# *Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities*

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ABSTRACT. The organization of embodied participation frameworks, stance and affect is investigated using as data a sequence in which a father is helping his daughter do homework. Through the way in which they position their bodies toward both each other and the homework sheet that is the focus of their work the two contest the interactive and cognitive organization of the activity they are pursuing together. The father insisted that their work be organized in a way that would allow him to demonstrate the practices required to solve her problems. However the daughter refused to rearrange her body to organize the participation framework that would make this possible, and demanded instead that Father tell her the answers. When the daughter consistently refused to cooperate Father eventually walked out, but returned later, and they constructed a very different affective and cognitive alignment. Such phenomena shed light on range of different kinds of epistemic, moral and affective stances that are central to both the organization of cognition and action, and to how participants constitute themselves as particular kinds of social and moral actors in the midst of the mundane activities that constitute daily family life.

KEY WORDS: *activity, affect, embodiment, gesture, multimodal, participation, stance, talk in interaction*

This article will investigate the organization of action, cognition, stance and affect between a father and his daughter as they work on homework together. Particular attention will be paid to the interactive organization of participation frameworks, including how they are structured and contested in the midst of moment-to-moment interaction, and the consequences this has for how participants shape each other as moral, social and cognitive actors.

The sequence to be examined was recorded shortly after 7 pm on a Monday night in the home of CELF family 1. Eleven-year-old Sandra, who is just coming down with a cold, is lying in her parents' bed with her mathematics homework.

The parents' bedroom has the only high speed internet connection in the house and one of her younger sisters, Laura, age 8, is working on it. A television on the wall opposite the bed is on.

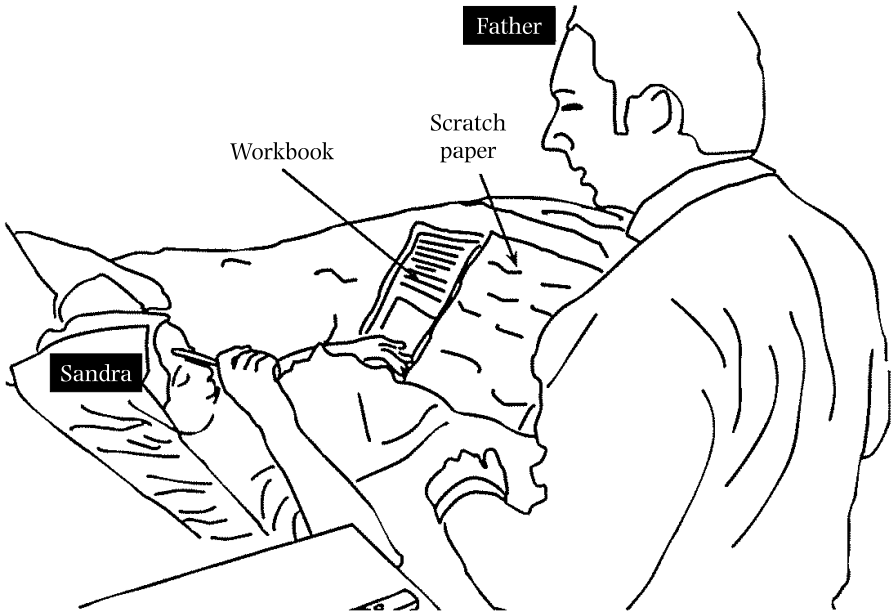


**Figure 1**

## *The interactive organization of action within a situated activity*

As can be seen in Figure 1, in order to do her homework Sandra works with a number of objects (for other analysis of homework in the CELF data see Wingard, 2006). Her workbook contains the problems that constitute her assignment (she is currently working on fractions) and provides places for her to write her answers. The workbook moves with Sandra every day between her home and her school and indeed is one of the key links between the two settings. Its carefully constructed pages with their problems provide a small, portable but powerful environment for doing relevant schoolwork in the home. The answers she writes there enable the now absent teacher to assess her performance when Sandra brings the book back to the classroom. Note that the numbers provided in the answer slot do not provide a complete picture of the practices required to produce that answer. To find an answer Sandra must first recognize relevant structure on the printed homework page (columns of numbers that are to be summed or subtracted from each other, fractions, etc.) and second, perform a range of relevant operations on the numbers that constitute the problem. In addition to the workbook she also has a piece of scratch paper, which is not handed in. Writing the desired answer in the

workbook is treated by itself as evidence that the practices required to reach that answer have been mastered, and marked as correct. However, as every student knows, a correct answer can be obtained by means that do not in fact demonstrate mastery of the practices being tested, for example by getting the answer from someone else, such as a parent or another student.

## *Environmentally coupled gesture*

The way in which Sandra's homework consists of operations on relevant objects on the assignment sheet is demonstrated by how Father builds an answer to one of her questions.[1]

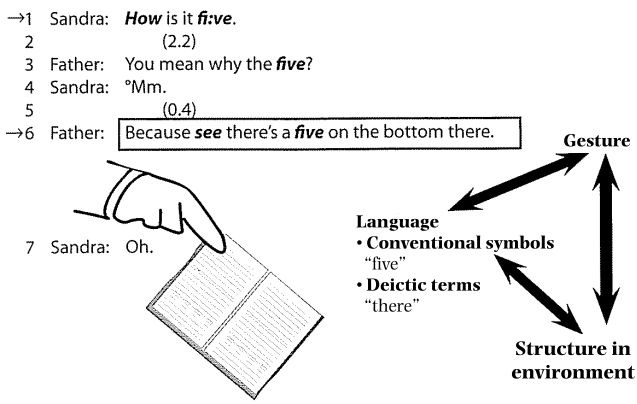


**Figure 2**

Father's answer in line 6 of Figure 2 does not consist of talk alone, but also contains a pointing gesture that locates a specific place on her workbook page as crucial for resolving the issue raised in line 1. The answer in line 6 is built through the simultaneous use of structurally different kinds of semiotic practices (language, gesture, and the structure of the page being worked with) in different media which mutually elaborate each other to create a whole that is different from, and greater than, any of its constituent parts. Sara could not properly grasp what Father was demonstrating to her by attending only to this talk. Moreover, his utterance is not homogeneous, but contains within the scope of a single sentence diverse sign phenomena that require very different kinds of cognitive and perceptual operations. Thus the deictic term 'there' presupposes that its addressee is attending to a specific place in the local environment, something that is not required for proper understanding of the conventionalized symbol 'five'. Through this multimodal package of complementary meaning-making practices symbolic objects, such as the numbers used in arithmetic, are tied to their instantiations in the local environments, including written arrangements of numbers, geometrical shapes, and equations, where work with these symbols is accomplished. Father's use of gesture linked to meaningful structure in the environment is consistent with contemporary research on mathematics, and science and mathematics education

(Goldin-Meadow et al., 1992; Hall and Stevens, 1995; McNeil and Alibali, 2004; Rusconi et al., 2005) that has placed new emphasis on the role of embodiment in the organization of mathematical knowledge.

