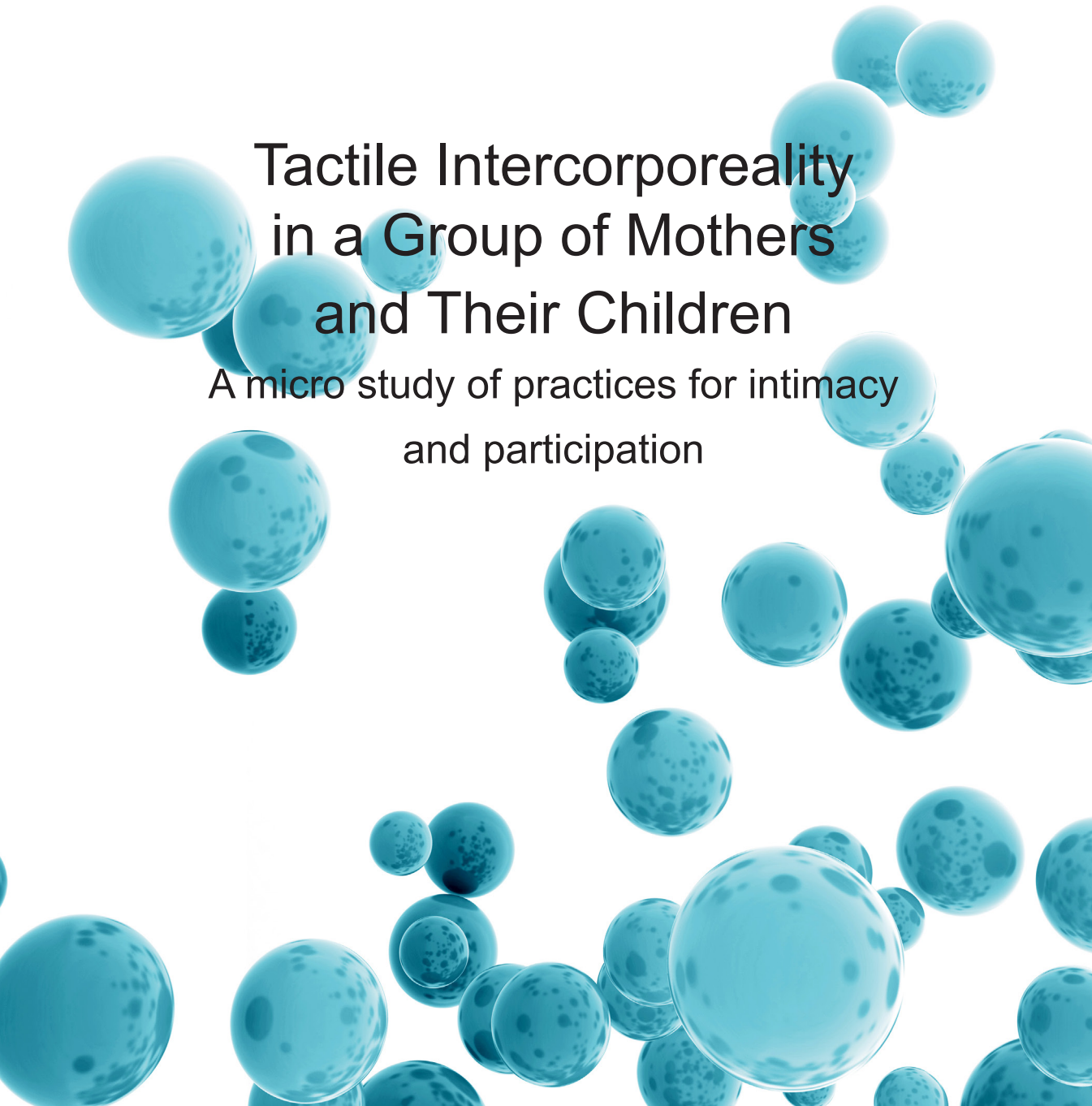


JULIA KATILA

Tactile Intercorporeality in a Group of Mothers and Their Children

A micro study of practices for intimacy
and participation





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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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JULIA KATILA

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ABSTRACT

This study examines tactile intercorporeality between mothers and their two-to-three-year-old children in a House of Girls group. Using data from naturally occurring video-recorded group interactions, the study focuses on how mothers, children and the group tutor communicate with each other through their whole bodies while the mothers participate in various art-based group tasks in the group sessions.

The study uses micro video analysis to describe how study participants engage with each other through different tactily managed practices. These practices include bodies organizing themselves into tactile arrangements and attention formations; initiating and producing different transitions in these tactile arrangement-formations; and participating in haptic practices for handing over and receiving objects. The analysis suggests that group members produce these practices in order to experience each other tactily, and to manage the members' participation in the group.

This study shows that in tactile intercorporeality, moving and living bodies are inseparable from communicating bodies, and that tactile intercorporeality is thus best described as mothers and children co-experiencing the same tactile ecology. Therefore, while producing practical actions in tactile intercorporeality, bodies are inevitably communicating their moment-by-moment unfolding actions and action intentions to each other. This tacit communication is manifold, and besides merely communicating about practical movements and actions, these practical actions can be enacted as resources to accomplish different kinds of interaction projects, such as communicating emotional states, controlling another person's body or attention, and displaying a need to be in tactile connection with another person. This study suggests that tactile intercorporeality is a crucial locus for human beings' multilayered ability to communicate with each other.

The results complement the wide range of micro studies on embodied interactions, including previous studies on touch in interaction. However, this study also introduces a communicative medium that goes beyond focused interactions: living bodies' communicating through mere co-being with each other in tactile intercorporeality. Furthermore, this study provides new methodological openings in

terms of how intercorporeal phenomena and tactile intercorporeality can be analysed through video recordings. Hence it also opens up multiple possibilities for future research.

The study provides more understanding of the everyday life of caregivers and their young children, describing how they go through overlapping activities as intercorporeal units. The study thus describes how managing these overlapping activities is a continuous intercorporeal accomplishment that results from tactile and other embodied negotiations of familiar bodies. The study proposes on the one hand that the existing tactile intimacy of a social relationship offers the relationship participants an opportunity for continuous tactile communication, and on the other hand that the production of tactile practices also provides participants with a medium to reproduce the intimacy of their social relationship as it unfolds moment-by-moment.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee kosketukseen perustuvaa interkorporealisuutta, äitien ja heidän 2–3 -vuotiaiden lastensa välillä, Tyttöjen Talon ryhmässä. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu ryhmän videoiduista tapaamiskerroista. Analyysi keskittyy siihen, miten äidit, lapset ja ryhmän ohjaaja kommunikoivat toistensa kanssa koko kehoillaan, samalla kun ryhmän äidit osallistuvat erilaisiin taidetta hyödyntäviin ryhmätehtäviin.

Tutkimus hyödyntää mikrovideoanalyysiä tuodakseen esiin, miten ryhmän jäsenet vuorovaikuttavat toistensa kanssa erilaisilla kosketuskäytänteillä. Nämä käytänteet koostuvat siitä, miten kehot organisoituvat erilaisiin kosketusasetelmiin ja tarkkaavaisuus muodostelmiin; tekevät siirtymiä näissä asetelmissa ja formaatioissa; sekä osallistuvat erilaisiin esineiden ojentamista ja vastaanottamista koskeviin käytänteisiin. Analyysi osoittaa, että edellä mainittujen käytänteiden avulla ryhmän jäsenet neuvottelevat kehojensa välisestä intüimiydestä ja ryhmän aktiviteetteihin osallistumisesta.

Tutkimus tuo esiin, että kosketukseen perustuvan interkorporeallisuuden tilassa liikkuvat ja elävät kehot eivät ole erotettavissa kommunikoivista kehoista. Kosketukseen perustuvaa interkorporealisuutta voi näin ollen parhaiten kuvata äitien ja lasten kehojen yhdessä asuttamana kosketuksen ekologiana. Täten silloin, kun kehot toimivat ja liikkuvat samalla kun ovat kosketukseen perustuvassa interkorporealisuuden tilassa, ne eittämättä kommunikoivat toisilleen, mitä ovat hetki hetkeltä tekemässä ja aikovat tehdä seuraavaksi. Tämä hiljainen kommunikaatio on monitasoista: käytännöllisiä toimintoja koskevat liikkeet eivät ainoastaan kommunikoi, mitä keho hetki hetkeltä tekee, vaan näitä konkreettisia toimintoja voidaan myös hyödyntää resursseina erilaisiin vuorovaikutusprojekteihin. Esimerkkejä tällaisista käytännöllisiin kehon liikkeisiin sisällytetyistä vuorovaikutusprojekteista ovat erilaisten tunnetilojen kommunikointi, toisen kehon orientaation tai tarkkaavaisuuden kontrollointi, sekä kommunikointi tarpeesta olla kosketuksessa toiseen kehoon. Kaiken kaikkiaan tutkimus osoittaa, että kosketukseen perustuva interkorporealisuus on kehojen moninaisen ja alituisen kommunikoinnin kehto.

