforced upon children. Usually a large group of children spend time and participate in a broad range of activities in the same physical space. Some children may mutually like each other while others have more difficulty becoming accepted as interesting and relevant peer group members, with possibilities to be included in play, for instance. Corsaro (1979: 328) described children's everyday life and social interactions in early childhood educational environments as a "cocktail party" where multiple participants interact with each in a cycle of short and fragile interactions. When interaction seizes, one has to get access to interaction or activity again. Children therefore constantly need to seek access to interaction. It is difficult to become part of ongoing play/activities because children continuously protect the ongoing activity from intruders who try to access and join play (Corsaro, 1979; Cromdal, 2001; Holm Kvist, 2020; Bateman, 2022; Houen & Danby 2021; Karlsson & Nasi, 2023). These social and interactional conditions pose various challenges and contribute to the development of specific peer group interactional activities that deal with how children engage, sustain, and/or protect their social interactions. It is therefore also relevant to examine which interactional

resources - verbal, embodied, affective, material - characterize these interactional practices.

Currently, there is a wealth of research on children's play access and play exclusion practices, i.e., practices through which children deny other children's participation in their activities. Such research details various linguistic, embodied and material strategies (see for instance a recent special issue by Bateman & Kern, 2022). A considerable number of studies have examined children's 'access rituals' in play (Bateman, 2021; Corsaro, 1979; Cromdal, 2001; Houen & Danby, 2021). Research on children's play shows that access strategies have a particular import. They require a lot of interactional work and are often unsuccessful (Corsaro, 1979). Interactional studies of children's peer groups demonstrate how children continuously orient to and negotiate their social organization, define and redefine the peer group's social norms and values (see e.g., Evaldsson, 2007; Burdelski & Cekaite 2022; Goodwin, 1990; 2006; Houen & Danby, 2021). For instance, Goodwin's (1990) influential study on peer group disputes/social exclusion demonstrates how boys and girls in their peer groups used a broad range of interactional resources (language, prosody) to negotiate the social organization of the peer group. When interacting in the peer group, children must adhere to the prevailing norms, expectations and values concerning what is relevant and appropriate in their activities (Evaldsson, 2002; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; Houen & Danby, 2021; Burdelski & Cekaite, 2022).

While previous research identifies various access strategies and the complex conditions for children interacting in large groups in preschool settings, namely their difficulties in joining ongoing peer activities because their peers are keen to protect their interactional space and their objects (Karlsson & Nasi, 2023), it is also important to gain knowledge

about how children initiate, engage in and sustain peer interactions. However, to date rather few studies have examined how children initiate social interactions (e.g., play) with their peers. However some studies (Butler, Duncombe, Mason, & Sandford, 2016; Cathcart,1986; Cathcart-Strong, 1986; Stivers & Sidnell, 2016) have examined recruitment of peers into play activities, and show that children collaborate in recruiting peers, assigning play roles, treating peers as already willing participants, or presenting them with relevant material objects, and use affectively valorized moves to solicit peers' attention and check their availability.

Thus far, however, we know considerably more about the exclusion practices in peer groups. While this research points out various problematic characteristics of peer interactions, it is important to investigate children's interactional moves that aim at inclusion, focusing on how children in the demanding and affordance of rich social and interactional contexts initiate social interactions with their peers. It is important to examine how the initial social interactional moves are choreographed, and how social interactions are sustained, or declined, how children align and affiliate, or in contrast disaffiliate with each other. Considering the so-called 'multimodal turn' or 'embodied turn' (Goodwin, 2000; 2018; Mondada, 2016, see also Goodwin, 2006), children's embodied ways of initiating social encounters in the socio-material space of preschool settings constitute an important and novel path of exploration.

Emotion and stance in adult-child interactions

Emotions constitute a significant part of human sociality; they are inextricable from social interaction, and they are part of learning and socialization that occurs through social interaction (Ochs, 1996; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000). Research on young children and emotions, including children's emotion socialization, is extensive, and it adopts a broad range of perspectives (e.g., various branches of psychology, anthropology, interaction, and education sciences, to mention a few). This chapter discusses social interactional research on emotions and stances in young children's interactions with adults, and in the peer group. In that what here is called 'positive emotions' have thus far received less research attention, this chapter comprises a broad overview of research on emotion and stances in adult-child interactions, and in children's peer group interactions. In this thesis, positive emotional displays are identified by examining participants' social actions and their verbal vocal and embodied expressions (manifested as laughter, smiles, embellished with bodily movements). The term 'positive' can be somewhat misleading as it is associated with something desirable for all the participants in social interaction. This is not necessarily the case, however. Laughter has for example been shown not only to be used to indicate joy and fun, but it can also indicate something problematic or troublesome, such as when participants "laugh at" somebody or something (Andrén & Cekaite, 2017). It is therefore important to reflect 'positive for whom?' and to avoid assigning a normatively static 'positive' value as valid to all the participants in the scope of the analysis.

A considerable bulk of interactional research has examined how adults – caregivers and teachers – interpret, respond to, and guide children's social and emotional conduct in everyday interactional practices in families, and recently, also in institutional contexts. These studies show how caregivers orient to and guide the ways in which various emotions – joy, anger, sadness – can be expressed, and how they are interpreted with children of different ages and in different social contexts (Ochs, 1996). For instance, studies on families – parent-child, sibling interactions – demonstrate that emotions, both negative and positive, constitute an inextricable part of organizing social relations and family life (Demuth, 2013; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2018; Wiggins, 2019; Zotevska & Martín-Bylund, 2022; Jin et al., 2022). Children are active social actors in these social situations; they "are constantly viewing and processing the emotional behavior of others and incorporate this learning into their own expressive behavior" (Waring, 2021: 213).

Emotional displays need to be situationally appropriate – calibrated according to the characteristics of the specific situation and social roles of the participants. The calibration of emotional stances involves the ways in which they are "delivered – with what prosodic, facial, gestural, and bodily "keying" (Goffman, 1974), at which juncture of the interaction, and to whom." (Waring, 2021: 228) Children are held accountable for their social conduct, including their emotional displays, both during adult-child interactions, and children's peer interactions. Research thus shows that affective stances have to be considered as appropriate to the situation, otherwise adults will likely dismiss or divert the child's expression, both in family, and in institutional interactions (see Butler & Edwards, 2018; Burdelski, 2020; Demuth, 2013; Evaldsson & Bowden, 2020; Holm Kvist, 2018). Emotional stances constitute a relevant analytical focus for our understanding of how adults, when in mundane

interactions, deal with everyday concerns, social relations, and learning, and simultaneously socialize children into a certain type of affective and moral conduct, e.g., ways of handling conflicts and conflict resolution, or friendships. Children's emotions are of mundane concern for adults, who can confirm emotional stances by engaging in "emotion sharing" (Andrén & Cekaite, 2017 and Pursi et al., 2019. Regarding adult-child interaction in preschool see also Kärkkäinen, 2006 and see Ruusuvuori, 2013 regarding adult interaction and emotion sharing⁵). Adults can also use "stance inversion" when disaffiliating with the child's actions (Butler & Edwards, 2018). Especially negative emotions have received a large amount of attention in numerous studies that show how children's distress, anger, or sadness are monitored, disciplined or ignored by adults. Butler and Edwards (2018), in a study of child-parent interactions, examined whining in children (2 to 5-year-olds, in the UK and Australia), how it emerged, its social functions and parental responses. They showed that parental responses did not involve affiliation through stance and emotion sharing. Rather, parents exhibited stance inversion by using contrastive affective stances in their next turn. They also reformulated the child's claimed basis for whining, or even rejected it, at times using playful stance to downgrade the whining of the child. Demuth (2013) demonstrated in a cross-cultural study how mothers (German middleclass, and farming Nso mothers) responded to infants' negative emotions (e.g., crying) in various ways; crying was assigned different social meanings and reasons, and was evaluated differently. The process of emotion socialization in early infancy was "interrelated with broader cultural norms of how to raise children," as mothers' responses cross-

⁵ Similar findings have also been described through alignment (or affiliating) by Stivers, 2008).

culturally varied in relation to what directives they issued to manage infants' conduct (2013: 42).