## *Embodied participation frameworks*

By building his answer with this combination of language and embodied demonstration Father is showing Sandra how to see and organize relevant structure on her homework page, the environment that is the focus of her work. This of course presupposes that she is positioned to not only hear his talk, but also see both his gesture and the relevant structure on the page being highlighted by that gesture. As shown in Figure 3, Father positions his gesture right where Sandra is gazing. Moreover he specifically calls her attention to that place by prefacing his description in line 5 with 'see', an instruction to look there.

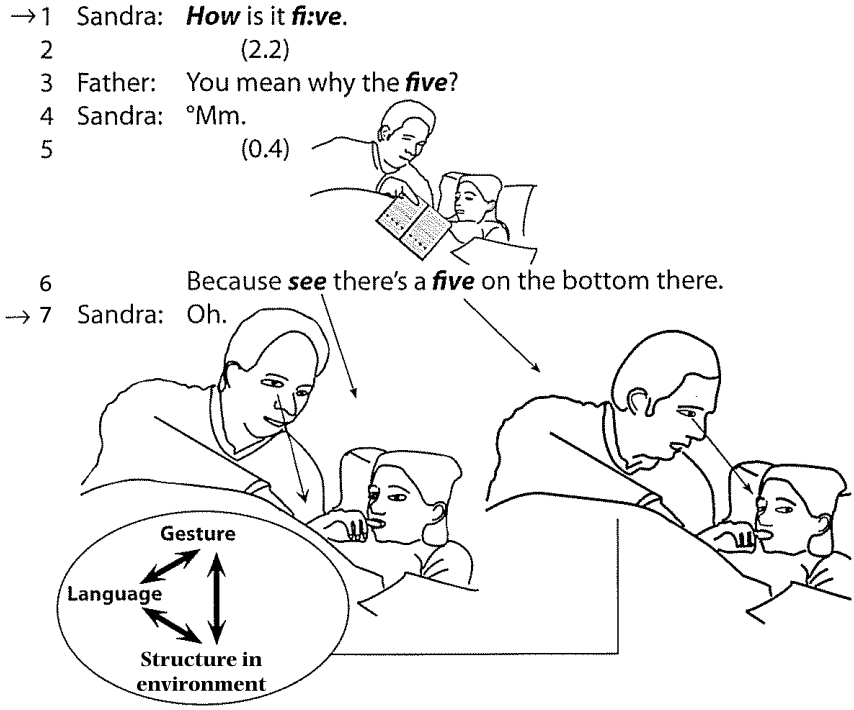


**Figure 3**

Father then immediately moves his gaze from the page to Sandra's face, and thus positions himself to see how she is taking into account what he has just shown her. Such gaze shifting is common in acts of pointing (Goodwin, 2003a) and provides some demonstration of how, in order to build action within face-to-face interaction, participants frequently attend to multiple visual fields simultaneously,

including both objects being worked with, and each other's bodies. Seeing how the addressee is responding to the current action is clearly consequential for the organization of subsequent action.

Father's environmentally coupled gesture, which presupposes that its addressee will attend to specific phenomena in the local surround, is thus systematically positioned within a larger arrangement of the participants' bodies, what Goffman (1972) called an ecological huddle, that creates a public, shared focus of visual and cognitive attention. Like the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction which constitutes what Father says in line 6 as a conditionally relevant answer (Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 1968) to Sarah's question in line 1, the participation framework (C. Goodwin, 2003b; C. Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004; M.H. Goodwin, 2006) constituted through the mutual align-ment of the participants' bodies creates a dynamic frame that indexically grounds the talk and embodied action occurring within it (Kendon, 1985). It also provides the basis for the triadic framework of *joint attention*, in which multiple actors are attending to the same object in the environment, that Tomasello (1999: 62) and others locate as central to the organization of human language and intersubjectivity. More recently, innovative work on the treatment of autism has emphasized the power of building arrangements for participation that permit shared visual focus on a common referent, without, however, requiring mutual gaze between participants (Ochs et al., 2005).

To summarize, Father's action in line 6 contains a range of structurally different, but mutually relevant forms of organization. First, multiple actors are carrying out courses of joint action in concert with each other. Second, to build such action they make use of talk and other sign systems, such as gestures, that are tied to the particulars of that talk. Third, in order to construct relevant action the participants attend to the details of emerging talk, each other, and also relevant structure in their environment. Indeed, that environment is the focus of the activity they are engaged in (answering the homework problems on the page in front of them), and talk and gestures may be organized in ways that presuppose orientation to it. Fourth, the talk in progress is understood through the way in which it is tied to emerging courses of action, that is with reference to the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction. Fifth, the talk, gesture and activity in progress are framed by arrangements of the participants' bodies that create a shared, public focus for the organization of attention and action.

## *The interactive organization of apprenticeship*

Arrangements with such a structure are especially important to the processes of education and apprenticeship through which newcomers gain mastery of the practices that constitute being a competent member of a relevant community. In Figure 4 the sequence between Father and Daughter (A) is placed within a larger collection of actions that occurred in the midst of an apprenticeship in archaeology (B) as participants work to uncover a relevant structure in the dirt being excavated (Goodwin, 2003b), and( E), as they use a Munsell chart to classify

the color of dirt (Goodwin, 2000b), Surgery (C see Koschmann et al., in press) and Chemistry (D see Goodwin, 1997). All of the events shown here have a number of features in common. First, participants are gazing at, and working with, relevant structure in a consequential environment, indeed one that constitutes the distinctive locus for the work of their community: the dirt being excavated for the archaeologists, a patient's body for the surgeons, and a vat of chemicals where a reaction is being monitored by the chemists. Second, multiple parties are building action together through the use of talk, gesture and other forms of embodied action, including the use of relevant tools by the archaeologists and surgeons. Third, one of those parties is a competent practitioner and the other is less experienced in the work being done. Fourth, through the way in which they arrange their bodies with respect to both each other, and the environment that is the focus of their work, the participants create a public, visible locus for the organization of shared attention and action.