Tutkimus täydentää edellisiä tutkimuksia, jotka ovat hyödyntäneet mikrovuorovaikutuksen analyysiä tutkiakseen kehollista kommunikaatiota. Tämä tutkimus esittelee kuitenkin myös kosketusvuorovaikutuksen tason, joka ylittää fokusoidun vuorovaikutuksen rajat: kehojen välisen kommunikaation, joka tapahtuu olemalla yhdessä kosketukseen perustuvassa interkorporealisuuden tilassa. Tutkimus näin ollen esittelee uudenlaisen metodologisen avauksen, joka keskittyy siihen, miten interkorporealisuutta voi analysoida videonauhoitusten avulla. Täten tutkimus avaa myös monenlaisia mahdollisuuksia tutkimukselle tulevaisuudessa.

Analyysin tulokset avaavat näkökulman huoltajien ja heidän lastensa jokapäiväiseen elämään kuvaten miten he onnistuvat organisoimaan monia päällekkäisiä aktiviteetteja yhtenäisenä interkorporealisena yksikkönä. Tutkimus kuvaa, miten samanaikaisesti osallistuminen on jatkuvasti käynnissä oleva interkorporeaalinen saavutus, joka on toisilleen tuttujen kehojen kosketukseen perustuvan neuvottelun tulosta. Kehojen kosketukseen perustuva tuttuus mahdollistaa tämän kaltaisen alituisen välittömän kommunikaation, samaan aikaan kun hetki hetkeltä ruumiillistuvat kosketuskäytänteet avaavat väylän neuvotella sosiaalisten suhteiden kehollisesta intüimiydestä.

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1 STUDYING TACTILE INTERCORPOREALITY IN A MOTHER AND CHILDREN'S GROUP

When we are habituated to active or passive tactile contact, when something becomes familiar, we do not fully differentiate between the bodily and non-bodily sides of the experience. Hence touch is a relation in which one side, the other or neither may be conspicuous and it includes varying degrees of self-world differentiation. There is nothing mysterious about this, once it is recognized that sensation at a boundary need not be feeling of a boundary. (Ratcliffe 2008: 93)

This research studies mothers and their two-to-three-year-old children's tactile intercorporeality – a type of intimate co-being, sensing and communicating with others that occurs directly through the sense of touch (cf. Cekaite 2018; M.H. Goodwin 2017 & Cekaite 2018; M.H. Goodwin 2017; Merleau-Ponty 1962). The focus is on how mothers and children communicate with each other through this tactile co-being while the mothers are participating in various art-based group tasks in a House of Girls¹ group. Thus the mothers' and children's tactile intercorporeality usually occurs as an apparent side involvement alongside the group's official activities, which are primarily produced through verbal and visual means. Given this special group setting, the type of communication mothers and children mainly produce is tactile communication, the omnipresent communication that is embedded in bodies that move next to or intertwined with each other. Hence tactile communication is understood here as a tactile equivalent to micro sociologist Erving Goffman's (1963: 33–37) body and involvement idiom: communication that occurs whenever individuals come into one another's immediate co-presence, including communication about their momentary involvements. Tactile communication is presumably common among caregivers and their young children, who often go through their everyday lives as intercorporeal units or relationship withs (Goffman

¹ House of Girls® is a non-profit, non-governmental, easily accessible organization that provides gender- and culture-sensitive activities and social support for all girls and women, and is currently based in seven locations in Finland (e.g. Tampere House of Girls, www.tytto.fi/kielet/englanti/). For more information on House of Girls, see Anttonen (2017) and Honkasalo and Bahmani (2016); for a list of further relevant reading, see the Setlementti website at www.setlementti.fi/sukupuolisensitiivisyys/materiaalipankki/julkaisut/).

1971). As communication in tactile intercorporeality is often extremely habitualized in nature, it is so inherently connected to the feeling of being embodied that it does not seem like touch or communication at all (cf. Ratcliffe 2008: 90–101). Perhaps due to this habitualization, and hence to its apparent self-evidence, this type of tactile communication, which is intertwined with the feeling of embodied being, has not received much scholarly attention. This study focuses on how mothers and children communicate with each other and other group members through their whole bodies in a naturally occurring House of Girls group. This type of ecology where living and communicating bodies are inseparable – i.e. tactile intercorporeality – concerns not only caregivers and their young children, but presumably also intimate relationships more generally.

This study builds on previous research from different fields that has established that the sense of touch is not only the first sense that develops in human beings, but is also an ontogenetic precursor of social communication (e.g. Botero 2016; Burgoon et al. 2010; Feldman 2011; Field 2014; Gibson 1966: 132–135; M.H. Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Hertenstein et al. 2006; Hertenstein 2002; Howes 2005; Montagu 1978; Paterson 2005; Ratcliffe 2008; Stack 2001). As Blackman (2008: 85) argues, touch is a form of tactile communication that shows our primary interconnectedness with others. Therefore, touch can be regarded as an incarnation of human beings' inherent sociality (e.g. Berger and Luckmann 1966; Enfield 2009, 2013; Fuchs 2017; C. Goodwin 2000, 2013, 2017; M.H. Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Kinsbourne and Jordan 2009; Levinas 1987; Levinson 2006; Mead 1934; Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1964, 1968; Meyer et al. 2017; Schegloff 2006; Schütz 1962, 1964; Stuart 2012, 2017a&b; Tomasello 1999, 2006), or haptic sociality, as M.H. Goodwin (2017), and M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2018) call it. This study follows Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964, 1968) in calling this primordial tactile sociality intercorporeality (e.g. Merleau-Ponty 1964: 175). As well as enabling us to co-experience another person intercorporeally, touch has been shown to provide a medium to establish, maintain, negotiate and display corporeal social relationships (Bowly 1969; Cekaite 2018; Cekaite and Holm 2017; Doehring, forthcoming; Dunbar 2010; Enfield 2009, 2013; Goffman 1971; M.H. Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Hillewaert 2016; Ingold 1990; Katila 2018; Koudenburg et al. 2017; Mandelbaum 2003; Streeck 2013, 2017, forthcoming; Suvilehto et al. 2015; Verghese 2009). Drawing from this previous research, this study starts from the premise that tactile intercorporeality is not only an embodiment of body-to-body communication but also a moment-by-moment embodiment of social relationships through touch.

The habitualization of tactile intimacy between bodies is at the core of human sociality and connects with our very feelings of being (cf. Ratcliffe 2008). I suggest that one of the best ways to investigate this is to study the habitualization of tactile intimacy as it occurs in everyday, naturally occurring practices. Theories of social practice have regarded practices as embodied, routinized and organized activities of multiple people that form a nexus of doings and sayings (e.g. Alkemeyer et al. 2017; Bourdieu 1977; Schatzi 2012; Scollon 2001; Wedelstaedt and Meyer 2017: 103–105). Accordingly, the bodies of practices (cf. Garfinkel 2002: 210) inhabit² routine activities as their skilled, habitualized and embodied materials. However, studying how tactile communication between mothers and children unfolds requires the division of these wider nexuses of practices into narrower and more specified micro practices. Therefore, I follow researchers such as Scollon (2001: 20–23) and Streeck (2017: 7), who study micro-level practices such as a practice of handing over an object, and how they are enacted as methods to produce communicative actions (cf. Schegloff 1997). Consequently, I analyse tactile communication between mothers and children by focusing on how it is embedded in different practical movements, such as in practices for organizing bodies in space, producing group activities or exchanging objects. The primary in-order-to (Schütz 1962, 1964) of these practical movements is not to touch the other person, as is the case for example with caressing, controlling or investigatory touch; rather, touch – and thus also tactile communication – is inevitably contained in or a by-product of these practical movements as they are produced next to or against another body. This focus is responsive to the type of multi-activity where there are only a few words exchanged between mothers and children, and where touch therefore becomes the primary site of social practices (Renold and Mellor 2013: 27).

The rest of this introductory chapter is divided into three parts. I will first introduce the data for this study: a mother and children’s group at a House of Girls. Second, I will elaborate in detail how the tactile and other related concepts, such as the haptic, kinaesthesia and touch, are understood and used in this study. Finally, I will set out the research tasks for this study and give an introductory summary of the chapters of this book.

2 When I adopt the word inhabit, I refer to Dreyfus’s (1991: 44–45) interpretation of Martin Heidegger’s (1978: 54) dwelling: a mode of being where the something we inhabit – such as the world or space – is no longer an object for us, but becomes a material co-corporeality with and of us (cf. Ingold 2011: 9–10).