Emotions in interactions in educational settings

Children's emotions become a relevant part of their life and daily experiences in educational settings as well; interactions in educational settings can have both educational and relational purposes. Research shows that educational settings are not neutral. These interactions are notably shaped by the normative, moral, and affective expectations of the institutions. A significant number of studies examine teachers' responses to children's affect (usually, negative affect) in direct, dyadic interactions between adults and children (Bateman, 2020; Moore, 2020), or they show how teachers respond to children's affective stances that are manifested in children's peer interactions (Ahn, 2005; Cekaite & Ekström, 2019; Holm Kvist, 2018; Evaldsson & Bowden; 2020; Kyratzis, 2001; Pursi, 2019). It is thus characteristic for educational settings that teachers orient to, ratify or scaffold both individual child emotions, and children's emotions displayed towards their peers in their peer group activities (e.g., play). Teachers observe, guide, and respond to children's conduct, socializing children's social actions and emotional expressions. For instance, Holm Kvist (2018; 2020) examined preschool teachers' responses to young children's crying in conflict situations in a preschool in Sweden. Children used to call teachers' attention by crying and exhibiting their distress. The studies focused on the moral and emotional work teachers engaged in when they helped children to verbalize their accounts about the conflictual situations. It is shown that children's crying practices required a certain legitimacy, and on occasions when this was not the case, children could be criticized as 'being grumpy' or teachers signaled in some other ways that crying was unjustified. Similarly, Cekaite and Ekström (2019) in their study of teacher-child interactions showed that teachers' responses to children's negative emotional displays mediated local normative expectations concerning when, how, and why children could display negative affective stances, e.g., when whining, crying, or complaining was relevant or not (regarding the normativity of negative emotions in educational settings see also Evaldsson & Melander, 2017; Moore, 2022).

Research demonstrates that teachers use a broad range of resources to encourage preschool children to express emotions in different ways (for instance in relation to children's gender). Kyratzis (2001: 359) examined teachers' and children's interactions in preschools in the USA and showed how teachers used "emotion talk", i.e., verbalizing and inviting children to depict their experiences by using emotion words when managing children's conduct in the peer group.

Research on children's emotions is not limited to the examination of distress and anger; a number of studies examine a wider spectrum of emotional expressions that are relevant when establishing close social relations, commitment, and inclusion. Ahn (2005) in her ethnographic study has examined teachers' emotional socialization strategies in child-care centers in the USA. She showed that the teachers instructed children about "constructive ways of expressing emotion." (p. 49). They encouraged children's smiles, laughter and affection-seeking conduct, and invited children to show and to respond to empathy. Ahn argues that children's empathetic understanding of the other's perspective (associated with prosocial behavior) and feelings are key to building social relations with other peers. Similarly, as demonstrated by Björk-Willén (2018) teachers in preschool scaffolded children's empathetic apologies, instructing how, when, and why to apologize to their peers, but children

did not necessarily appropriate apologetic conduct. Rather, they could use apologies in peer play in strategic ways (see also Kyratzis, 2004; Ahn, 2010). Moreover, young children in the peer group may wait for teachers to deal with peers' distress, rather than engaging in social empathetic acts themselves during peer conflict (Holm Kvist, 2020). It is therefore important to examine children's peer group interactions and the ways in which they can provide a particular social arena for the peer group to engage in the peer group cultural practices, as well as 'interpretive reproduction' of norms and expectations that are mediated through adult affective socialization attempts.

Children's positive emotions in social interaction

To date relatively little is known about the social functions of children's spontaneous expressions of positive emotion, and how they are responded to by adults and peers; more specifically, how they are maintained, reciprocated, or ignored in daily life, particularly in children's lives in early childhood settings. Notably, while ways of responding to negative emotions are important in that they allow identification of how to resolve potentially difficult situations, positive emotions, or what is described as an inclination to display positive emotions, are associated with social connectedness, empathy and pro-sociality towards others. According to psychological perspectives, positive emotions are linked to soft skills deemed as advantageous in life (Bai et al., 2016). Therefore, it is important to gain knowledge about what social patterns and naturally occurring practices are harboring children's expression of positive emotions.

Positively valanced emotional displays, e.g., smiles and laughter, are often considered as desirable features in social encounters. Research

based on a video-ethnography of family everyday life in Los Angeles (documenting parent-child, as well as sibling interactions) has examined the interactional development of multiparty activities when children (5 to 8-year-olds) display "spontaneous expressions of positive emotion" (Bai et al., 2016: 9, see also Sperling, 2012). The study shows that adults and siblings connected to and reciprocated children's spontaneous expressions of positive emotion by displaying positive emotions themselves, e.g., by smiling, touching, and by taking part in joint leisure activities (such as play). In doing so, family members engaged in and prolonged the situations of positive emotions, contributing to "social connectedness", reciprocity, and close relations with each other. Taken from a social interactional perspective, these acts can be considered as indicating affiliation (Stivers, 2008; Andries et al., 2023; Jin, Kim & Chen, 2022). The study highlights the developmental psychological focus on the importance of pro-social affordances of mutual positive emotions, emotional reciprocation, and "co-responsiveness" (Bai et al., 2016: 3).

Thus far, however, children's positive emotions, such as joy, excitement, surprise and their interactional uses have received scant attention in interactional research (for examples see Fasulo, Nomikou & Nye, 2021; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007; Waring, 2021). Studies on children's heightened emotional displays such as excitement show that even very young children can use this to draw an adult recipient's attention to an "object of attention" in the local material environment (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007, see also Keisanen & Rauniomaa, 2019). Fasulo et al. (2021) explored dyadic play interactions between caregivers and children (3 to 6-year-olds) with limited language knowledge. Children used verbal and embodied features, e.g., marked pitch, facial expressions, pointing or movement, shift in tone and pace, and smiles, to highlight a stance that indicated their excitement and in such a way

"marked" an object or an action as noteworthy to the caregiver. Children brought attention to objects in the immediate interactional surrounding, communicated their "high excitement" at what had just occurred and invited parent's affiliation with their stance (Fasulo et al., 2021: 72).

'Excitement' and 'surprise' and their embodied expressions are also a focus of Waring's (2021) study of mundane parent-child interactions. Waring's study describes the mundane socialization practices, namely how the parent guides the young child's expressions and interpretations of surprise and joy in mundane activities of playful gift giving: the child was guided to express surprise and joy so that it "normatively fitted to the importance of the gift that was in focus" (2021: 220). These stances were recurrently designed by using a specific set of bodily resources. For instance, 'surprise' was configured with the o-shaped mouth, inhalation, widened eyes, followed by a shift in volume or pitch, elongation, and a 'smiley' voice (see also Pursi, 2019; Pursi, Lipponen & Sajaniemi, 2018 regarding the embodied characteristics of playful stances indicating 'excitement').

Enjoyment and playfulness in adult-child interactions is a collaborative affair, where adults have possibilities to monitor, affiliate with, join and co-produce entertaining playful activities initiated by children themselves. Zotevska and Martín-Bylund (2022) for instance show that family mealtimes serve as an arena where children's enjoyment and having a good time together with other family members is important. Playfulness was pursued by children in their manipulation of material objects such as food. Such play was supported, authorized, but also monitored by adults. Excitement, playfulness and humor can allow adults to engage children in non-threatening encounters even when serious procedures are ahead. As demonstrated by Rindstedt (2013) in her ethnographic study of

children's and nurses' encounters in medical settings, nurses' playfulness, light-hearted manner (e.g., funny voices, joking) in interactions with young children before and during painful medical procedures resulted in laughter and fun, and lessened children's fear and stressful feelings.

Notably, children's peer group interactions can constitute a social arena where positive emotion displays gain special significance. For instance, Burdelski and Mitsuhashi (2010) in a video-ethnographic study of a Japanese preschool have examined teachers' and children's verbal and embodied practices characterizing somebody as 'kawai', i.e., being cute. Teachers used 'glossing': they verbally described the concept of 'kawai' and prompted children to feel, express, and appreciate 'cuteness'. Normative expectations placed on children were both physical and emotional and they were appropriated in the peer group through the process of "interpretative reproduction" (Corsaro, 2017), where children both practiced and re-shaped the social meaning of being and acting as 'kawai'.