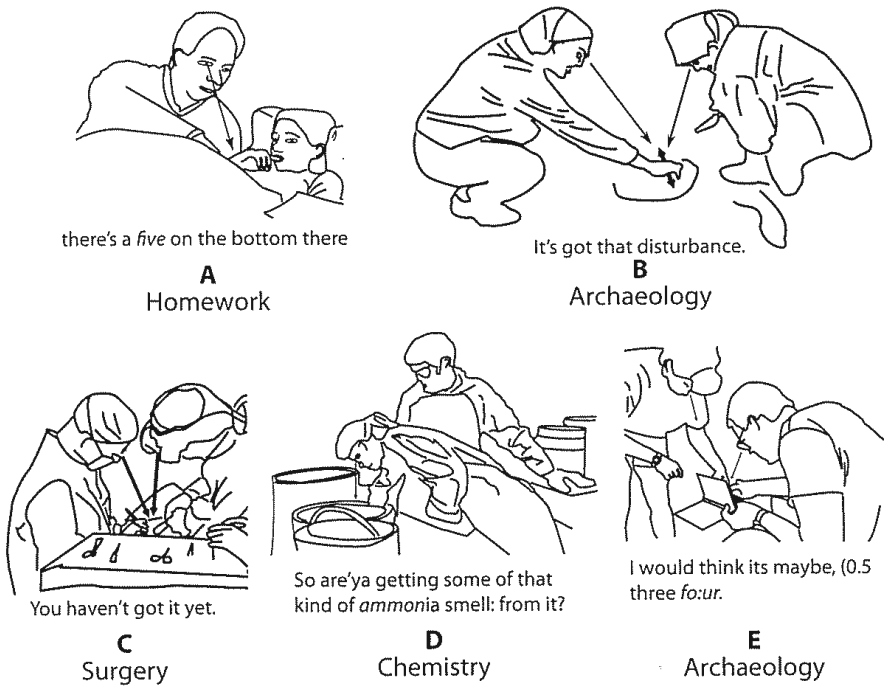


**Figure 4**

The issue arises as to why interactive arrangements with these specific properties might be so prevalent in interaction in general, and in situations of education and apprenticeship in particular. Discussing the training of novice hunters Ingold (2000: 37) notes that:

> it is not possible, in practice, to separate the sphere of the novice's involvement with other persons from that of his involvement with the non-human environment. The novice hunter learns by accompanying more experienced hands in the woods.

> As he goes about, he is instructed in what to look out for, and his attention is drawn to subtle clues that he might otherwise fail to notice: in other words, he is led to develop a sophisticated perceptual awareness of the properties of his surroundings and of the possibilities they afford for action. . . . The fine-tuning of perception and action that is going on here is better understood as process of enskilment than as one of enculturation. . . . For what is involved . . . is not a transmission of representations, as the enculturation model implies, but an education of attention.

Ingold stresses the importance of a newcomer mastering the skills required to recognize relevant structure in the complex environments that are the focus of his or her community's work, and using that recognition to build relevant action. This education of skill and attention is accomplished by repetitively moving through, and working within, that environment in the company of a more senior member of the community. Though Ingold is specifically discussing the situation of a young hunter, his observations apply with equal force to the scientists and surgeons whose work is depicted in Figure 4. Archaeologists must develop the ability to see relevant structure in very subtle color patterns visible in a patch of dirt, their focal environment, and then use their tools to define and map such features. In B of Figure 4 a new graduate student at her first fieldschool is doing just such work under the watchful eye of a senior archaeologist. Even after becoming medical doctors, surgical residents (C in Figure 4) spend years working with senior surgeons developing their crucial ability to recognize consequential structure in the very complex perceptual field provided by the human body, and to cut into that structure in ways that will help and not harm the patient. The young geochemist in D of Figure 4 has just been instructed by her advisor to move her body over a vat so that she can smell something in the chemical reaction they are monitoring, and, more generally, that as a professional chemist she should be alert to serendipitous sensations that arise from the way in which her body is positioned in the environments where she works.

In all cases a newcomer's embodied engagement with a consequential environment is being shaped into work-relevant practice through interaction in that environment with a senior practitioner. Central to this process is in the interactive arrangement noted above. As in the environmentally coupled gesture in the homework example (such gestures also occur in the other settings), an action package links actors' bodies to both specific, relevant structure in the environment that is the focus of their work, and to the symbolic and categorical structuring of such phenomena that organizes the work of their community (chemicals such as ammonia, archaeological features, anatomical structures, etc.). Such multimodal action is efficacious in large part because it occurs within an embodied participation framework that creates a visible, public locus for attention and action that includes both relevant structure in the environment and the actions and bodies of other participants. This is especially important in situations of apprenticeship and education. Through the structure of mutual accessibility created through the participation framework the senior practitioner is positioned to see both structure in the environment that is the focus of her community's work, and the work-relevant actions of a newcomer on that environment. Moreover the senior practitioner can interact with the newcomer in a rich variety of ways;

for example, she can collaboratively structure the organization of individual actions, evaluate what has just been done, intervene in the midst of ongoing action, and build subsequent action that takes as its point of departure what the newcomer has just done.