1.1 The House of Girls group for mothers and their children

The data for this study consist of video recordings of group sessions (eight sessions of 1.5 hours each, of which six were video-recorded) with a House of Girls group of non-native Finnish mothers and their two-to-three-year-old children. House of Girls is a non-profit, non-governmental organization in Finland that provides free leisure activities and social support for girls and women. At the core of House of Girls' approach to its activity is gender- and culture-sensitive work that aims to encounter each individual equally and respectfully while being sensitive to her background. This includes helping girls and women to get to know each other, giving women and girls their own safe space to meet each other and have an opportunity to try new things, and valuing and supporting each individual with her own unique personality and resources. There are currently seven Houses of Girls in Finland, in Helsinki, Turku, Tampere, Espoo, Kuopio, Oulu and Rovaniemi, and the movement is growing. While each House of Girls has different groups and activities, they all provide four types of service. The services comprise different closed groups that meet weekly and last for a few months; open nights that do not require previous enrolment; one-to-one counselling for those who need individualized support; and one-off events, such as various celebrations, happenings and trips. Even though the content of these basic activity types may vary from house to house, all houses are committed to providing these activity types in accordance with House of Girls' core values.

The group studied in this research was one of the closed groups at House of Girls in Tampere: a group for mothers and their two-to-three-year-old children. As well as being the researcher on this study, I was also the tutor of the group while I was volunteering at Tampere House of Girls. I chose this specific target group for the study at the request of Tampere House of Girls. The group consisted of four mother-child pairs whose native languages were all different, although all of the group members spoke Finnish, which was also the language used in the group sessions. The participants were given information about the study before and after the group was formed. Their participation was voluntary. The group members were asked to give written informed consent before the study, and the option to cancel their participation at any point was provided.³ Permission to conduct the study was given by Tampere House of Girls, whose workers collaborated with me to set up the group and the study. To secure the participants' anonymity, the video screenshots adopted in this study were anonymized and the participants given pseudonyms. The

³ The information leaflet distributed before the study, the informed consent document, and the group programme are all attached in Supplementary Material.

video screenshots were manipulated with Adobe Photoshop: the faces were blurred to prevent recognition, and environmental backgrounds were removed to emphasize the participants' interactions. As facial expressions and gaze directions are an essential part of the embodied action analysed in this study, in order to enable interpretation of the blurred faces I will describe the participants' facial actions or provide arrows in the transcriptions to indicate the participants' gaze directions, and add supplementary facial drawings of the expressions where they appear most relevant. In the data extracts, I provide no information that would enable the reader to identify the participants, such as information about the participants' backgrounds. After the group came to an end, I conducted return visits to Tampere House of Girls to reunite with the mothers from the group and inform them about the study's progress.

The group's initial programme consisted of sessions on themes such as 'Female role models in my life', 'My everyday life in pictures', 'Drawing my lifeline', 'Writing a letter to myself', 'Emotions', 'Music and dance' and 'My self-portrait'. These themes were approached through art-based group tasks: for example, the mothers were each provided with single-use cameras to use in their everyday lives; there were various painting, drawing and writing exercises; emotion and character cards were used; pictures were cut from magazines and collaged into a collective work; mothers drew their own and the group's shared lifelines on sheets of paper; mime and other bodily exercises were conducted; and there were relaxation exercises and listening to music. These tasks were primarily targeted at the mothers, but the children could participate in the group tasks when they wanted to, or else they could play with each other or with the toys and craft tools provided for them. Art-based functional practices like those adopted in this group are commonly used at House of Girls, in response to the fact that spoken language is not always the primary means for everyone to communicate and express their emotions. At the same time, participation in all of these activities was voluntary, and the group sessions evolved at their own pace, according to the group members' wishes. The idea was to implement activities in accordance with House of Girls' values and to provide a platform for the mothers and children to talk and connect with their peers.

As is the case in any video-recorded study, the presence of the video cameras undoubtedly had some influence on the group sessions, although it has been shown that people also tend to forget the presence of video once it becomes habitualized (Knoblauch et al. 2006: 11). In this study, I started the video recording during the third group session, and the group members also had the opportunity to try the video cameras themselves, in order for them to get familiar with the equipment. In the

sessions that followed, I placed two video cameras at the opposite corners of the group room. I assembled the cameras in the room before each session and did not readjust the cameras in the middle of any session as I did not feel comfortable distracting the group sessions' flow. Consequently, all participants are not showing all the time in the videos: whenever there are these points, they are mentioned in the extracts being analysed. In chapter 3, I will elaborate how I allocated the data and selected the cases being analysed.

The group consisted of members whose native language was other than Finnish, but the phenomenon being studied – embodied communication in tactile intercorporeality – is arguably not restricted to any one language or mainstream culture. While there certainly are some differences in touch practices among cultures (e.g. Botero 2016; Field 2014; Howes 2005; Meyer 2017; Tahhan 2014), the potential differences between the mother-child couples in the data cannot be said merely to stem from the main cultures of their lands of birth; they may equally be simple variations in the developmental phases of the children and/or relationships, or else family-specific styles in interaction practices (cf. Tulbert and M.H. Goodwin 2011). Moreover, in this research I do not study the mother-child dyads as representatives of cultures: the tactile and other embodied communications analysed in this study could occur between any caregiver and child who shared an intimate relationship.

Furthermore, in this study I do not analyse the children's development or developmental stages per se; my focus of interest is on the local sense- and meaning-making processes of children and other participants, and on how those processes are actualized in participants' moment-by-moment unfolding action (cf. Kidwell 2013: 516 for discussion). Hence, I analyse the unique interaction ecology of the group setting, and the creative ability of the bodies to make sense of and manage the ongoing multi-activity setting in relation to its ecological affordances (Gibson 1986) – the material and semiotic resources that the environment offers, provides or furnishes (Gibson 1986: 127). Nevertheless, I still take into account the children's ages (between 2.5 and three years old) and relatively small body sizes in comparison with their mothers' bodies, together with the special type of relationship the children share with their mothers (i.e. the caregiver-dependant relationship), as factors that afford certain types of tactile action, such as children sitting down on their mother's bodies.

In sum, this study is a microstudy of tactile interaction practices whose participants share certain relationships, are of certain ages and have certain bodily affordances; but my analysis of the processes of creativity and habitualization in tactile practices aims to discuss something that is fundamentally human, not

something that merely concerns child-child, mother-mother or mother-child interactions per se.

1.2 Intersections between touch, the tactile and haptics

The diminution or loss of boundaries also occurs in some experiences of passive touch, where the feeling-felt distinction is blurred or altogether absent. Many such experiences involve tactile background, rather than episodes of localized touch. There is a tendency in literature to emphasize instances of active touch that are in the foreground of our experience. However, touch is much more pervasive than this and touches that fall into the experiential background do not distinguish boundaries so cleanly. (Ratcliffe 2008: 92)

While this study is not about touch per se, it is crucial to briefly introduce some of the different sensorial dimensions of touch, in order to shed some light on how primal and multifold is the phenomenon of interest, i.e. communicative affordances of tactile intercorporeality. In the widest possible understanding of the term, touch does not necessarily include contact between persons, but can refer to different types of interconnection or inter-affectivity between living and non-living or material and non-material entities (e.g. Blackman 2008: 85–88; Tahhan 2013).⁴ It can be said that we are constantly touching the world as our ongoing sensing and being in this world, while the world touches us (e.g. Barad 2012: 215; Gibson 1966; Ratcliffe 2008: 93; Sheets-Johnstone 2002: 138). Bezemer and Kress (2014: 79) call this continuous, taken-for-granted basis implicit touching. Implicit touching is a form of tacit knowing of objects and our being that is hard to explicate or formulate in the world of discourse (Polanyi 1966). The type of touch in focus in this study is when this background touch – and tacit knowing through that background touch – occurs body-to-body (which is called tactile intercorporeality, as suggested above). I will use the word touch to refer to ‘any form of body to body contact between individuals’ (Fleck and Chavajay 2009: 49; cf. Berghner and Cekaite 2017: 6). Besides direct body-to-body contact, in this study I will also look at object-mediated touches between humans.

⁴ In an elaboration on ‘touching at depth’, Tahhan (2013) explores affective and embodied meanings of touch, suggesting an understanding of touch that goes beyond the physical and visible, into something that can be affectively experienced. While I recognize the importance of Tahhan’s suggestion, in this study this viewpoint is not fully possible, as the data only provide access to visual aspects of touch. However, as I will discuss later (see 2.2.2), the researcher’s body also became an important vehicle for empathetically co-feeling some aspects of touch.