A number of studies on peer group talk suggest that playfulness, joking, and language play performances are characteristic to children's peer cultures (Blum-Kulka et al., 2004; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011). Early research on children's play and ways in which children achieved their peers' attention have emphasized that being "entertaining" was an important factor for their success (Cathcart, 1986; Cathcart—Strong, 1986). Research on children's interactions shows that even young children deploy incongruence to invoke and engage in shared amusement and entertainment in the peer group. For instance, children's peer groups can contribute to spontaneous collaborative verbal play, exploiting various textual features, evaluative affective stances and mundane poetics, thus engaging in social interactional practices of mundane creativity (Aronsson, 2011; Swann & Deumert, 2018).

In conclusion, research on young children, and the social practices related to their displays of positive emotions (how they are configured) and how they are responded to (sustained, disciplined or ignored) can provide knowledge about this under-researched area in childhood. Moreover, few studies have paid attention to children's positive emotion expressions in multiparty educational settings, where multiple social actors interact with each other and influence the emotional valorization of children's everyday experiences. One of such under-researched social phenomena concerns laughter in peer group interactions, and in adult-child interactions.

Laughter in children's interactions

Laughter is an important part of our social lives, and is commonly found in the worlds of both children and adults. It is a multifaceted phenomenon, usually associated with (what here is called) positive emotions, indicating alignment and affiliation between the participants. Darwin (1872/1965) for instance viewed laughter as an immediate expression of happiness and joy that manifested internal emotional experiences; it provided information about the person's internal emotional experiences and thereby contributed to social interaction (for further information see Saara & Otta, 2001).

Previous interactional studies have examined the occurrence of laughter in social situations and demonstrated that rather than being uncontrollable behavior or "the spontaneous outpouring of emotion" (Walker, 2013: 363), laughter is produced "in orderly fashion" (Jefferson et al., 1987: 6). Laughter can be individual, or it can be responded to and reciprocated (Glenn, 2003; Markaki et al., 2010). "Laughing conveys

meaning": "[s]equential placement provides a key clue identifying laughter referent (and thus, its meaning)." (Glenn, 2003: 48). Laughter has also been shown to serve to ridicule and build alliances, for example when laughing at somebody (Billig, 2005; Glenn, 2003). Much research has argued that laughter is most visually manifested in the face (Ekman, 1993). Some of the studies that have attended to fully embodied features of laughter include Markaki et al. (2010), where the emergence of shared laughter in a multiparty context of a workplace meeting was examined. That study shows the progressive, temporally extended emergence of the "laughable" between members of a larger group, demonstrating how this participant constellation allowed the building of local coalitions between the participants who joined (or not) in laughter and displayed affiliation of disaffiliation with each other. The participants' use of multimodal resources such as "glances, bodily postures, gestures, common foci of attention and mutual orientations" mattered for the emergence of laughter as an embodied phenomenon and as "a collective achievement" (Markaki et al., 2010: 1540).

A significant part of interactional research on laughter, however, concerns adults (e.g., Glenn, 2003; Jefferson, 1979). Studies conducted on young children's laughter have largely adopted psychological perspectives in the exploration of the cognitive trajectory that characterizes young children's development of humor production and humor understanding (see Hoicka & Akhtar, 2012; McGhee 1989; Sara & Otta 2001). For instance, Hoicka & Akhtar (2012) in a survey have examined the humor of 2- and 3-year-olds with their parents. They show that humor is a complex socio-cognitive phenomenon available for your children. Parents reported that children produced and shared humorous acts by laughing, smiling, and looking for adults' responses (587). Incongruence

manifested publicly as transformation, breaking of norms and expectations, as suggested by various approaches, serves as a basis of children's amusement and laughter from an early age (Hoicka & Akhtar, 2012; Aronsson, 2011). For instance, research on young children's characteristic peer group activities shows that various forms of verbal play are based on the principle of incongruency; they involve public transformation of verbal, vocal and material structures, and are marked as entertaining and funny by children's smiles and laughter. Children use laughter to indicate what is a 'laughable' element of their verbal creativity and in such way collaboratively create and engage in entertaining verbal aesthetics (Aronsson, 2011).

Thus far, however, interactional research on young children's laughter, and its multimodal organization is scarce. Walker (2013) has explored toddlers' laughter in their play interactions with mothers with a focus to investigate if young children use laughter in a way that allows them to seek affiliation with the recipient (the parent). The empirical focus was on the sequences in which young children committed a potential transgression (see also Mazzocconi & Ginzburg, 2023 regarding laughables in mother-child interactions with young children). Walker shows that children were able to use laughter to invite and receive affiliation (manifested as reciprocal laughter, or laughter-infused speech) from their mothers. Laughter was a significant interactional resource in the interactional repertoires of young children, and it is argued that interactional studies of young children's laughter have a significant potential to reveal their interactional competences and skills (Walker, 2017). This knowledge is especially significant because young children may still have limited linguistic repertoires, and may largely rely on embodied actions in social interaction (Walker, 2013: 363). Young children's assessments (Keel, 2015) and gleeful positive self-evaluations are linked to "adult praise and to scaffolding and joyful emotion sharing" (Aronsson & Morgenstern, 2021: 1).

Notably, in educational settings children encounter institutional roles. and their activities are frequently conducted in large groups, where peer group members are present. Preschool thereby constitutes a special social arena. A handful of recent interactional studies have examined child-initiated laughter in these settings. Andrén and Cekaite (2017) and Cekaite and Andrén (2019) have explored children's (1 to 5-year-olds) laughter in preschool settings in Sweden. They highlighted a dialogical feature of joint laughter, i.e., "[l]aughter is associated with social relational work, and, what we call "emotion sharing" in that it displays an emotional stance toward a particular focus of concern, and invites the interlocutor response and stance" (Cekaite and Andrén, 2019: 2). It is shown that children laughed together in the peer group frequently, whereas intergenerational, adult-child reciprocal laughter was rare. Children's laughter sought affiliation and was usually directed to other children. Adults responded to children's laughter with smiles. Intergenerational reciprocal laughter was a rare occurrence. Rather than responding with laughter, teachers were often oriented to the institutional and educational aims of the preschool instead (Cekaite & Andrén, 2019: 15). This research suggests that teachers and children only partially shared the emotional worlds that children's peer groups were engaged in. While adults demonstrated their close attention to, and understanding of, what was entertaining and fun for the children, they simultaneously monitored the quality, duration, loudness, and content of the children's laughter, occasionally disciplining them (Cekaite & Andrén, 2019: 16).

In conclusion, research on young children's laughter, how it occurs and how it is interactionally organized, including its embodied features, is to date rather limited. It can be suggested that such research is especially relevant in that children spend a lot of time in preschool, where peer group interactions constitute a significant social site and where social relations and peer cultures are crafted. By deploying an interactional perspective, the present thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of how young children in their peer groups, as well as with teachers, calibrate laughter as an embodied social phenomenon. Examination of how laughter and smiling feature in children's everyday interactions can inform us about young children's interactional skills and repertoires, as well as their social knowledge.

The interactional organization of teacher-led activities

This chapter presents and discusses research that has explored how teachers and children organize their participation in various types of educational activities that characterize the everyday life of educational institutions. Since research on the organization of social interactions in early childhood settings is relatively limited (compared to the wealth of research on classrooms in schools), the review here combines insights from both research fields. Particular attention is paid to the research that focuses on how teachers and children choreograph group participation because educational settings, including preschools, usually include large groups of children.

Organizing participation in educational settings

It is widely recognized that attentive participation and engagement in social activities constitute crucial conditions for learning. Research on the interactional organization of classroom activities demonstrates that engaging, maintaining and guiding multiple children's attention is a complex task that requires considerable interactional work on the part of teachers (for a comprehensive review see Gardner, 2019). For teachers, their everyday work is complex and multidimensional. Teachers need to organize educational activities that include learning content for a large group of children, and the children are expected to attend to the learning content with attentive engagement. Generally, teachers spend a lot of

time directing children's attention towards overall learning objectives and directing children's conduct (regarding school settings, see Malaberba & De Souza, 2021; Sahlström, 2002; regarding preschool settings, see Church & Bateman, 2022).