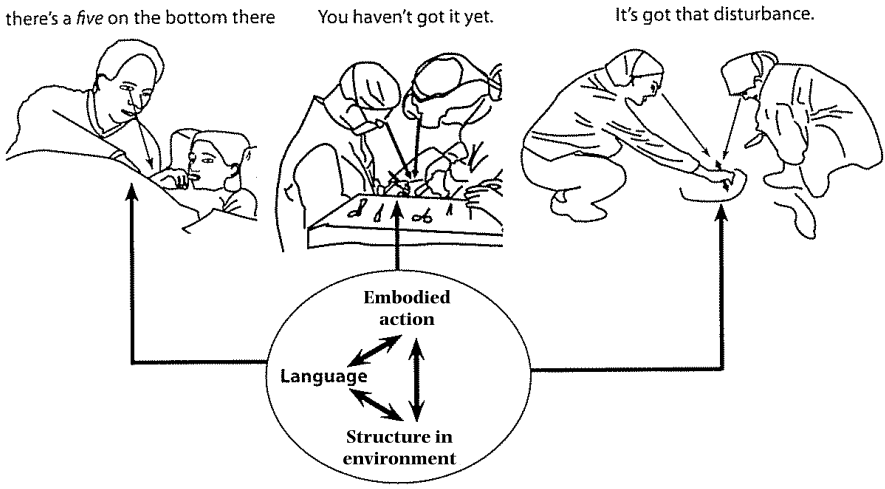


**Figure 5**

It would thus seem that something like the interactive organization of embodied action displayed in Figure 5, in which multiple parties are building courses of action together while attending to each other, the details of the talk in progress, and structure in a consequential environment, constitutes a primordial site for the organization of human action, knowledge and cognition. Events with such a structure integrate into coherent, mutually understandable courses of human action: 1) relevant phenomena in an environment that is the focus of the work of a community; 2) linguistic and embodied categorizations of structure in that environment; 3) work-relevant actions (doing surgery or mapping archaeological features); 4) the sequential organization of language as action; 5) gesture; and 6) multiparty embodied participation frameworks that both create a public focus for attention and action, and indexically ground the talk (for example deictic references) and action that occurs within that focus. Note also that settings being worked within (such as the operating room where the surgeons are doing their work), and the environments being attended to (for example the chart being used by the archeologists to code color, and the form where they will write the result), can themselves be historically sedimented artifacts that link the work in the current settings to events at other times in other places.

It must be recognized that not all interactive situations contain this full array of resources. The set of different kinds of phenomena that participants are treating as relevant to the organization of the action of the moment can be referred to as a contextual configuration (Goodwin, 2000a). As circumstances change contextual configurations are modified. Thus, if participants cannot see each other interaction might be organized with reference to talk alone, without orientation

to either the participants' bodies or to a shared physical environment. Some activities, including homework, can be done either in concert with another, or alone. However, the constellation of language, environment, body and action found in Figure 5 brings together into integrated action packages the most basic semiotic fields that participants use to construct meaning and relevant action through situated interaction. This array thus constitutes a most perspicuous site for investigating how human beings build the actions that make up their inhabited social and cognitive worlds.

## *The interactive organization of stance*

Analysis will now focus on a particular component of the constellation depicted in Figure 5, specifically the participation framework created by the participants' bodies that creates a public focus for the organization of attention and action. Conflating Goffman's (1979) analysis of 'footing' with the way in which such arrangements are physically constituted through how participants mutually position their bodies toward each other and the environment that is the focus of their work, one can begin to discuss these structures as, quite literally, types of stance.

Clearly a number of different forms of stance are relevant. One can begin with a simple, but absolutely central, instrumental basis for the detailed organization of the embodied stances being constructed by the participants. In order to carry out relevant courses of action participants must position themselves to see, feel, and in other ways perceive as clearly as possible, and in ways relevant to the activities in progress, both consequential structure in the environment that is the focus of their attention, and each other. They arrange their bodies precisely to accomplish such work-relevant perception. Phenomena such as Ingold's education of attention, noted above, would be impossible if this were not done. One does not want to be operated on by a surgeon unable to perceive the patient's body. It is interesting to note that important parts of the history of science, technology and distributed cognition have consisted in the construction of tools that amplify and systematize human perception of an environment that is the focus of a community's work, while revealing aspects of it that would be otherwise hidden. Telescopes, maps, computer displays that reveal for oceanographers the structure of the water under their ship, medical monitoring instruments, and the Munsell chart being used to rigorously classify the color dirt being exacted in Figure 4E all provide examples (Goodwin, 1995, 2000b; Hutchins, 1995). Positioning for perception by taking up appropriate stances toward a world structured by both objects being scrutinized and other actors is absolutely central to the successful accomplishment of the courses of action in Figure 5, and indeed for much human action.

Second, such instrumental stances, in that they position actors to know the world that is the focus of current action in a relevant fashion, can also provide the basis for consequential epistemic stances. For example, in their work with the Munsell chart, briefly indicated in Figure 4E, the two fieldworkers tentatively agreed to accept a problematic classification. At that point Pam stood up. Jeff then asked if she had 'another preference'. It took Pam almost 8 seconds to reply.

This was not, however, empty silence. During that time she bent her body back down and stared closely and intently at both the chart and the dirt being scrutinized before proposing an alternative. Her new embodied stance demonstrated the epistemic basis of her alternative as not simply thoughtful, but something that had been reached by positioning her body to perform the intense scrutiny required for a competent judgment (for more detailed analysis see Goodwin, 2000b). Indeed the sanctioning of knowledge as public and replicable through the embodied witnessing of scientific experiments and demonstrations at meetings of the Royal Society was central to the development of modern science in the 17th century (Shapin and Schaffer, 1985). Being positioned to have appropriate perceptual access to relevant phenomena also provides the embodied basis for many of the linguistic markers that signal an epistemic stance in diverse ways in the world's languages.

Third, the interactive organization of embodied participation also constitutes what might be glossed as a cooperative stance, that is a demonstration that by visibly orienting to both other participants and the environment that is the focus of their work, an actor is appropriately cooperating in the joint accomplishment of the activity in progress. Unlike, for example, the furniture in a setting, actors are agents with the ability to position their bodies elsewhere, and by so doing to disaffiliate from the events in progress (see for example Goffman's (1961a, 1961b) discussion of 'role distance'). Such possibilities for non-cooperation by agents with choice and autonomy demonstrate how embodied participation frameworks are accomplishments, frameworks for the organization of cognition and action that must be actively constructed and sustained through the ongoing work of participants. As will be examined in more detail below, cooperating, or failing to cooperate, in the participation framework invoked by a particular activity provides an environment for the visible emergence of both moral and affective stances.