The episodes of touch analysed in this book include both tactile and haptic touches. I understand the tactile as one of the most intimate forms of human contact; it includes caressing and calming touch, and can include any parts of a body (cf. Katila et al. n.d.; Merleau-Ponty 1962). However, the tactile can also refer to habitualized co-being in tactile intercorporeality, where the very feeling of being is co-experienced with another body (cf. Radcliffe 2008). Tactile includes perceptions of properties such as shape, size, weight, and surface texture as well as perceptions of the movements and positions of one's own and others' body parts (Nishizaka 2016: 19). In comparison with tactile, the haptic system, following Gibson (1966: 97), refers to 'an apparatus by which the individual gets information about both the environment and his body'. Haptic touch is thus an inherently exploratory form of perception (Fulkerson 2011: 493; Gibson 1966: 97–115). As Gibson (1966) teaches us, the word haptic comes from a Greek term meaning able to lay hold of, and it especially refers to the process of feeling something with the palm and fingers of the hand. Given this spatial aspect of the haptic system, and the subsequent interconnections between the visible and the tangible, the haptic system is closely intertwined with vision (e.g. Gallagher 2016: 162–164; Gibson 1966; Katz 1989; Merleau-Ponty 1968: 134; Nishizaka 2016; 2011; Radcliffe 2008; Cuffari and Streeck 2017). In this study, I adopt Gibson's understanding of the haptic when I refer to object-mediated touches. In the mother and children's group, these touches especially occur when objects are being handled, exchanged and manipulated. These actions, which involve both practical and communicative aspects (cf. Andr n 2010, 2014a, 2014b, 2017), are referred to here as haptic practices. The word tactile is adopted in this study to refer to tactile intercorporeality: co-living and communicating in constant touch. Moreover, tactile communication indicates the communicative aspect embedded in tactile intercorporeality that is mediated through the sense of touch.

Touch encompasses both active and passive dimensions⁵ (Bezemer and Kress 2014: 79; Cuffari and Streeck 2017: 175; Fulkerson 2011; Gibson 1962; Hertenstein et al. 2006: 8; LeBaron and Streeck 2000: 125, 135) – or, in other words, touch consists of complex dynamics where touching and being touched are felt simultaneously, and these two sensations are thus intertwined (Merleau-Ponty 1962). Hence, even though touching and being touched are not the same sensation (cf.

⁵ In simplistic terms, *active touch* refers to what is ordinarily called touching, and *passive touch* to being touched (Gibson 1962: 477). Similarly, Hertenstein et al. (2006: 8) point out that the word *touch* refers to two different phenomena: the action of pressure exerted on the skin, and the registration of information by the sensory systems of the skin (feeling).

Katila 2018; Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1968; Ratcliffe 2008: 81), one cannot touch without also being touched (e.g. Cekaite 2010; Hernstein 2002; Katz 1989; Kelly et al. 2018; Kinnunen and Kolehmainen, submitted; Merleau-Ponty 1962: 93; Shiff 1991: 43; Walters 2014: 4). On the one hand, these twofold sensations embedded in touch enable human beings in the early stages of life to understand that they are materially separate entities from other bodies⁶ (cf. Botero 2016: 1207; Kinsbourne 2002: 323–324; Kinsbourne and Jordan 2009: 112; Montagu 1978), and on the other hand, they have the potential to soften the bodily boundaries experienced moment-by-moment (Barad 2012; Cekaite 2015: 154, 2016; Cekaite and Holm 2017: 111; Jones and Yarborough 1985; Katila 2018; Linell 2009; Meyer et al. 2017). Thus, the intertwinedness of passive and active touch is a crucial aspect of the ambiguous setting where bodily boundaries both blur and are (re)produced, as the different sensations that active and passive touch contain enable us to experience ownership of our own bodies as separate from others at the same time as affording a sensation of bodily togetherness.

Active and passive aspects of touch are inevitably intertwined with proprioception – the sense of the relative position of one’s own body parts and the strength of effort being employed in a movement – and kinaesthesia – the ability of the human body to perceive its own movements and states as a ‘body-in-motion’ (e.g. Blackman 2008: 83; Cekaite and Holm 2017; Gibson 1966; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Ratcliffe 2008: 80–84; Sheets-Johnstone 2002; Streeck 2013; Stuart 2012, 2017a&b; Wedelstaedt and Meyer 2017). As Sheets-Johnstone (2002: 138) points out:

Just as we are always in contact with something and thus never lacking in tactile experience, however horizontally present that aspect of our experience might be, so however horizontally aware of our own movement we might be, we are never lacking in kinesthetic experience. Any time we care to pay attention to ourselves, there we are – kinesthetically, tactilely.

This study starts from the premise that these different sensations embedded in touch – touch, proprioception and kinaesthetic sensation – are crucial in how participants in tactile intercorporeality (here, the mothers and children in the House of Girls group) are able to make sense of each other’s body and involvement idiom⁷

⁶ As Montagu (1978: 100) suggests “Touch attests to “objective reality” in the sense of something outside that is not myself.”

⁷ Goffman’s (1963: 33–35) concept *body idiom* refers to the impossibility of non-communication when individuals come into one another’s immediate co-presence. It comprises things such as bodily appearance and personal acts such as dress, manner of movement and positioning, sound levels, physical gestures, facial decorations and emotional expressions. *Involvement idiom* is one aspect of body

(Goffman 1963) through continuous tactile communication. This sense-making is possible by sensing the different body-to-body relations embedded in these aspects of touch, and in the inseparability of their occurrence from the experience of one's own body moving with the other body. Accordingly, proprioception, kinaesthesia and the continuum of active and passive touch afford the interactional aspect that is inevitably implied in touch. This interactional aspect stems not only from the notion that any behaviour in the presence of another human being is always (at least to some extent) communicative (e.g. Andr en 2010: 24; Goffman 1959,⁸ 1963: 33–35; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2006: 2; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Watzlawick et al. 1967: 48), but also from the fact that tactile practices cannot avoid creating a certain relationship between the bodies. This multilayered interactional aspect is the focus of this research. I suggest that this complex and apparently even self-contradictory dynamic, which simultaneously involves both the blurring of bodily boundaries and the sensing of bodily separation, is specifically prevalent in intimate relationships where tactile intercorporeality is ongoing and intimacy is thus for the most part experienced through skinship or intimacy through touch (Tahhan 2014: 94).

1.3 Research questions and overview of the book

I have divided this book into seven chapters: a theoretical and methodological chapter; empirical chapters 3–6, and a concluding chapter. The empirical chapters all approach tactile intercorporeality by focusing each on different types of tactile practices and their communicative affordances. The practices under consideration are part of body's practical movements in space: tactile arrangements and attention formations (Chapter 3); transitions in tactile arrangements and attention formations (Chapter 4); a body technique for making transitions in tactile arrangements – children getting onto their mothers' bodies (Chapter 5); and a body technique for making transitions in attention formations – handing objects to other people (Chapter 6). Generally, the aim of the empirical chapters is to investigate how these tactile practices afford an ongoing medium for the participants to communicate with each other and co-experience each other's bodies. The logic of the order of the chapters is to move from more general set of practices (tactile arrangements and

idiom, referring to the inevitability of communicating about one's involvement. As Goffman (1963: 37) describes it: 'while present to others he will inevitably convey information about the allocation of his involvement, and that expression of a particular allocation is obligatory.'

⁸ Goffman (1959: 2–5) refers to two types of communication while people are in each other's co-presence: expressions 'given' and expressions 'given off'. The latter refers to the presumably unintentional kind.

attention formations in Chapter 3) into more specific ones (handing an object in Chapter 6).

In Chapter 2, I will introduce the theoretical background for this study and define the key concepts used: tactile intercorporeality, tactile arrangement, homebase and participation frameworks. I will also introduce the method adopted in this study: the micro video analysis of naturally occurring interactions.

Chapter 3 introduces mothers' and children's tactile arrangements and attention formations. Tactile arrangements are understood here as manners in which mothers and children experience each other and organize their bodies in relation to each other when they are in tactile intercorporeality, while attention formations refer to how mothers and children formulate their corporeal displays of attention by turning their bodies to face different directions. In this chapter, I will introduce the method through which I allocated these various arrangement-formations and elaborate on the kinds of intercorporeal affordance they provide for the mothers and children. In Chapter 3, I ask:

1. What kind of tactile intercorporeality do mothers and children in the group produce through various tactile arrangements and attention formations?
2. What kinds of opportunity do these various tactile arrangement-formations afford for mothers and children in terms of performing and co-living different intercorporeally experienced intimacies and group participations?

In Chapter 4, I will focus on various kinds of transition in mother-child tactile arrangement-formations, and I will analyse examples of how these transitions are initiated body-to-body. In Chapter 4, I ask:

3. How do mothers and children in the group initiate transitions in tactile arrangement-formations?
4. How are these transitions, together with other practical actions in tactile intercorporeality, enacted as medium to produce and negotiate over various kinds of interaction projects?