Interactional research on classrooms. and early childhood educational settings shows that teacher-led turn-taking structure and a range of embodied practices are used to manage these tasks where multiple participants are present, and speaking time is limited (Gardner, 2019, regarding preschool settings, see Björk-Willén, 2008; Bateman, 2015). Turn-taking structure in instructional activities usually differs from everyday interactions. The aim of teacher-led speaker-selection is to reduce the number of disruptions and to create a structured knowledge display. Students need to attend to the activity, to attend to the teacher and respond in accordance with the learning objectives (Sahlström, 2002: 48). Notably, it is increasingly being recognized that participation and engagement do not need to involve children's verbal contributions. this can also be manifested through nonverbal means (Gardner, 2019). Participation can be students displaying attentive listening behaviour: students indicate their interest and willingness to participate in the learning objectives as part of a group (Gardner, 2019; Malaberba & De Souza, 2021). The participation of a group, and an individual student, are closely related. More specifically, teaching and learning are dependent on an acceptable number of students 'doing listening' during teacher-led activities, where "collective listening is to be constituted by individual student actions" (Sahlström, 2002: 48). These analytical insights direct research to examine educational activities as constituted by individual children and a collective, a group of children, simultaneously.

Notably, educational practices in early childhood are varied and only some of them are configured as formal teaching situations around the examination of students' knowledge, as in school contexts. Usually, in early childhood education, learning content and the organization of teaching practices are less formalized, compared to school-like practices. Teachers are expected to exploit and engage in everyday, spontaneous teaching and be responsive to children's curiosity and interest (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). This means that teachers organize, observe, and peak the interest of groups of children in various kinds of social situations (see for instance, Pramling et al., 2019). It is therefore important to gain knowledge about how teachers can create conducive conditions and facilitate these processes. A number of recent studies argue that it is through the detailed analysis of the everyday interactions in preschool settings that researchers can examine ways in which participation can be organized, and reveal the ways in which young children's learning and relational work can be supported, as well as how "pedagogical moments can be co-produced around points of shared interest." (Bateman, 2022: 58-59)

Recent studies on interactions in early child educational settings have demonstrated that teachers use a broad range of verbal, embodied and affective resources to choreograph young children's participation in play (Pramling et al., 2019; Pursi, 2019; Pursi et al., 2018), circle-time, and storytelling (Bateman & Carr, 2017; Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2018; Church & Bateman, 2019), or mealtimes (Dahlgren, 2017; Willemsen et al, 2020). Children's knowledge of instructional procedural routines may facilitate their participation. For instance, Björk-Willén (2008) has examined teacher-led instructional activities (e.g., sharing time) in a bilingual preschool in Sweden. The study shows that teachers relied on the recognizability of routinized structured instructional events inviting progressing the educational activity and inviting children's responses. Children were thereby "able to successfully design their contributions in line with

the expected—or projected—trajectory of interaction." (Björk-Willén, 2008: 573).

As demonstrated in several studies on teacher-child storytelling activities (studies conducted in early childhood programs in New Zealand with 4 to 6-year-olds), teachers sustained children's attention and participation by using a range of verbal and material resources that together provided opportunities' for multiple children to take part in a storytelling event (Bateman & Carr, 2017; Church & Bateman, 2019). Notably, the studies show that teachers' sensitivity and responses to children's spontaneous questions and comments were crucial to encourage children's initiatives. These mundane interactional practices created conditions for children's spontaneous discovery and learning, extending "child-initiated sequences of learning" (Church & Bateman, 2019: 265; see also Bateman & Carr, 2017). Learning environments are thereby not only dependent on the attentiveness of students, but also on teachers' attentiveness and responsivity to children's meaning-making and initiatives.

Notably, participation in early childhood educational institutions involves both verbal and embodied features, and various aspects of children's conduct (e.g., inattentive participation) becomes a target of teachers' strategies for classroom management. Demuth (2020) has examined teachers' and 5-year-old children's interactions in a preschool in India, demonstrating the verbal and embodied practices related to how "children's bodily mis/conduct was managed" (2021: 85). Accountability for embodied and affectively leveled conduct is at stake in these social situations, and children can use their bodily conduct to enact non-compliance and defiance. The study highlights that the normative features of "full membership of a cultural community, including bodily

conduct" became discernable by examining what expectations adults and children made relevant in their interactions (2021: 83).

Affective stances in adult-child educational interactions

Affective practices and embodied resources have been shown to be important in orchestrating children's participation in educational settings, and these feature in a broad range of activities. They constitute a part of children's ways of organizing their participation in institutional educational settings as well (Pursi, 2019). Several studies illustrate that affective stances feature in various literacy-related events - narrative and storytelling activities with young children – in preschool settings (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2018; Bateman, 2020). In their study of how teachers accomplished storytelling activities with young children, Cekaite and Björk-Willén (2018) demonstrated teachers' use of affective stances to organize children's participation and their aesthetic experiences. Teachers enacted story characters and indicated the affective valence of the story events. They thereby directed children's attention to specific features of the unfolding story. Teachers also identified what children "consider[ed] to be funny and entertaining during the storytelling" (p. 60), and supported children's affective and aesthetic experiences by confirming their stances. Teachers used affective features related to the story to

enrich children's understanding of the story events, and also signaled which emotion to display when and to whom. Notably, teacher gaze was especially relevant in organizing participation, emotional and aesthetic experiences. "Lighthouse gaze" i.e., a "sweeping gaze across the children" was used to solicit and sustain attentive listening, monitor the children's participation and their story understanding" (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2018: 55). Not only teachers, but also young children

deployed affective stances during storytelling events, collaboratively creating and sharing story-related aesthetic experiences. Similarly, children's "displays of heightened affect" during their storytelling directed at the teacher were examined in a study on a preschool classroom in New Zealand (Bateman, 2020: 664). Children deployed "a heightened display of emotion through prosody and facial expression during specific moments during the storytelling" (Bateman, 2020: 664). In such a way they made the story interesting, and guided the recipient's response and engagement with the events in the story, co-producing the telling, sharing stances, and socializing each other into the affective character of story-telling activity.

Educational aims and affectively valorized methods for engaging children in mundane learning are not limited to institutional educational settings, but also feature in children's literacy practices in familial contexts as well. In their examination of bilingual family literacy practices, Evaldsson and Abreu Fernandes (2019) showed how embodied resources were used to indicate affective embodied stances and jointly upgrade the significance of the story that was co-told by a young bilingual child (Russian-Swedish) and his mother. Notably, research across different contexts – institutional and informal, family settings – highlights the importance of embodied performances, prosody, animations, laughter, in performing and framing the collaborative telling as a playful joint activity.

As demonstrated in a number of studies, classroom, or preschool group being a competitive setting, where multiple children require assistance, getting and securing adults' attention requires persistent attempts and effective interactional means. Children develop and deploy various interactional methods to achieve participant status in such complex settings. Research shows that children employ various, usually

multimodal, methods that are designed for specific recipients (e.g., adults) within the multiparty frameworks. Even young children (toddlers) deploy recipient-designed interactional methods to call and secure carregivers' attention (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007), and adults are responsive to these attempts.

In conclusion, research on teacher-led educational practices in early childhood settings has started exploring how teachers organize children's participation in these settings, including the larger teacher-led group activities. Studies reveal both similarities and differences from the (conventional) classroom discourse where educational aims and learning content are more clearly pronounced and that in a specific way guide the organization of classroom (i.e., group) interactions. Thus far, however, the basic organizational features of how teachers deal with organizing attention, interest and active engagement in preschool activities are only beginning to be elucidated.