## *Contesting participation frameworks*

The sequence between Father and Daughter in Figures 2 and 3, in which she is actively attending to something he is pointing to, in fact occurred quite late in their work together that evening. When Father initially began to help Sandra with her homework she refused to fully cooperate. This led to attributions about her affect and character, and suggestions that she might be sick (which she was). This escalating process terminated with Father walking out. The successful homework session occurred only after Father returned 17 minutes later. Sandra's non-cooperation was made visible through how actions being performed by Father proposed that Sandra should participate in them in a specific way, something she systematically failed to do. Their dispute was carried out at the level of the participation framework required for the appropriate accomplishment of the joint actions in progress at the moment. This provides some demonstration of both the importance of this framework for the interactive organization of action, and of the active work required to sustain it. For the more mature actors in the other settings in Figure 4, such cooperation in the construction of relevant embodied stances was in general unproblematic. Indeed participation frameworks seem designed specifically to focus attention on the events occurring within the frames

they create, not on their own organization (Kendon, 1985). The battle over the organization of participation in the homework sequence sheds light on its crucial, but typically unnoticed importance.

In lines 9–10 of Figure 6, by ending his turn with 'Right?', Father asks Sandra a question about what is written on her assignment page that presupposes a version of 'yes' as an answer. However, in line 12 Sandra replies with '°Na: Wha:t'. Unlike versions of either 'yes' or 'no', which would be consistent with the type of action proposed by Father's question, Sandra's answer ignores the contextual frame it has created, and indeed seems to dispute the appropriateness of any action at all being directed to her. This lack of co-participation in the contextual frame created

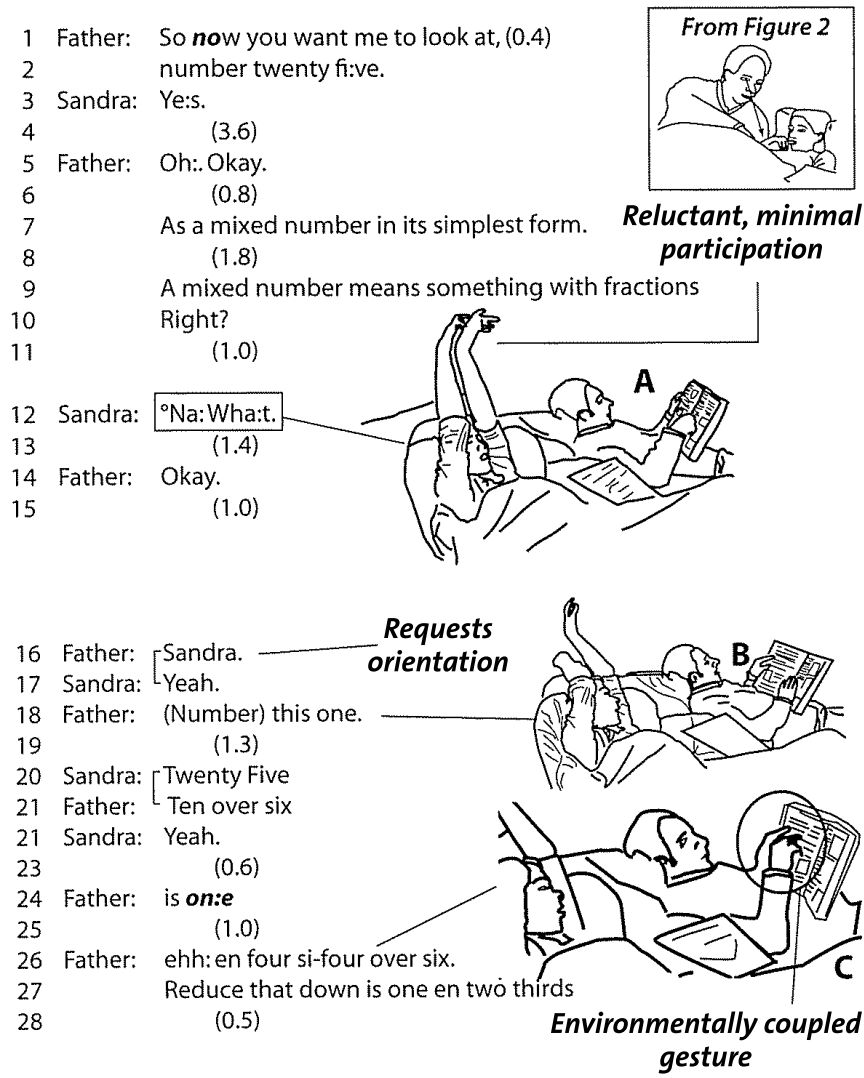


**Figure 6**

by Father's immediately prior action is displayed not only in the content of what is said in line 12, but also through Sandra's embodied behavior. Rather than looking toward Father, and thus visibly displaying co- participation in the line of action he has just initiated, Sandra closes her eyes with her head between her arms (image A in Figure 6), and speaks with whining, put-upon prosody, perhaps suggesting that Father's request is interfering with her ability to look at the television she appears to be watching. The embodied alignment found at line 12 contrasts markedly with what was seen in Figure 2, where Sandra was visibly attending to what Father was showing her.

Father does not in any way sanction Sandra. However, a moment later, in line 16, he uses her name to explicitly summon her (Schegloff, 1968). As can be seen in image B of Figure 6, Sandra both answers and turns her head toward him. The use of a summons to someone who is only a couple of feet away, indeed lying in the same bed as the speaker, is clearly dealing not with issues of mere co-presence (for example, a summons to call an absent child to dinner), but rather of alignment to the activity being pursued by the summoner. The production of such an action is notable given that in line 3 Sandra has already specifically marked co-participation in the activity by agreeing that she wants Father to help her with her homework.

In line 26 Father makes further demands upon Sandra's active orientation by producing an explanation that includes an environmentally coupled gesture, an action that requires that its addressee not only see from a distance that the speaker is making a gesture, but also take into account the structure of the field, here the printed page, that is being invoked by the gesture. While this cannot be said with certainty, it appears that Sandra is too far from the book to easily read what is printed there (see image C). Though she gazed toward Father and the book after the summons, Sandra did not move closer to it.