In Chapter 5, I will concentrate on one specific transition type in tactile arrangements: cases where children sit or otherwise place themselves on their mothers' bodies. In this chapter, I will analyse the different kinds of interaction project that are managed through this collaborative tactile practice, and how these projects are together made sense of by the mother and child. In Chapter 5, I ask:

5. How do mothers and children make sense of the cases where the child adjusts herself on her mother's lap while either locating herself in a resting position or accomplishing some other interaction project through the tactile practice?
6. When the mother's body is adopted as a resting location, how do the mother and child accomplish the child's access to the resting position in a manner that is treated as either interactionally unmarked (i.e. the effortless location of oneself in a resting position) or interactionally marked (i.e. the effortful location of oneself in a resting position, treated by the parties as the child correcting the previous level of tactile intimacy)?
7. Besides adopting the mother's body as a resting location, what other kinds of interaction projects do children accomplish by sitting or adjusting on their mothers' bodies, and how are these projects intercorporeally made sense of and negotiated by mothers and children?

In Chapter 6, I will focus on cases where children hand objects to other people. Specifically, I will analyse how children enact this practice as a vehicle to engage with other people. In Chapter 6, I ask:

8. What kinds of interaction project do children achieve with the haptic practice of handing objects to other people, and how are these interaction projects collaboratively made sense of?
9. How can the haptic practice of handing and receiving objects become a platform for embodied negotiation over mutual engagement, and how is this negotiation managed by the parties involved in it?

Finally, in Chapter 7, I will summarize this study's findings and elaborate on them in the light of human beings' tactile sociality in general.

2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Theorizing, a form of experimenting, is about being in touch. What keeps theories alive and lively is being responsible and responsive to the world's patternings and murmurings. Doing theory requires being open to the world's aliveness, allowing oneself to be lured by curiosity, surprise, and wonder. (Barad 2012: 207)

Following Barad (2012), I made my selection decisions regarding the theoretical and methodological background for this research by being in touch with the empirical reality of this study: a House of Girls group. Just as one cannot touch without being touched (e.g. Cekaite 2010; Hernstein 2002; Kelly et. al 2018; Kinnunen and Kolehmainen, submitted; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Shiff 1991), so theories and methodologies cannot remain untouched by the empirical. Instead, they should be responsive to the 'world's murmurings' (Barad 2012: 207). Consequently, I chose the theoretical and methodological tools for this study on the basis of what I considered to stand out as a relevant phenomenon for the House of Girls group participants themselves: embodied action that occurred simultaneously with or as a by-product of the official group tasks. As this type of action is not always regarded as communication at all, I chose theories and methodologies that would grasp this kind of 'seen but unnoticed' (Garfinkel 1963: 217, 1967: 36, 1996: 11) embodied communication in the group sessions. Moreover, given that these 'seen but unnoticed' actions were often produced while the group's official interactions were taking place, they were often primarily managed non-verbally.⁹

In this chapter, I will introduce the theoretical and methodological tools selected for this study. The chapter is divided into two sections, one theoretical (2.1) and the other methodological (2.2). First, in Section 2.1, I define the most important concept in this study: intercorporeality. This section is further divided into two subsections:

⁹ When they occur, verbal actions alongside with other embodied actions are analysed as crucial resources to manage and experience social action through tactile practices.

one defines intercorporeality and tactile communication in the House of Girls group (2.1.1); the other discusses what is meant by tactile arrangements in this study (2.1.2). Section 2.2 identifies the various methodological approaches adopted in this study, and is divided into three subsections. In subsection 2.2.1, I explain the influence of micro sociologist Erving Goffman (e.g. 1963, 1971, 1981) and founder of ethnomethodology Harold Garfinkel (1967, 1996, 2002) on the methodological background for this study. Next, in 2.2.2, I describe how I have analysed subtle tactile communication by identifying marked and unmarked tactile practices. Finally, in subsection 2.2.3, I clarify my own role as a researcher and discuss how I used my own embodied knowledge as a crucial analytical tool.

2.1 Intercorporeality

When people start to analyze social phenomena, if it looks like things occur with the sort of immediacy we find in some of these exchanges, then, if you have to make an elaborate analysis of it – that is to say, show that they did something as involved as some of the things I have proposed – then you figure that they couldn't have thought that fast. I want to suggest that you have to forget that completely. Don't worry about how fast they're thinking. First of all, don't worry about whether they're 'thinking'. Just try to come to terms with how it is that the thing comes off. Because you'll find that they can do these things. Just take any other area of natural science and see, for example how fast molecules do things. And they don't have very good brains. (Sacks 1992a: 118)

The world is not what I think, but what I live through. (Merleau-Ponty 1962: xvii)

One of the pioneers of interaction analysis, Harvey Sacks (1992a, 1992b), pointed out human beings' amazing ability to make sense of each other's behaviour with the sort of immediacy that cannot involve thinking first and behaving afterwards. Moreover, by suggesting that brain size per se is not relevant to this immediacy of social interaction, Sacks (1992a) also implicitly made the argument that this capacity for immediate social interaction stems from the whole body, not just from the brain. While Sacks' point was that the major issue for researchers was not to 'worry' about where this immediacy of social action stemmed from, his observation was curiously in alignment with phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty's (1962: xvii) understanding of the world as something human beings live through rather than something they 'think'. Following this line of thought, my study is aligned with Merleau-Ponty's (1962) understanding that humans' ability to interact with each other with such immediacy stems from human bodies' inherent corporeal interconnectedness.

Merleau-Ponty (1962) describes this interconnectedness with his concept of intercorporeality (*intercorporéité*). Intercorporeality aims to describe on the one hand the primal body-to-body understanding of living human beings, and on the other hand the availability of one person's mind to another (Csordas 2008; Gallagher 2016; Merleau-Ponty 1962: 116; Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017; Meyer et al. 2017; Tanaka 2015). Therefore, the object of this study is intercorporeal processes, or 'activities in which the single body's agency is subsumed by the production of a We and would be pointless without the simultaneous participation of an other' (Meyer et al. 2017: xiv).

The adoption of intercorporeality as a focus in studies of naturally occurring interactions is comparably recent. Moreover, there exist different forms as well as degrees, or intensities, of intercorporeality (Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017: 9).¹⁰ Even though the definition of intercorporeality is ultimately an empirical matter, some preliminary explications about how this study understands the concept might be in order. I will summarize the understanding adopted in this study through four interrelated points:

1. Intercorporeality implies an understanding of bodies as living, feeling, breathing material entities, not mere instruments for interaction.
2. Intercorporeality describes the inherently collaborative and embodied nature of human bodies co-living, sense-making and interacting
3. Intercorporeality is bodies co-attuning to each other and being together in a manner that does not fit the division between focused and unfocused interaction.
4. Intercorporeality can be compared to Alfred Schütz's (1962, 1964) understanding of the We-relation.

First, intercorporeality implies an understanding of bodies as bodies as living, feeling, breathing material entities that make sense of meanings in social interactions through embodied experience. Consequently, following the phenomenological distinction between the subjective, lived body (*Leib*) and the physical, living body (*Körper*)¹¹ (Blackman 2008: 83–83; Fuchs 2017: 9; Ochs 2015: 276; Streeck 2013:

¹⁰ As Meyer and Wedelstaedt (2017: 9) elaborate, while 'weak' and 'strong' forms of intercorporeal intimacy can be distinguished (compare, for instance, sexual actions and business meetings), there are also 'different types of interpersonal relations: some are agonistic (e.g., boxing), others are complementary (e.g., acrobatics) or symmetrical (e.g., running together), and still others are symbiotic (e.g., breastfeeding). These types are certainly not mutually exclusive.'

¹¹ This distinction was originally established by Helmuth Plessner (cited in Krüger 2010). The concept of the living body has been crucial in phenomenological research since the founder of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl (cited in Streeck 2013: 70).

70; Stuart 2012: 175), the living body is contrasted with both the anatomical body and the body as a mere instrument for communication (Streeck 2013: 70). Moreover, living bodies are inevitably animated creatures: when they are born, they come into the world already moving (Ingold 2011: 72–73; Sheets-Johnstone 2016; 2011). Therefore, understanding bodies as living means that they are historical and material, accumulating tactile experiences and skills in the lifeworld (Dreyfus 1991; Ingold 2011; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Streeck 2013). As living materials – bundles of living tissues – bodies are sensitive to deformation (Gibson 1966: 106), in the most extreme sense: living bodies are mortal bodies that can die or be killed. Thus they are killable (Singh and Dave 2015) as much as they are liveable (Sheets-Johnstone 2002: 137). As Mol and Law (2004: 43) suggest, ‘the body is the fleshy condition for, or, better, the fleshy situatedness of, our modes of living. In being a living body we experience pain, hunger or agony as well as satisfaction, ecstasy or pleasure.’ Being a living body also means having lived: living bodies are inevitably historical bodies (Scollon and Scollon 2004). This means that bodies emerge in multiple timescales at once, including the biographical timescale and the timescale of the ageing body (Streeck, 2018). Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of habitus can be adopted to describe these multiple temporalities through which a body lives. Habitus, or ‘history turned into nature’ (Bourdieu 1977: 78), refers to a set of dispositions, skills, styles and tendencies which people perform in everyday life, relying on their bodily history and their social and cultural background.