6

Method

Description of setting and participants

The data used in this thesis were recorded in one preschool⁶ in a middleclass area in a Swedish city⁷. The data consists of 40 hours of video recordings of everyday interactions recorded over the course of 18 months (between 2015 and 2016). The preschool was divided into two age-specific groups, referred to as 'Daisy' (1 to 3-year- old's) and 'Sunflower' (3 to 5-year-old's) and activities across and within both groups were recorded. The recordings were conducted both indoors and outdoors, including book reading, circle time, creative activities, mealtimes, free play (i.e., play that is self-initiated) and so-called transition time, (when children moved from one activity to the next). Some of the activities were conducted within the Daisy and Sunflower groups, whereas others involved children of mixed ages from 1 to 5 years old. The participants included in the data consisted of 54 children, 27 each in the Daisy and Sunflower groups. Most of the analysis is taken from interactions with children in the older age group (3 to 5 years old), although some involves children who were two years old. The staff were mostly qualified preschool teachers, and a mixture of men and women.

⁶ Two of the examples are taken from materials from other preschools recorded within the project.

⁷ This thesis is part of a larger project on 'Communicating emotions, embodying morality', financed by the Swedish Research Council (PI Asta Cekaite).

Data collection and coding

Recordings were made by a researcher (Mats Andrén) using a handheld video camera, sometimes with a tripod, to enable allowing the recordings to follow the activities of the children during the preschool day. As the setting is a shared space, recordings often captured several activities simultaneously. The researcher therefore typically followed activities rather than specific children. Recordings were made at different times of the day over the data collection period to capture a variety of activities. Visits to the preschool typically lasted around two hours at a time, and recordings were made either twice or three times a month over a series of months.

The full data corpus of 40 hours of video recordings was then coded to identify collections of instances that would become the focus for analysis. With the project aim to examine emotions in everyday settings, initial searching of the data involved a focus on extended turns of emotions initiated by children and teachers in group situations. The specific analytical foci - children's laughter, children's peer group attention-getting practices, and suspense and excitement in teacher-orchestrated educational situations – evolved inductively, after repeated viewings of video-ethnographic data. The concept of 'unmotivated looking' was used to guide this process. Ten Have (2007:124) describes 'unmotivated looking' as, "[t]he starting point is some 'noticing' in the transcript that something 'interesting' seems to be happening at some moment. From that moment on, the purpose of the strategy is to elaborate and contextualize that rather intuitive moment." As I manually searched the data, this noticing became centered on children's emotional practices (specifically, what can be seen as displays of positive emotions) in group settings and how these featured within the surrounding interaction. The coding of the data also involved paying attention to multimodal features and the fine details of the interaction: verbal and nonverbal or gestural aspects, facial and bodily movements, body positioning, and the use of objects (e.g., Fasulo et al., 2021; Goodwin, 1981; 2000; Mondada, 2016). This coding of the data culminated in the identification of three collections, as detailed below.

Collection 1: Children's laughter

Children's laughter in the data corpus included a broad category of displays such as laughing while talking, smiling, 'smiley voice', laughing out loud, or the use of short outbursts of laughter. I specifically coded those sequences in which children's laughter featured in multiparty situations where laughter was used as initiation or response within the interaction. This collection totaled 76 instances across the 40 hours of data. It became evident from the recordings that, in many of these instances, the laughter became extended as the interaction unfolded. For instance, what might have started with a smile shifted to laughter as the interaction unfolded. Thus, laughter was not only conventional laughter tokens (i.e., "open laughter", transcribed as 'HA HA' (Jefferson et al., 1987:6; Jefferson, 1979)), but also variations of laughter. The collection was further narrowed down to instances which involved a group of children, to focus on what extended laughter accomplished in the interaction and the co-construction of laughter. These instances usually also involved the teacher. In a sub-study, I present and discuss a selection of extracts, covering key characteristics of the children's laughter in multiparty contexts.

Collection 2: Heightened emotion displays to gain attention

The second collection featured interactional situations that comprise children's use of emotion displays as part of their attempts to gain attention (so-called 'initiating acts') from other children. I coded those instances in which children initiated an interaction with peers when they were not already engaged in another activity. This included occurrences when children used displays of heightened emotional stance of excitement, verbal or non-verbal, to present something as entertaining by drawing attention to a visual referent in the environment (e.g., an object). Sequences typically involved summonses and other initiating acts, which were combined with multimodal resources such as marked pitch or volume, large gestural movements, or exaggerated facial expressions. This collection totaled 138 instances across the 40 hours of data, and the key variations of the phenomenon are discussed in a sub-study.

Collection 3: Emotion displays in suspense sequences

The final collection involved instances in which emotion displays were used to create a sequence of suspense when children and teachers were interacting with one another. An interest in suspense practices developed once the analysis of previous collections had begun, thus evidencing how unmotivated looking can result in new areas of research interest. Instances of heightened emotional stances were re-examined with a focus on how teachers addressed children or made interactional moves to sustain children's attention on their joint activity. Multimodal resources such as shift in prosody and pitch, pauses, and whispery voice were a core feature of this collection. Further analysis revealed that these instances occurred most frequently in teacher-led activities in mixed groups with a large number of children, such as storytelling and circle time. This collection totaled 49 instances across the 40 hours of data.

The sub-study presents common interactional design of these teacherled practices.

Transcription procedure

The coded collections were then examined repeatedly and transcribed in detail. The transcriptions were conducted in accordance with the conventions of Jefferson (2004), Goodwin (2000), and Mondada (2018). The use of multimodal detail was particularly important for the analysis of affective stances, including the participants' use of gestures and gaze (such as using objects or pointing). The transcription conventions used in this thesis are presented below.

Transcription glossary

Conventions established by Jefferson (2004)

(0.5) The number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of seconds

(.) A pause in the talk shorter than two-tenths of a second

= Indicates 'latching' between utterances

[] Overlapping talk

.hh In-breath, the longer in-breath the more h'
hh Out-breath, the longer out-breath the more h'
(()) Non-verbal activity, contextual comments
sound- A dash indicates a sharp cut-off of the word

sou:::nd Colons indicate a stretched out preceding sound of the letter, the more co-

lons the longer stretch.

() Unclear talk

(guess) Transcribers best guess of unclear word

word. A stopping fall in tone, not necessarily a grammatical end of a sentence

 $\uparrow\downarrow$ Marked falling or rising shift, placed immediately before the shift

Under Indicates speaker's emphasis

CAPITALS speech noticeably louder than surrounding talk

noticeably quicker than surrounding talknoticeably slower than surrounding talk

Additional symbols

indicates smiley voices (art 1)
 € and £ indicates laughter while speaking⁸

indicates chanting voice indicates whispery voice

Multimodal conventions for visible behavior established by Lorenza Mondada (2016)

* * description of speaker's action

+ + description of another speaker's action

im image

exact moment when the image was taken

Analytic procedure

The three collections were analyzed using multimodal interaction analysis (Goodwin, 2000), with a focus on turn-taking, features of vocal delivery, and embodied gestures, to examine the organization of situated activities in the preschool. This form of analysis is particularly useful for examining emotion displays because, for instance, by studying prosody shifts in combination with other resources, the potential for emotional alignment or disalignment can be examined. I examined what was accomplished by the participants in each turn (e.g., initiating or responding to interaction, question, joking) and the sequential and embodied organization of emotion displays. This enabled an examination of the actions accomplished within the context of the daily activities, such as how children initiated peer interactions or how teachers steered the interaction in various educational activities. The focus overall was on the co-construction of activities and of the interactional role of emotion

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 $^{^8}$ In Jefferson's convention £ indicates smiley voice or suppressed laughter. Since I distinguished between smiley voice, laughing while speaking, suppressed laughter and open laughter I chose to use several symbols to give a more detailed picture of the emotional displays.

displays, specifically, children's emotion displays within preschool interactions.

Ochs's (1996: 410; see also Du Bois, 2007 and Kärkkäinen, 2006) definition of emotion as stance as "a mood, attitude, feeling and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity towards some focus of concern" was used as an analytical starting point. Heightened emotional displays were captured in the transcriptions as something that occurs to a greater or lesser intensity, and in a way that it is treated as 'out of the ordinary' by the other participants.