Sandra and Father's competing proposals for how participation in the homework activity should be organized now become explicit. In line 30 of Figure 7, after Sandra asks 'How do you do that', Father requests a pencil. As a next move to Sandra's request this displays that the pencil will be used in Father's answer, and that she will be expected to attend to what he writes, something that will require a change in her current alignment to him. During line 33 Sandra first picks up the pencil, but then withdraws it. In reply, in lines 35–36, Father counters what Sandra has just done by again demanding the pencil, and now stating explicitly that he will 'show' her 'on a piece of paper'. Sandra counters this with 'No. Just tell me' and the battle continues through lines 45 and 47 where Father finally says explicitly 'I can't just tell you.'

What is at issue here is a battle about how help with the homework will be organized as an embodied activity, specifically whether it will occur through talk alone, or as a multimodal demonstration in which Father uses pencil and paper to show Sandra how to do her problems. This will require her close looking at what he is doing, and thus a shift in her alignment. Father is organizing his actions in ways that make relevant particular forms of alignment from his addressee, and she is refusing to co-participate in this.

Sandra's refusal to realign her body to the activity in the ways that Father is insisting on leads to a collapse of all the forms of stance as interactive phenomena

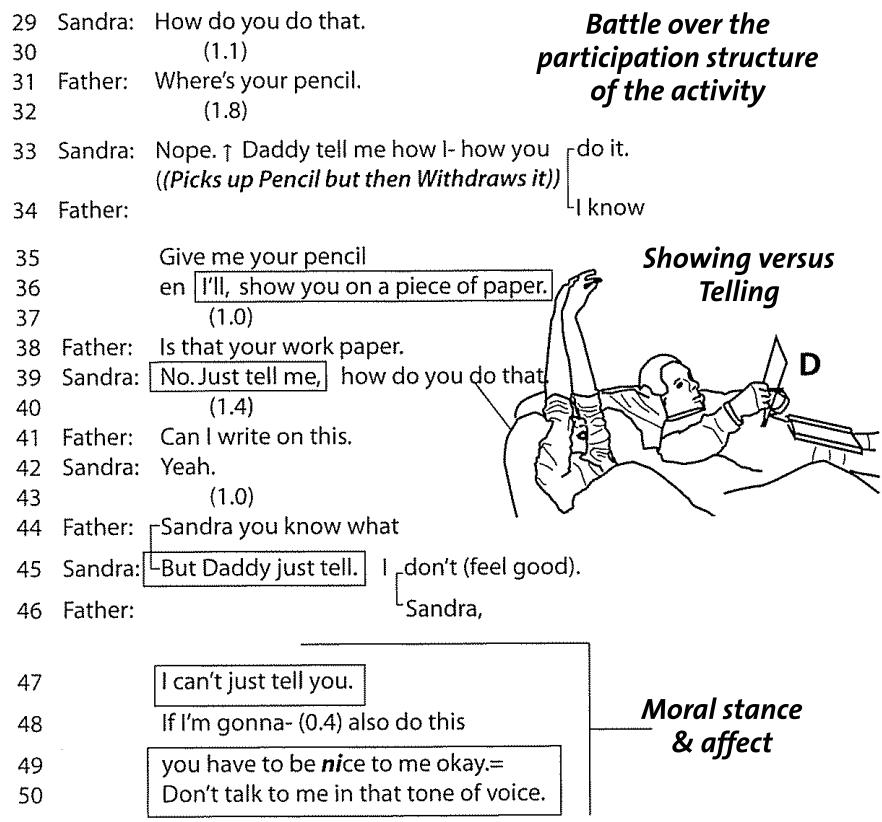


**Figure 7**

noted above. **Instrumentally**, Sandra is refusing to move her body to the position where she can appropriately perceive what he is proposing to do: use pencil and paper to show her how to do her problems. Failure to put her body in such a position makes impossible the perceptual access required for an appropriate **epistemic alignment** to the demonstration Father is proposing, that is, the embodied positioning required to see, grasp and properly understand what Father wants to not simply tell her, but rather show her.

Third, by repetitively countering Father's efforts to have her align to the activity in the way that he proposes is relevant, Sandra is explicitly refusing to assume a **cooperative stance**. Aligning appropriately toward others to build the participation frameworks that organize mundane activities is absolutely central to the ongoing constitution of the lived social world. Garfinkel (1967; Heritage, 1984, Chp. 4) notes that the stances participants take up toward such frameworks constitute a key site for the integration of cognition with morality. If one actor cannot be trusted to see and act in the ways required to carry out the courses of collaborative action being proposed by others, the very possibility of joint social action is undermined.

Such moral failing is not abstract or confined to the individual. Instead it is local and situated, and moreover something that affects not only the defaulter,

but also the current, immediate projects of co-present others. What they are trying to do at the moment (for example Father's attempt to show his daughter how to do the homework project) is thwarted. Garfinkel (1967) found that efforts to breach trust in the cooperative stances that underlie mundane cognition and action were met with intense anger. The moral stance that becomes visible when an actor refuses to assume a cooperative stance toward the actions initiated by others can thus generate specific forms of affective stance. In lines 49–50 of Figure 7 Father criticizes Sandra for the way that she is treating him.

Phenomena such as affect, stance and emotion are frequently analyzed from perspectives that place primary emphasis on the psychological, cognitive and emotional life of the individual actor. However, when what Father actually says is examined, we find that he consistently characterizes Sandra's moral failings within a multiparty, interactive framework that includes not only her as an actor, but also the recipient of the action (see Figure 8).

| | **Actor** | | **Addressee** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 49 | you | have to be ***ni***ce | to me | okay.= |
| 50 | *(you)* | Don't talk | to me | in that tone of voice. |

**Figure 8**

The grammatical organization of the utterances Father uses to complain about Sandra locates her moral failings not in her as an isolated individual, but rather in how she treats others within interaction. Descriptions of moral and affective attributes that characterize Sandra as a person and actor, such as not being 'nice' or the pejorative voice she uses, are indexically lodged within a grammatical framework that includes not only her, but also her interlocutor, and the actions that link these two together. Moreover the deontic force of Father's complaints ('you have to be …') treats Sandra as an actor who is morally responsible for the stances she assumes and the actions she performs, and thus capable of changing them. Father's construal of what Sandra is doing and displaying with her current actions is quite consistent with the analysis being offered here, which investigates the interactive organization of participation frameworks as a primordial locus for the constitution of human action, cognition and moral alignment.