Second, as many researchers have noted, intercorporeality refers to the fundamental unity of communicating and living bodies (Andrén 2017; Gallagher 2016: 162; Meyer et al. 2017). Thus, intercorporeality – unlike intersubjectivity¹² – highlights that human communication is fundamentally co-agential: it is co-produced and simultaneously experienced by the participants as they interact with each other, and as they sense and attune their senses to each other in the process. Intercorporeality is body-to-body sense-making (Fuchs and De Jaegher 2009; Sheets-Johnstone 2011; 2002); it is orientating to, anticipating and co-living the other, just as two hands of the same body co-live one body (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1968). Subsequently, intercorporeality does not simply mean direct access to another’s experience (cf. Andrén 2017: 107–109): the prefix *inter* in intercorporeality

¹² In this study, intercorporeality replaces the concept of intersubjectivity. Thus, these two concepts are not understood as co-existing terms, of which intercorporeality would be more “fundamental”. As Meyer et al. (2017: xv) suggest “Established terms like “coordination,” “alignment,” and “intersubjectivity,” as well as “routine” and “joint intention,” are unable to grasp the shared, embodied and, at the same time, spontaneous and creative (that is, situationally adjusted) character of these activities.”

implies that there is something to be inter of (cf. Barad 2008).¹³ As Cuffari and Streeck (2017: 180) write: ‘Not the repetition of bodily structure or substance, but the perpetual motion and difference making of bodily expression, action, and transcendence, ground the sharing of meaning.’ Merleau-Ponty’s (1968) notion of chiasm – i.e. the circle of the touched and the touching, or of the visible and the seeing – is an example of this kind of corporeal being, which is difference-making and at the same time inherently intertwined (Merleau-Ponty 1968: 143). Merleau-Ponty’s chiasm, according to Stuart (2017a), is a form of embodied co-being where the very idea of subjectivity is being-subject-with-others.¹⁴

Third, intercorporeality is a primal manner of bodies co-experiencing a moment as We, and as such it does not entirely fit the distinction between focused and unfocused interaction (Garfinkel 1963).¹⁵ Goffman (1963: 95) famously describes focused interactions, or encounters, as states of mutual engagement in an eye-to-eye ecological huddle. An encounter is therefore ‘a physical coming together of bodies’ where participants orient their bodies towards one another and away from those who are not part of the encounter (Goffman 1964: 135; Schefflen 1972: 27–30). However, mutual monitoring (Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135; 1983: 3; M.H. Goodwin 1980; M.H. Goodwin & Cekaite 2018: 33) or sharing a common vivid present (Schütz 1962: 219–220; Garfinkel 2006: 182) that can be understood as intercorporeal processes – such as some types of sports, band members playing together, or bodies being-with another while cuddling (cf. M.H. Goodwin 2017: 76) – does not only occur in focused interactions. Accordingly, to complement previous interaction studies that have focused analysing mutual monitoring in focused interactions, this study analyses tactile intercorporeal processes that occur in both focused and unfocused interactions.

¹³ Barad (2008: 133) suggests replacing the notion of interaction with *intra-action*, as the former ‘presumes the prior existence of independent entities/relata’ (cf. Barad 2012). Barad discusses this in the context of particle physics, while in this study the context is phenomenological. Arguably, there is a sensation of interness in the moment of touching or when the other touches one (Katila 2018; Merleau-Ponty 1962).

¹⁴ Stuart refers to this as *immanent intercorporeality*. In this study, I refer to the same phenomenon merely as *intercorporeality*.

¹⁵ According to Goffman (1963: 24), *unfocused interaction* refers to ‘the kind of communication that occurs when one gleans information about another person present by glancing at him, if only momentarily, as he passes into and then out of one’s view. Unfocused interaction has to do largely with the management of sheer and mere copresence.’ *Focused interaction* refers to ‘the kind of interaction that occurs when persons gather close together and openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention, typically by taking turns at talking’ (Goffman 1963: 24).

Fourth, the continuum between intercorporeality and mere co-presence¹⁶ can be compared to phenomenologist Alfred Schütz's (1962, 1964) notions of Thou-orientation and We-relation. Thou-orientation refers to a general manner in which any other human being is experienced in person. According to Schütz (1964), Thou-orientation consists of recognizing another living human being within one's direct experience (Schütz 1964: 24). Generally, Thou-orientation can be either one-sided or reciprocal. When Thou-orientation becomes reciprocal and both parties take each other's existence or presence into account, the We-relation emerges. (Schütz 1964: 24–25; Schütz and Luckmann 1973: 61).¹⁷ Consequently, the We-relation means co-experiencing, co-living and growing old together in a 'common vivid present' with someone (Schütz 1964a: 219–220; Garfinkel 2006: 182). As Schütz (1964: 30) writes, in We-relation 'I experience myself through you, and you experience through me.' According to Schütz (1962), this shared experience in We-relation closely resembles the temporality of a single body's stream of consciousness, thereby enabling one to experience the other person directly (Schütz 1962: 26). Therefore, following Meyer et al. (2017), this study associates Schütz's We-relation with intercorporeal processes, 'activities in which the single body's agency is subsumed by the production of a We and would be pointless without the simultaneous participation of another' (Meyer et al. 2017: xvi).

This study focuses primarily on tactile intercorporeality between mothers and children. In the following subsection, I will define in detail the types of tactile intercorporeal process studied in this project.

2.1.1 Tactile intercorporeality and tactile communication between mothers and children

Mothers and children in the House of Girls group live an ongoing continuum of tactile intercorporeality (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Meyer et al. 2017). This means that they simultaneously co-experience and co-feel one another in tactile co-presence (cf. Goffman 1963) – a type of intimate co-presence where the bodies' presence is inherently co-sensed through the sense of touch. Unlike tactile co-presence that

¹⁶ Erving Goffman (1963: 17) refers to as *co-presence*, a circumstance of direct experience of another person – an occasion where persons are close enough to sense each other's presence and *sense the sensing of the other*. According to Goffman, co-presence is the basic state of bodies in the physical presence of other bodies (De Jaeger et al. 2016: 3) gathered in any social situation (Goffman 1981: 84).

¹⁷ While discussing the differences between the one-sided and reciprocal Thou-orientation and the We-relation, Schütz (1964: 25) suggests that the observation that the other person shares the same attention in the now constitutes sufficient evidence of a We-relation.

might occur between strangers, tactile co-presence of mothers and their children has been built on their bodies' relationship history and is this way of special significance to the participants. This type of habitualized, and voluntary tactile intercorporeality can also act as a tie sign for an (intimate) relationship (Goffman 1971: 19, 1981: 79). In consequence, tactile intercorporeality is not merely a context-specific state for mothers and children, but instead is a fundamental way for them to be ordinarily (Sacks 1984) with each other. Subsequently, most of the time tactile intercorporeality seems to be a 'seen but unnoticed' (Garfinkel 1967: 36) feature of mothers' and children's ordinary lives. Their relationship history shows in the manner in which the bodies co-live familiarity with each other. To exemplify how habitualization can be observed in an intimate relationship between adults, Goffman (1971: 200) writes:

When, to free his hands, an individual passes something to a companion, for a moment and does not bracket this act with please and thank-you, assuming rather that common understanding and interests will be sufficient to explain and warrant his presumption, the implication is that a long-standing relationship is present.

What separates tactile intercorporeality in intimate relationships from momentarily tactile co-presence between strangers is that in the former, the primary purpose of bodies being with each other may be to co-experience each other (M.H. Goodwin 2017: 76–78). Elsewhere (Katila 2018) I have referred to this kind of relationship-specific locating in space between caregivers and children as homebase. Homebase is a tactile relationship practice in which bodies share a resting position where they can co-experience each other through tactile intercorporeality. The idea of homebase for bodies resembles the concept of home position. Home position refers to the tendency of gestures and other movements of the body to start and end in the same position, to 'depart from home and return home' (Sacks and Schegloff 2002: 137).¹⁸ In a similar vein, homebase suggests that after activity sequences, persons tend to return to relative proximity with their relationship parties or withs (Goffman 1971). Therefore, homebase is grounded in a shared intercorporeal relationship history¹⁹ (Streeck, 2018) or dyadic body memory²⁰ (Fuchs 2017: 10–15)

¹⁸ Streeck (2018) has called these *resting positions*, pointing out that human beings are living organisms that tire.