Ethical considerations

The data collection and analysis were conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Swedish Research Council (Swedish Research Council, 2017) for collecting and handling data. Prior to data collection, the project was approved by a regional committee for research ethics⁹. Access to the preschool was then initiated through establishing contact with the head teacher, and thereafter with the teachers and the caregivers of the children. The teachers distributed information sheets and consent forms for the parents to read and give their consent for their child/children to take part in the project. The researcher was also available to answer any questions that the parents may have had. It was also explained that the data would be part of a larger project where only the researchers working in the project would have access to the data for analytical purposes. The participants were also informed that the researchers did not have interest in evaluating the education or specific

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⁹ Regionala etikprövningsnämnden i Linköping, Avdelning för prövning av övrig forskning. (Regional ethical board in Linköping, Section for probation of general research). Financial support from The Swedish Research Council, project 'Communicating emotions, embodying morality' (PI A. Cekaite, project number <u>742-2013-7626</u>)

children but rather were interested in studying the everyday practices, emotion and moral features of social interactions in the preschool. The teachers and parents were informed that they (and the children) could withdraw their participation at any time.

All teachers and parents gave written informed consent to participate in the project. The researcher also followed the ethical guidelines for ongoing consent. Once data collection was underway, children's willingness and orientation to the presence of the researcher and recordings was continuously monitored. The researcher paid particular attention toward the children's orientation to being recorded. If the children showed unwillingness and asked not to be recorded, which only happened on a few occasions, the camera was turned away or switched off. Ethical considerations were therefore treated as a continual process that needs careful managing when young children are involved. The names of all participants and the illustrative sketches were anonymized by using fictive names and line drawings. Only the researchers involved in the project saw the video recordings.

Methodological considerations

In each of the three studies, a concern was to examine both the multimodal details and organization of the emotion displays in the preschool activities while also considering the complex environment in which these activities take place. In many instances, for example, the setting involves a large group of young children, which makes it challenging to capture the breadth of actions taking place simultaneously. There are therefore several methodological considerations, which are discussed below:

- The challenge of using pre-recorded data (data recorded by another researcher).
- The recording vs. the transcript
- The study of heightened emotional displays

Using pre-recorded data

Further, I would like to reflect upon how the recordings have been made and what it has meant for me to use pre-recorded material. Mondada (2006) argues that the basic principle of recording is to film relevant details and capture what is made relevant in each recording situation. She emphasizes the importance of the researcher in the process: making recording choices where, among other things, consideration is given to equipment, camera angle, and location. As every researcher shapes their recordings by focusing on what captures their interest, the focus of the recording may have differed if I had recorded the data myself.

What is captured in the recordings also determines what I, as the analyst, observe through an examination of the data, and in turn what I chose to analyze. The use of pre-recorded data means that some of the analytic choices have already been made for me. To get a deeper understanding of the participants, data, and recordings, at the beginning of the analytical process, I met with the researcher (Mats Andrén) who made the recordings. Additional information that he offered provided me with a better understanding of the process of the recording, and why certain activities were recorded. According to the researcher who made the recordings, a general interest of the larger project in children's emotion and moral socialization contributed to the sustained focus on situations and activities where these social phenomena were available (e.g.,

resulting in interest in focus on situations of children's laughter). The recording researcher also provided more detailed information that I was curious about, namely, the architectural organization of the preschool, and how different rooms and spaces related to each other. I also received detailed contextualizing information about the children, their ages, which children often played together, and which children were new in the preschool.

During my analytical work, one of the challenges was not being able to observe all visual angles in the interactions. Moreover, despite the information about preschool provided by the researcher who made the recordings, there may be other contextual features that I was not aware of and which may have impacted on the analysis. Another challenge to consider was how to deal with children who may have shown unwillingness to be recorded during the recording situations. This happened only on two occasions, both times when a small group (2-3 children) were playing. When the researcher noticed that they moved away from the camera he didn't follow. On these occasions, he got the impression that it was more about the children wanting to play by themselves without other people present in the room than that they were being filmed (on one of the occasions they closed a door after themselves).

The recording vs. the transcript

While everything that occurs in the setting cannot be recorded, so too can everything that occurs in a recording not be part of the transcript (ten Have, 2007). That a simplification takes place becomes clear as there are often many children in the picture, where not everyone is relevant to the organization of the particular activity that is being analyzed. As Jefferson (1985:25) notes, "[i]t depends a great deal on what we are

paying attention to. It seems to me, then, that the issue is not transcription per se, but what it is we might want to transcribe, that is, attend to."

The three studies share the aspect of studying multiparty activities and contribute to previous work regarding turn-taking in extended sequences. Studying large groups from an interactional perspective requires transparency about what is included and not in the transcriptions, as transcribing the actions of many participants risks making the transcription too complex and difficult to read. This has implications for how the analysis is presented to different audiences and disciplines who may be less familiar with certain transcription formats. To make the transcription clear, choices were made to refer to several children's action as opposed to separate actions, e.g., "several children clapping hands." This has further implications for specific analytical concerns, such as when focusing on children's participation. For instance, attentive listening can mean that the listener during storytelling is still and silent. In these instances, quiet participation can be difficult to capture as participation. When studying many participants, it can be difficult to include the movements and sounds of all participants. This becomes particularly important when attempting to capture the joint construction of heightened emotional displays that are built in both pre-sequences and in the participants' extended turns in a verbal and embodied way.

The study of heightened emotional displays

Using naturally occurring data provided an opportunity to study children's everyday life and the social practices this entails. I made short descriptions of each situation and catalogued them into groups and created collections to illustrate the phenomenon. Emotional components, such as defining and labeling the acts as stances of specific emotions turned

out to be a challenge, as emotional expressions tend to merge and overlap with one another. The categorization process involved using somewhat overlapping concepts such as 'excitement', 'joy', and 'suspense'. What I found in many of the video-recordings was the combination of resources used to express a certain phenomenon or emotion, such as a high pitch combined with raised eyebrows, gestures, fast pace and facial expressions. Such resources could display an excited stance, but similar features could also illustrate surprise. Thus, it is the combined resources in a specific sequential context and ways in which they are treated or responded to by the co-participants that indicate which emotion is displayed.

Summaries of the studies

Study I

Embodiment in reciprocal laughter: sharing laughter, gaze, and embodied stance in children's peer group

Emilia Strid & Asta Cekaite

Published in J.S.Robles & A. Weatherall (Eds.), How Emotions are Made in Talk

Laughter is a mundane phenomenon that is ubiquitous in social life. Study 1 studies young children's laughter, specifically focusing on the calibration of shared laughter as it typically occurs in multiparty interactions. Laughter is recurrent in children's everyday activities, especially in peer play where it features in the calibration of aligning courses of action. Since much of children's social life is spent in peer group interactions, how emotion is used as social acts in organizing young children's peer interactions and social relations constitutes a relevant area of exploration. Interactional studies of young children's laughter in peer groups are, however, largely lacking. The study discusses children's interactional competences in calibrating emotional stances and affiliation. Using multimodal interaction analysis (Goodwin, 2000), it examines how laughter and smiling are used as social acts in 3 to 5-year-old children's peer interactions. More specifically, the study examines the multimodal organization of children's laughter initiation and the interactional work used to achieve and sustain shared laughter. The chapter explores how laughter is used interactionally to display alignment, establish a shared 'laughable', and thus create a mutual embodied display of togetherness

between peers. It is shown how the children skillfully use multimodal resources and mutual monitoring in orchestrating laughter as a shared and interactionally achieved embodied display of positive emotion. The analysis considers the multimodal features that characterize situations of reciprocal laughter, contributing to the understanding of laughter as a fully embodied social phenomenon. The study shows that laughter was interactionally accomplished in ways that established affiliation between a group or a dyad of children. The establishment of mutual gaze was important in initiating, reciprocating, and sustaining shared emotional stance through the performance of laughter. The embodied calibration of the children's shared stance shows that laughter is used in the establishment of affiliation and rapport. Young children's situated humor and 'funniness' is thus clearly a joint, shared interactional and social – dyadic or multiparty – accomplishment.