Father and daughter are now locked in a battle where each is insisting upon frameworks for the organization of the activity they are trying to pursue together that are mutually incompatible. Sandra wants to be told the correct answers; while Father insists that she put herself in a position to grasp the operations he wants to show her with pencil and paper. Such disputes can be resolved in many ways. For example, a parent can attempt to force the child to do what the parent wants while displaying anger toward the child for being intractable. Alternatively, one party can decide that the issue is not worth the fight and let the other have his or her way. Such acquiesce can be justified, and indeed legitimated, with different kinds of accounts. For example in line 45 of Figure 7 Sandra argues that she be told the answer, and not have to work it out, because she is sick. This turns out to be true, and a moment later, in data not included here, Father suggests that

Sandra's not feeling well is why she has 'this attitude here'. However, this is not accepted as a valid reason to acquiesce to her demands. Rather than giving in, or angrily insisting upon compliance, Father refuses to continue the activity without Sandra's appropriate alignment, and walks out, offering as the reason for this move Sandra's refusal to co-participate with him (lines 13–14 of Figure 9) and her derogatory treatment of him (line 16):

1 Father: Do you want me to do this number twenty six
2 (0.8)
3 Sandra: mm hm=
4 Father: =So you understand it better.
5 Sandra: No.
6 (0.8)
7 Father: Okay. Forget it.
8 (1.9)
9 Here.
10 (1.3)
11 Do your homework.
12 (1.0)
13 If you change your mind
14 en you want some help
15 let me know
16 But if you gotta be nice to me.

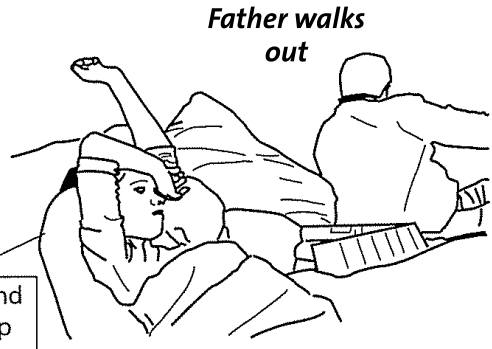


**Figure 9**

In brief, Father and Sandra have engaged in a battle disputing what type of participation framework will structure how Father helps Sandra with her homework. As something that organizes how participants shape their access to both each other and the environment that is the focus of their work, this has a range of consequences. With respect to the tasks that doing homework is designed to accomplish, Father's choice would give Sandra rich access to the practices, encompassing work with pencil and paper, required to work on the problems she has been assigned, while Sandra's would give her only talk and answers. In addition to such task-relevant epistemic properties, the very necessity of collaboration provides an arena for revealing, testing and shaping moral stances. Can other participants be trusted to do the cognitive and embodied work required to successfully accomplish the joint actions through which the activities of the moment are being accomplished? Failure to assume such cooperative stances can lead to anger and attributions of character that use as their point of departure how an actor treats others within interactions. Finally, what can be done when one party insists on a way of structuring the activity that the other finds morally objectionable? Participation frameworks are intrinsically multiparty alignments. An actor who participates in the organization of an activity that he or she finds objectionable is nonetheless helping to construct and sustain that very arrangement. One way

to resolve such a dilemma is to refuse to engage in further interaction, and that is what Father does here.

## *Changing participation and affect*

It was argued above that participation frameworks help structure affect. Specifically, if one party refuses to align in a cooperative fashion, that can lead to anger and complaints about that party's behavior and character. This suggests that if participation frameworks were structured differently, and all parties cooperated in ways recognized as appropriate to the activity in progress, such grounds for anger would not be present. Of course, as is clearly demonstrated in the argument, something accomplished through participation frameworks that collaboratively sustain mutual orientation, there can be many other sources for anger. However, if Sandra was aligning to Father and her homework in the ways that Father was proposing to be relevant, his grounds for complaining that she is not being nice to him would no longer be present.

This possibility can be tested in the interaction being investigated here. Seventeen minutes after walking out Father returned. Their encounter began with another, somewhat tense negotiation about whether Father could show her how to do her homework so that she would understand (lines 6–15 in Figure 10).

1 Father: So:, you just-
2 (2.0)
3 Do you understand.
4 Sandra: °Sort of.
5 (0.5)
6 Father: Can I show you.
7 So you do understand.
8 Sandra: °No.
9 (1.8)
10 Father: Well, then-
11 Sandra: Js::, ***No*** Just
12 Father: Uh Listen I don't wanna do your homework=
13 =for you.
14 Sandra: Don't ***show*** me. Just help me.
15 Father: Well I'm trying to help you.
16 (1.0)
17 But I think maybe you're not in the mood
18 to be doing this.
19 En if you're sick you don't have to do your homework.

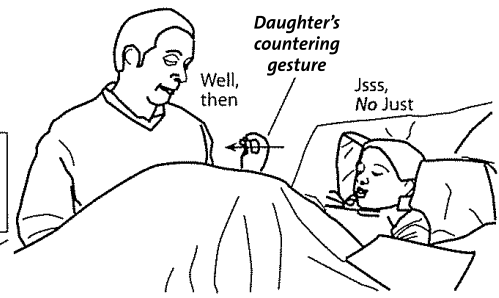


**Figure 10**

Though he refuses to give in with respect to how the activity should be organized, Father does not respond with anger, and, in lines 17–19, raises the possibility of her not doing her homework if she is sick.

From this point they do manage to work together on her homework with the participation framework Father insists its relevant, one in which he can both talk to her about the homework, and demonstrate on her book. Unlike the earlier sequence, the participants have now positioned themselves so that both are gazing intently at the book on Sandra's lap (see Figure 3 and Figure 11 below). Sandra is now positioned to attend to not only what Father was saying, but also to any demonstrations he might perform on the numbers she was working with. After interacting together in this way for a short time the affective tone of the encounter changes completely and they begin to laugh together while working on her problems (see Figure 11).