¹⁹ As Streeck (forthcoming: 487) points out in his study of postural configurations, 'posture configurations that appear standardized or habitualized may turn out to be conventions of a singular relationship, habits that particularize the relationship between two people, even when they also instantiate cultural patterns. Relationships and their habits have a temporality – exist on a time-scale – of their own.'

²⁰ Fuchs (2017: 15) describes dyadic body memory as follows:

through which bodies relive their past familiarity in each present. Hence, to sum up, in homebase, mothers and children can share tactile intercorporeality or co-presence that is both a habitualized way of being for those specific bodies and a primordial site for immediate co-experiencing of the other (cf. M.H. Goodwin 2017: 76–78; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018: 308–309).

Tactile intercorporeality or homebase provides bodies with a continuous affordance (Gibson 1986) for tactile communication. Schindler (2017: 424), in an ethnographic study of martial arts classes, has adopted the similar term haptic communication,²¹ defined as occasions where ‘physical contact between bodies is made in the expectation that the other participant will understand the contact as a sign and react to it in a certain way.’²² In martial arts classes, this refers to the importance of separating the haptic movements included in actually doing martial arts from haptic movements that are meant as guiding, corrective or otherwise communicative. Hence Schindler (2017: 454) suggests that not all touches between bodies are to be understood as haptic communication. In this study, I adopt the concept tactile communication in a similar vein to Schindler’s haptic communication. As I suggested in the introduction, given that the mothers and children are constantly co-sensing each other through their whole bodies, and that subtle communication occurs within this co-sensing, the word tactile describes the body-to-body contact that takes place in this study better than the word haptic. However, unlike Schindler

One may, for example, develop a specific style of interacting with a close friend which is only possible with this person and reemerges immediately even after years of separation. Then the intercorporeal memories of both partners unite to form a joint procedural field that suggests and preordains typical interactions and shared experiences. It may also be regarded as a space of two body schemas which are attuned to each other through sensorimotor patterns generated by the shared history: rituals of welcoming; repertoires of gestures, postures, movements, voice pitch and even dialects which one ‘falls into’ in the presence of the other. Hence, we may say that there is, in a certain sense, a memory of the interactive process itself, or a joint or dyadic body memory.

²¹ Schindler (2017: 434) suggests that Goffman’s (1963: 33–35) *body idiom* – non-spoken co-present communication through bodily cues – has a tactile dimension as well (Schindler 2017: 444, 449–450). This interesting phenomenon could be referred to as *tactile body idiom*.

²² Schindler (2017: 434) analyses tactile communication as a crucial part of martial arts class demonstration sequences where the teacher demonstrates the movements to the whole class with one student who is unaware what she is going to demonstrate with the teacher. In such cases, there occurs a multilayered communication where tactile communication is produced to communicate to the student about how to move, while verbal and visual instructions are given to the class. Similarly, Keevallik (2010: 403), in a study of dance classes, points out that teachers’ ‘hands on adjustments’ occur during dance lessons, but she argues that the most effective way of demonstrating and making a pedagogical point in dance classes is what she calls *bodily quoting* – the process of invoking other bodies with one’s own body (Keevallik 2010: 401).

(2017: 454), who distinguishes between communicative and non-communicative haptic movements, this study begins from the premise that tactile contact cannot not be communicative, given that even the most minimal level of communication embedded in tactile contact is already communication about (non-)communication. In other words, no embodied movement that touches another person – even ‘accidental’ movements – can be produced in a manner that does not at least communicate their ‘accidentality’. Consequently, tactile communication in this study is understood as inevitably communicative, at least at a metacommunicative level²³ (Bateson 1972): movements in tactile co-presence embed at least a minimal communication as to whether they are meant as communication or not. As will be discussed in detail later (Chapters 4–5), metacommunicating the communicative frame of tactile movements, at least in intimate mother-child relationships, is a manner of ongoing tactile negotiation, within which the other person’s tactile communicative cues can also be actively ignored.

The metacommunicative frame (Bateson 1972) of tactile contact is made sense of through enkinaesthetic (Stuart 2010, 2012: 167, 2017a: 53, 2017b) understandings of one’s own and another body’s movements.²⁴ Stuart’s notion of enkinaesthetic embodiment refers to the prediscursive interconnectedness of our bodies, which enables the experience of shared kinaesthetic sensations. According to Stuart (2012), enkinaesthesia refers to fundamental co-agenial sensing and experiencing as a unit of experience, in a state of affective intentional reciprocity that is not understandable merely as separate individuals coming together and being affected by each other (Stuart 2012: 167). Therefore, enkinaesthetic sensation makes it possible for one person to anticipate the kinaesthetic trajectories of another. In parallel with the concept of enkinaesthesia, Fuchs (2017) suggests that bodies are entangled with each

²³ Bateson (1956, 1972) refers to this framing process as *metacommunicative cues*. By metacommunication, or ‘communication about communication’ – including all exchanged cues about codification and relationships between communicators (Bateson 1951: 209) – Bateson (1972: 178) refers to an array of embodied signs with which people communicate the frame through which the ‘actual’ communication is to be interpreted, such as ‘this is play’ (for an overview of Bateson’s concept, see Mitchell 1991). However, in this study, I adopt the concept “metacommunication” into communication understood as part of living bodies’ movement – whereas Bateson introduces the concept as a semiotic interaction or sign.

²⁴ Some authors (e.g. Behnke 2008; Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017) have used the term *interkinaesthetic* interchangeably with *enkinaesthetic*. Stuart (2012) uses the term enkinaesthetic instead of interkinaesthetic to emphasize the direct, non-dual experience of the other.

other through embodied interaffectivity. Interaffectivity refers to a state where ‘bodies are intertwined in a process of bodily resonance, coordinated interaction, and mutual incorporation which provides the basis for an intuitive empathic understanding’ (Fuchs 2017: 4). Following Stuart (2010, 2012, 2017a, 2017b) and Fuchs (2017), this study holds that mothers and children in the group make sense of the tactile communication (Schindler 2017) between them through enkinaesthetic bodily resonance: inherent, non-mediated bodily co-being. Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapters 4–6, enkinaesthetic resonance provides a medium through which to sense the communicative meaning of tactile movements through the amount of intercorporeal effort involved (Cuffari and Streeck 2017).

2.1.2 Tactile arrangements and participation frameworks

The co-present interactors in the House of Girls group – mothers, children and the group tutor – collaboratively organized themselves into continuously unfolding corporeal arrangements: ‘corporeal alignment of participants in relation to each other as well as to artifacts and spaces relevant to the situation at hand’ (Ochs et al. 2005: 555; cf. also de León 2012: 85–88). Accordingly, when referring to tactile arrangements, this study understands tactile arrangement simply as bodies’ concrete organization in space. This organization, as will be suggested, can be enacted to produce various interaction projects, such as to negotiate participation or intimacy. Accordingly, in some contexts, corporeal arrangements directly refer to the various participation roles of the interactors (Ochs et al. 2005: 555). In this understanding, tactile arrangement is equivalent to participation framework, a concept often adopted by interaction analysts. Goffman (1981: 137) initiated the term participation framework to refer to the moment-by-moment unfolding participation status of co-present bodies in an encounter (C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004: 223–224; Heath 1986: 76). Drawing from Goffman’s (1981) work, C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin (e.g. C. Goodwin 1981; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004; M.H. Goodwin 1990) define participation frameworks as moment-by-moment unfolding actualizations of participation through various actions and practices. According to this understanding, participation frameworks are not stable or separate, but are flexible public arrays of embodied orientations and displays of participation under constant negotiation (C. Goodwin 1981; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004). In this study, corporeal arrangements or tactile arrangements²⁵ refer to how bodies are

²⁵ Similarly, Cekaite and Holm (2017) adopt the term *corporeal-tactile-formation*, while M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2018: 203) have used the term *tactile formation*.

arranged in space, without necessarily taking a position on what practice the ongoing arrangement is part of; the concept of participation framework is adopted when specific participation practices of tactile arrangements are addressed.

Participation frameworks have often been considered in rather immobile situations, and, as Streeck (2013) points out, they have been configured mainly through the visual accessibility of the environment. Given that the mothers and children in this study are constantly conducting activities that require mobility, and that they are often in touch with each other, a more flexible understanding of participation frameworks is needed. Therefore this study draws from more recent strands in interaction studies that have considered how participation is managed both while bodies are mobile (e.g. Haddington et al. 2013, 2016; Jensen 2010; McIlvenny et al. 2009, 2014; Mondada 2009, 2014a) and through different tactile practices (e.g. Burdelski 2010, 2018; Cekaite 2010, 2015, 2016; Cekaite and Holm 2017; M.H. Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2013, 2014, 2018; Katila 2018; Katila et al. n.d.; Mehus 2011; Meyer 2017; Tulbert and Goodwin 2011).