Keywords: Laughter, children's interactions, multimodality, social interaction, affective stance, emotion

The authors' contributions to the work

The first author viewed, transcribed and categorized the data and chose the phenomenon examined. The analysis and writing was conducted by the first author with consultation from the second author. Having expert knowledge in the field, the co-author's contribution was particularly important to the previous research section, as well as the structure of the article.

Study II

Calibrating joint attention and affective stances in young children's peer interactions

Emilia Strid & Asta Cekaite

Published in Journal of Pragmatics

Study 2 addresses three- to five-year-old children's peer interactions and explores their affectively heightened attention-organizing practices that indicate excitement used when initiating an exchange in preschool interactions in Sweden. The data consists of 40 hours of video recordings collected in two regular preschools in Sweden. By using multimodal interaction analysis (Goodwin, 2000) of video-recordings from everyday activities, the study examines the verbal, embodied and material features of children's interactions. The study details the affective continuum of children's summonses and peer group responsive stances and discusses children's interactional practices with regard to stance alignment in the peer group. The study contributes to research on children's peer group cultures by examining children's affectively valorized actions that are directed to the peer group. It is suggested that studying children's peer interactions can deepen our understanding of young children's interactional skills and show how children's peer groups achieve social organization not only through verbal but also through affective and material means. The analysis shows how children exploited common access to objects or physical personal attributes within their socio-material environment and relied on them to secure the others' attention, while using various methods for making the object 'noteworthy' and exciting. The children's heightened affective stances involved configurations of multiple embodied features: prosody, high-pitched voice,

voice quality, loudness, chanting, facial expressions (open mouth, laughter, smiling, wide open eyes). Children's calls often emerged in multiparty settings, in transitions between activities when children's participation was not focused on a single encounter. Such situations provided affordances to initiate social encounters, but they also added to the challenges the children experienced in securing the peer group response. By indexing their affective stance towards the referent, the children created the interpretative framework for the recipient's response. However, the recipients' orientation and stance alignment were not to be presumed. The children resorted to numerous, persistent and affectively valorized attempts to secure the recipients' orientation. By attracting attention towards something that they invoked as noteworthy, they oriented to and collaboratively constructed discursive genres of peer culture that involved practices and expectations of being 'interesting and entertaining' (cf. Cathcart, 1986).

Keywords: peer group interactions, emotion, stance, alignment, attention-getting

The authors' contributions to the work

The first author viewed, transcribed and categorized the data and chose the phenomenon examined. The analysis and writing was conducted by the first author with consultation from the second author. Having expert knowledge in the field, the co-author's contribution was particularly important to the previous research section, as well as the structure of the article

Study III

Choreographing young children's participation in teacher-led activities through suspense practices

Emilia Holmbom Strid

Accepted for publication in Research on Children and Social Interaction

Study 3 examines how teachers choreograph so-called 'suspense situations' during group activities in early childhood educational settings (for 2 to 5-year-olds) in Sweden. Using multimodal interaction analysis, verbal, embodied, and material features of video-recorded social interactions between teachers and children were analyzed. The analysis shows that teachers used embodied and material resources to choreograph social situations of suspense as a part of multiparty educational activities, e.g., literacy, numerical training, arts, or others. Teachers calibrated a suspenseful situation to orient or renew the children's attentional focus and affective engagement during a group activity.

The suspenseful situations were designed by the teachers in activities that had a recognizable structure and characteristics: they included cultural artefacts such as stories, educational games, or counting. Their interactional structure was as follows: the teacher initiated the suspense by indicating that something exciting and unexpected was about to occur; the suspense was then built up by the teacher, who simultaneously monitored and managed the children's attention and participation. When the suspenseful situation reached its culmination, the children were invited to display affective stances (such as excitement, joy, or disappointment), collectively and individually. The climax was affectively heightened and normatively guided: the child (or the group of children)

was expected to respond with verbal and embodied affective stances that conveyed excitement, joy, or surprise. The affectively heightened resolution of a suspenseful situation was a co-operative endeavor: the children reciprocated each other's affective displays, sharing stances by recycling various embodied actions. In their responses, the children demonstrated alignment and engaged in emotion-sharing by recycling or building upon other participants' stances. In doing so, the children displayed a shared affective stance and confirmed their intersubjective understanding of the situation.

In all, the study demonstrates how the teachers scaffold the children's understanding, participation, and interest in multiparty educational activities by choreographing suspenseful situations that evoke children's excitement. It is argued that these practices can contribute to young children's affective socialization in that children's participation is monitored, modelled and, at times, corrected.

Keywords: adult–child interactions, affective stance, joint attention, suspense situations

Concluding discussion

The present thesis has explored and demonstrated how interactional participation is organized in children's peer groups and child-teacher encounters in a preschool setting. In particular, I have examined heightened emotional stance-taking in the everyday lives of children (2 to 5-year-olds). By focusing on children's and teachers' positive emotional displays, and specifically on heightened emotional displays such as laughter, excitement, and suspense practices, this thesis contributes to the research on young children's emotional practices, both in peer groups and early childhood educational interactions. By using video-recordings of a broad range of activities, it was possible to distinguish and explore how children themselves made positive emotions relevant in their everyday lives. More specifically, this thesis, shows how positive emotion displays are part and parcel of children's relationships with peers and teachers, and of mundane socialization practices.

The present thesis has adopted an EMCA-informed approach and explored young children's social practices in an institutional setting that characterizes their life and the conditions for children's learning and development (Hedegaard, 2009). Here, not only teachers, but also large groups of peers are part of these social affordances and constraints. I argue that multimodal interaction analysis provides a fruitful approach for examining how teachers conduct various types of preschool activities where large groups of children participate. Importantly, this approach allows research to include the analysis a broad range of verbal, embodied and affective resources used by participants. The three empirical

studies compiled in this thesis contribute novel insights concerning the interactional organization of educational practices, including how multiple children's engagement, attention and curiosity can be encouraged and sustained. They exemplify the important social purposes of positively valanced emotional displays in peer groups and in teacher-child interactions.

Calibrating peers' attention by using heightened emotional stances

Capturing peers' attention and establishing mutual orientation is important in young children's lives. These actions provide ways to engage peers in social interaction. However, sustaining social interaction even when the peer's attention has been captured is difficult, especially in children's groups. While previous research on children's peer groups has described children's exclusion practices, and their "access rituals" to play (Corsaro 1979; Cromdal, 2001; Houen & Danby, 2021), the present thesis contributes to knowledge about children's peer cultures in preschool settings by demonstrating how children use inclusive actions that display positive emotions when they try to get their peers' attention and initiate new social encounters. The thesis describes rather underexplored social activities and children's interactional repertoires, that is, how children recruit the peers' attention and try to secure their participation in the multiparty setting of the preschool where a large group of children participate and where interactions can be viewed as 'cocktail party' (Corsaro, 1979).

Studies I and II (Strid & Cekaite, 2021; Strid & Cekaite, 2022) show how children summon their peers' attention and calibrate joint peer laughter. They show that children rely on a range of verbal and embodied practices to summon their peer's attention and invite their affiliation with

an affective stance of joy, excitement, or fun. In doing so, they rely on the local understanding of what is exciting or entertaining for the peer group members, that is, they rely on and constitute their peer cultures (Corsaro, 2017; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011). Moreover, in doing so they engage in the interpretive reproduction of the institutional norms and expectations of the preschool as an educational institution. Children's attention-getting actions, their heightened affective design, and persistent negotiations reveal young children's interactional competences and willingness to engage in social interaction (Gan & Danby, 2021).