1 Father: Mm Hmm Three goes into seventeen how many times.
2 (0.8)
3 Sandra: °I don't know. (0.6) uhm ***Three***.
4 Father: What's three ti ┌mes three.
5 Sandra: └*hh(h) *hh(h) I m(h)ea(h)n uh H(h)uh
6 (1.0)
7 Sandra: S:even.
8 (1.0)
9 Father: How much is three times s(h)e(v) ┌en
10 Sandra: └*hh Hih hh
11 (2.0)
12 Sandra: S:six?
13 Father: How much is three times six.
14 Sandra: Heh hih huh Uhm Eighteen.
15 Father: Is eighteen, more than se ┌venteen.
16 Sandra: └(from. five)
17 Father: Right. So ***fi***ve is the whole number.
18 (0.8)
19 Father: You are so funny.
20 Sandra: hih hih


**Figure 11**

## *Conclusion*

In face-to-face human interaction parties organize their bodies in concert with each other in ways that establish a public, shared focus of visual and cognitive attention. The visible structure of such participation frameworks enables separate individuals to build joint action together in ways that take account of both relevant structure in the environment that is the focus of their work and what each other is doing. As was seen briefly in Figures 4 and 5, such arrangements are crucial for the organization of work, education and apprenticeship in a wide variety of settings. The multimodal frameworks for the organization of attention, cognition and action they create make it possible for actions, such as environmentally coupled gestures, to be constructed that integrate diverse semiotic modalities,

for example language, gesture and consequential structure in the environment that is the focus of the participants' attention. Through the way in which these different kinds of phenomena mutually elaborate each other, it becomes possible to link the linguistic and other categorizations that animate the discourse of a community to the relevant instantiations of these categories in the environment that is the focus of their work. Moreover, through the sequential organization of talk and action in interaction, newcomers to a profession who are working with competent senior members are able to calibrate relevant perception and action. For example, through the talk that accompanies embodied action, young surgeons and archaeologists develop the skills required to properly recognize, attend to and work with the objects, such as anatomical structures in the body or features in the dirt, that sit at the center of their skilled professional work.

Such an education of attention and embodied skill presupposes that all involved are working together to dynamically organize their bodies in concert with each other into the arrangements that indexically ground relevant perception and joint action. For the mature actors in professional and workplace settings, for example the archaeologists, chemists and surgeons whose work was briefly looked at, willingness and ability to sustain relevant participation frameworks do not generally emerge as problematic, but instead form the crucial but unnoticed embodied ground for the actions that are the focus of the participants' work. However these frameworks can be contested. Such situations, almost like natural breaching experiments (Garfinkel, 1967), illuminate competences and practices that are otherwise taken for granted, and also shed light on how such skills, and the moral and social actors who embody them, must be developed. Most of this paper therefore focused on a situation in which a father and his 11-year-old daughter were attempting to work on her homework together. The father insisted that the activity be organized as one in which both of them were attending to the written assignment together in ways that would allow Father to use pencil and paper, and in other ways demonstrate the practices required to solve her problems. However the daughter refused to rearrange her body to organize the participation framework that would make this possible, and demanded instead that Father tell her the answers.

The interaction that arose through this dispute brought into relief how participation frameworks are consequential for a range of phenomena central to the organization of human interaction, cognition, and affect. Thus the alignment of participants toward each other generates at least five different kinds of stance: 1) **instrumental** stance, the placement of entities in the ways that are required for the sign exchange processes necessary for the accomplishment of the activity in progress; 2) **epistemic** stance, positioning participants so that they can appropriately experience, properly perceive, grasp and understand relevant features of the events they are engaged in (for example recognizing in the dirt itself instantiations of archaeological categories); 3) **cooperative** stance, the visible display that one is organizing one's body toward others and a relevant environment in just the ways necessary to sustain and help construct the activities in progress; 4) **moral** stance, acting in such a way as to reveal to others that the

actor can be trusted to assume the alignments and do the cognitive work required for the appropriate accomplishment of the collaborative tasks they are pursuing in concert with each others, that is to act as a moral member of the community being sustained through the actions currently in progress; and 5) **affective** stance, emotions by the individual and toward others that are generated, in the situations being examined here, by the organization of participation in interaction. A simple, clear example is provided by anger toward another actor who thwarts a line of action by refusing to participate in it properly.

Sandra's refusal to align with Father in the way that he insisted was appropriate to helping with homework initiated a cascade that undercut all of these forms of stance. By refusing to locate herself instrumentally to properly see the materials Father wanted to work with, she failed to assume a position that would allow epistemic grasp of what he wanted to show her; by not cooperating she demonstrated that she could not be trusted to do her part in the activities that Father was proposing; this is turn led to Father's complaints about her affective behavior and treatment of him. Something that begins in the instrumental constraints of a particular activity ends in highly charged emotions and pejorative judgments about character. Such mundane, endogenous interactive activities constitute a key site where the work of parenting, with all of its cognitive, social and emotional components, is repetitively accomplished in the daily round of family life. Here Father navigates these potentially treacherous straits in a way that refuses to compromise on standards for the organization of behavior and cognitive activity, but at the same time allows a tense encounter, indeed one he unilaterally walks away from, to change to a situation in which the participants are joyfully laughing with each other as they work on the homework problems. Through the ways in which they organize participation in specific, constantly changing activities, parties shape each other as moral, social and cognitive actors. Close analysis of how participation is organized in the daily activities that make up the life of a family simultaneously sheds light on core practices implicated in the organization of action and the body in human interaction.

## NOTE

1. Talk is transcribed using a slightly modified version of the system developed by Gail Jefferson (Sacks et al., 1974: 731–3). Talk receiving some form of emphasis (e.g. talk that would be underlined in a typewritten transcript using the Jefferson system) is marked with ***bold italics***. Punctuation is used to transcribe intonation: a period indicates falling pitch, a question mark rising pitch, and a comma a falling contour, as would be found for example after a non-terminal item in a list. A colon indicates lengthening of the current sound. A dash marks the sudden cut-off of the current sound (in English it is frequently realized as glottal stop). Comments (e.g. descriptions of relevant nonvocal behavior) are printed in italics within double parentheses. Numbers within single parentheses mark silences in seconds and tenths of a second. A degree sign (°) indicates that the talk that follows is being spoken with low volume. Left brackets connecting talk by different speakers mark the point where overlap begins.

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