Multimodal organization of laughter, excitement and suspense as multiparty achievement

This thesis contributes to previous research on laughter, and especially young children's laughter, by demonstrating that children's spontaneous interactions are a fully embodied, multiparty phenomena. Laughter is not only visually manifested in the face (e.g., Ekman, 1993). It can be embellished by gaze, gestures, movement, e.g., collapsing, turning towards the recipient, adjusting body position, and other means (see Study I). In young children's peer groups, laughter involved extended multiparty episodes and laughter bouts, where children invited and reciprocated their peers' laughter. Similar to previous research on children's and teachers' laughter in preschool settings, this thesis shows that the peer group is the primary social site of children's laughter (see also Andrén & Cekaite, 2017). Tentatively, it can be suggested that peer groups, and not only adults, constitute a relevant socialization framework for children's emotional competence. These results contribute to our understanding of young children's interactional skills and emotional competences (cf. Denham, Basett & Wyatt, 2015), while deepening our

knowledge of how multiparty laughter situations are co-constitutive of shared norms and expectations in children's own

worlds.

Notably, the present studies show that multimodal rendering of 'excitement', 'surprise' or 'suspense' involve configurations of using similar embodied resources, e.g., widened eye movements, open-mouth, and prosody (see Study I-III). These interactional resources were not limited to children's peer groups, but were also part of teacher-led activities. For instance, children addressed their peers with an embodied act such as pointing to or showing some object (see e.g., Fig. 1-2 from study I and II), using response cries or imperatives (see also Fasulo et al., 2021) and combined them with loud volume, high tempo etc., and created a stronger expression, while teachers



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

used open-eyes, gestures, and whispery voice in suspense situations. These methods can also be conceptualized as "heightened embodiment" (Kärkkäinen, 2012: 497, see also Andries et al, 2023). Rather than being realized through a stable set of resources, the interactional meaning and social functions of affective displays became visible by attending to the verbal resources, the longer sequence, and the activity context (Goodwin et al, 2012; Andries et al., 2023). The heightened emotional displays were crafted using multimodal resources that were discernible 'as a whole situation' and social actions rather than an isolated set of resources and displays (Goodwin et al., 2012).

Emotion sharing and affiliation in multiparty settings

Few studies thus far have investigated positively valorized emotions and their social uses at what here is called 'group' level, that is, in children's peer groups and in educational situations where large groups of children are present. This thesis shows that children's affective stances constitute a significant part of peer group cultures - or, in other words, children's affective interactional repertoires (Study I; II). The studies highlight that the participants, when displaying positive affective stances, also invoked the recipients' to affiliate or disaffiliate, ignoring social actions. These affectively valorized social practices highlighted the notion of 'emotion sharing' and shared normativity (Cekaite & Andrén, 2019; Demuth et al., 2020). This does not mean that all positive affective displays were directed at emotion sharing (viewed as reciprocation of affective stance), or that they received a response. Rather, the thesis shows the intricate interactional work that children, as well as adults, engaged in during their embodied interactions as a multiparty achievement. Affective alignment and affiliation were sought and achieved through displays of similar stances, although children's affective stances did not necessarily receive an affiliative, reciprocal response, or the responses were varied across the group of participants (Study II). By demonstrating that peer attention, and affiliating stances are not a given, and that there is a continuum of responses, it becomes visible that children in the peer group hold each other accountable for what is considered as exciting or not, and respond with affiliation by positioning themselves towards the stance of the peer (see Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011).

Moreover, the 'when, which, and how' of emotion displays constituted a part of emotion sharing and was a part of teacher socialization, or scaffolding practices (Study III). The present thesis contributes to previous research by suggesting that emotion socialization can be viewed in terms of scaffolding actions, i.e., demonstrating, inviting, or correcting which, when and how emotions are appropriate to display. Scaffolding here reaches beyond learning or cognitive goals (cf. Andries et al., 2023). The findings in the present thesis support the argument that young children in peer groups develop and take part in peer culture social worlds and interactional genres that may differ from those of adults (Corsaro, 1979; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, 2004).

Teachers' choreography of suspense and excitement in educational activities

By taking analytical interest in a broad range of affectively valorized practices that were characteristic for the preschool setting, the present thesis has identified educational activities that harbor teachers' heightened affective stances in so-called 'suspense' practices. Affective displays were used in suspense practices by teachers to invite and sustain children's attention and to monitor their participation and attentive engagement (including anticipation and active listening), while pursuing the overall learning objectives. Familiar routines such as children's stories, rhymes, songs and counting provided easier conditions for children to recognize relevant points for participation. When children's contributions or emotion displays digressed from the group activity (such as when they were untimely, too intense, or wrong in character) the teachers corrected the stance to continue and progress the activity towards the overall learning objectives. The analysis shows how children's responses and contributions needed to be organized in a timely manner, and the teachers monitored and put on hold children's initiatives to move the institutional task along. Culmination and climaxes of suspenseful

situations (e.g., choreographed by teachers, see Study III), including endings of story-telling or other activities were characterized by teachers' recruitment of affiliation and emotion sharing. This study contributes to research on teacher-led activities in early childhood education settings during circle time, storytelling, play and others (e.g., Bateman & Carr, 2017; Church & Bateman, 2019, Pursi, 2019) by outlining how teachers use heightened affective practices to sustain children's attention and engagement in a broad range of situations and practices. Notably, 'suspense'- and 'anticipation'-building situations were found across a broad range of activities.

Conclusions

The studies in this thesis demonstrate the significance of EMCA, specifically multimodal interaction analysis and its analytic procedures, which are characterized and inductive approach used in examining a range of social situations, social constellations and practices in various mundane activities. The findings reported can enhance our understanding of children's perspectives viewed as their engagement in various social practices. It also highlights methods through which research on larger groups can be carried out. Multiparty participant constellations where large groups are present provide affordances and constraints for creating alliances, affiliation, or disaffiliation through stance-taking, among others. Orchestration of joint attention through emotional stances of laughter, excitement and suspense is clearly an important social endeavour; it also reveals children's interactional competences and peer cultures. In all, knowledge about emotional displays and stance-taking can not only deepen our understanding about children's lives at preschool, but also contribute to the childhood field at large.

According to the Curriculum for Preschool (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018) teachers are responsible for "developing pedagogical content and environments that inspire development and learning and that challenge and stimulate the interest and curiosity of the children" (p. 20). As demonstrated, teachers can choreograph mundane educational activities and sustain children's attention and curiosity through the use of multimodal emotional stances. In teacher-child educational activities, the use of heightened emotional displays is significant in two main respects: firstly, it has a direct educational purpose to sustain children's engagement in the activity, and secondly, it has an indirect socializing purpose. For teachers, paying attention to and using learning opportunities that arise spontaneously in peer group interactions or as part of children's initiatives and contributions to adult-child interactions offers fruitful ways of meeting multiple goals that are outlined in the Curriculum for Preschool (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018 see also Pramling & Wallerstedt, 2019 examining 'play-responsive teaching'). The results of the present thesis on the affectively valorized practices of peer groups, including emotion sharing, and the ways in which children aim at peer attention and inclusion demonstrate how the aims of the curriculum concerning "openness, respect, solidarity and responsibility" can be realized (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018: 13). Preschool is a rich social environment where a variety of social and emotional competences can be developed and practiced in the everyday interactions in the institutional context where many children, or large groups of children, spend their everyday life together (cf. Hedegaard, 2009).

Finally, the present thesis demonstrates how the continuum of heightened emotional stances are important for various degrees of affiliation through the responsive emotional stances of peers. It contributes with research to a still relatively uncharted topic of interactional research in large groups, and positive emotions in social interactions generally. The study results suggest that it is possible to raise the gaze, both theoretically and practically, to a group perspective that centers on children rather than adults by paying attention to how children orient themselves to what is happening in the environment and which communicative skills they display. In doing so, we can see how children choreograph *their* social lives, and where better to start than in children's own social arena - the preschool!

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Part II

Studies

The studies associated with this thesis have been removed for copyright reasons. For more details about these see:

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This thesis demonstrates how the continuum of heightened emotional stances are important for various degrees of affiliation through the responsive emotional stances of peers. It contributes with research to a still relatively uncharted topic of interactional research in large groups, and positive emotions in social interactions generally. The study results suggest that it is possible to raise the gaze, both theoretically and practically, to a group perspective that centers on children rather than adults by paying attention to how children orient themselves to what is happening in the environment and which communicative skills they display. In doing so, we can see how children choreograph *their* social lives, and where better to start than in children's own social arena – the preschool!

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