Let me briefly consider these strands of studies – studies on mobility in interaction, and studies on tactile interaction – in turn. First, studies that seek to uncover the interrelations between mobile bodies and space (e.g. Haddington et al. 2013, 2016; Jensen 2010; McIlvenny et al. 2009, 2014; Mondada 2009, 2014a) have suggested that the way interactors orient their bodies towards each other, and the way they move in relation to each other in space, reveals whether they are acting or moving as individual vehicular units (Goffman 1971: 6–11), mobile formations²⁶ (McIlvenny et al. 2014: 104–105) or embodied mobiles with (Goffman 1971; Jensen 2010: 338; Scollon and Scollon 2003: 60–61). These practices are collaborative body techniques (Mauss 1973) for being mobile while orientating in relation to other people, in a manner that makes it possible for them be considered to be ‘together’ (Goffman 1971: 19).

Sometimes bodies are co-mobile so fluently and effortlessly that they seem like parts of one interkinaesthetic gestalt rather than consisting of separate bodies. Interkinaesthetic gestalt refers to the manner in which bodies move together in terms of their direct corporeal connections, which are felt together as interkinaesthetic movements; it is the sensation of moving meaningfully as a whole (Stuart 2012,

²⁶ McIlvenny et al. (2014: 104) refer to *mobile formations* as ‘the ways in which embodied actors or participants orient to each other and organize their actions *together* while they are engaged in specific modes of collective movement or joint mobile action’. *Mobility* is here defined as a something that involves the movement of people’s whole bodies, with or without embedment in some other vehicle or virtual participant, in a manner that recognizably changes from one location or position to another (Haddington et al. 2013: 4).

2017a&b; Wedelstaedt and Meyer 2017: 107–108). An example of interkinaesthetic gestalt is walking together. Streeck (2013: 82) describes an episode where participants in a sales negotiation, Hussein and Richie, are walking together:

Walking in synchrony is a common phenomenon, and we would not need to invoke neural processes such as forward-modeling to explain them: once the parties have picked up a certain pace, the trajectory and location of next steps can be anticipated: repetition sets up a rhythm in which each party's motions can be entrained. However, the joint walking of Hussein and Richie includes simultaneous changes in tempo, they alter their orientation to one another in synchrony, and they also come to stops at exactly the same time. Such accomplishments are not possible without mutual anticipation.

In a similar vein, mothers and children in the group often move together with a fluency and effortlessness that can best be described as moving as one interkinaesthetic gestalt.²⁷

Second, studies on tactile interaction have analysed, for instance, how adults socialize children into participation practices through control touch (Burdelski 2010, 2018; Cekaite 2015, 2016; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; 2013; 2014; McIlvenny 2009). Furthermore, in a study on sustained touch in multi-activity situations, Cekaite (2016) found that touch could be adopted as a resource to manage multiple interaction frames by putting one interaction framework momentarily 'on hold' (Cekaite 2016).²⁸ While Cekaite studied adults' actions on children, touch as a medium to control interaction frameworks has been found among adults too. For instance, Meyer (2017: 152–154) found that touch is commonly used among Wolof people to coordinate interactions and sometimes even replaces the role of gaze in

²⁷ Interkinaesthetic gestalts seem to be closely related to (inter)bodily rhythm. An example of this is given in Meyer's (2017) study of the Wolof of north-western Senegal. Wolof women are jointly pounding millet with mortars and pestles. To coordinate this everyday activity, one of the women shouts 'hey' synchronously with every second pestle beat. The result of the predictable rhythm is something that Meyer calls 'an intercorporeal sound space', where the bodies participate in the joint activity through a joint rhythm by means of which they engage in an intimate intercorporeal huddle (Meyer 2017: 144–145).

²⁸ Putting something 'on hold' seems not only to manage the multiple participation frameworks, but also to include some calming effects too, given the ability to inter-affectively (Fuchs 2017) resonate calmness directly from body to body. This is perhaps one of the dynamics of the 'soothing touch' to calm a crying child (Cekaite and Holm 2017), or the calming control touch to prepare a child for a dental operation (Katila et al. n.d.). Interestingly, soothing touch may be 'self-contained' as well, like when placing one's hand on the heart to relief stress (e.g. Long 2017). Furthermore, Avital and Streeck (2011: 179), in their study on blind children's interactions, showed that a blind child was able to attend to a teacher's calming voice by touching her own arm, thereby holding her body still.

distributing turns at talk. Goffman (1971: 17) describes how interactions can be managed in public places:

When two individuals are talking to each other and a third races by to whom one of the talkers owes a few greeting comments, the engaged individual may hold the arm of his fellow participant while turning to address the person passing by. The arm hold serves, as it were, to hold the conversation.

In sum, given its ability to manually hold another body, touch can manage multiple simultaneous participation frameworks.²⁹

Besides these moment-by-moment unfolding participations enacted through touch, tactile practices are also part of more temporally extended forms of participation: participation in the intimacy of social relationships. In these cases, bodies are coordinated in relation to each other over longer periods of time, through tactile co-presence (M.H. Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018) or tactile homebase (Katila 2018). Thus, the intimacy of the tactile arrangements can be understood as an unfolding social relationship. These ideas are developed further throughout the chapters of this book.

2.2 Methodological approaches

In order to study tactile practices as intercorporeal processes (Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017; Meyer et al. 2017: xvi) between mothers and children, this study draws from a multidisciplinary methodological background. These methodological fields include multimodal/micro interaction and micro-ethnographic studies (e.g. Cekaite 2010, 2015, 2016; Cekaite and Holm 2017; M.H. Goodwin et al. 2012; Deppermann and Streeck, 2018; Favareau, D. 2018. (ed.), C. Goodwin 1981, 2000, 2013, 2017; M.H. Goodwin 1980, 2006, 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2013, 2014, 2018; Heath 1986; Kaukomaa et al. 2015; Kendon 1990; Mondada 2018; Scheflen 1972; Streeck 1983, 2013, 2018; Streeck and Mehus 2005; Streeck et al. 2011), studies on mobile bodies and space in interaction (Haddington et al. 2013, 2016; McIlvenny et al. 2009, 2014; McIlvenny and Noy 2011; Mondada 2009, 2014b), ecological studies (Bateson 1972; Gibson 1962, 1966, 1986), gesture studies (Andrén

²⁹ Cf. Streeck (2013), who suggested in a study on interaction during two friends' sales negotiations that the potential buyer took hold of the potential seller's arm to control his participation while demanding that he reveal how much he had paid for the car himself. According to Streeck (2013: 78), this tactile gesture in this specific context acted both to control the other person's participation and to attend to their particular relationship history.

2010, 2014a, 2014b, 2017; C. Goodwin 2003; Kendon 2004; Streeck 2009, 2017), body/affect studies (Barad 2008, 2012; Blackman 2008; Butler 1999), conversation analysis (Sacks 1992a, 1992b; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 2007; Schegloff and Sacks 1973), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967, 2002; Heritage 1984), phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1968; Schütz 1962, 1964) and micro sociology (Goffman 1959, 1963, 1971, 1981).

In practice, this study adopts these approaches through the micro video analysis (e.g. Heath et al. 2010; Knoblauch et al. 2006) of naturally occurring³⁰ unfocused and focused (Goffman 1964) interactions of mothers, children and the group tutor in a small House of Girls group. Microanalysis in this study is understood as the detailed analysis of interaction practices and social actions of tactile intimacy and participation. These practices and social actions are regarded as being co-produced and -lived through the participants' bodies, bodily movements and other semiotic resources that unfold both sequentially and simultaneously (e.g. C. Goodwin 2017; M.H Goodwin & Cekaite 2018; Streeck 2017; Streeck et al. 2011). Following Streeck (1983: 1), a primary concern in this study is to examine how social organization is accomplished through various subtle actions that often go unnoticed. It is central to this approach to treat embodied behaviour as inevitably communicative (cf. Andrén 2010: 24; Goffman 1959, 1963: 33–35; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2006: 2; Watzlawick et al. 1967: 48). Therefore, embodied behaviour in the co-presence of other human beings is always treated as socially meaningful action – as it could have been otherwise (Edwards 1997: 8). An ongoing concern for interactors is the why that now (e.g. Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 299) or in-order-to motives (Schütz 1962, 1964) of other interactors' talk, gestures, facial expressions and other body movements. Therefore, action formation in this study refers to all the properties of the interaction (linguistic formulation, position, gesture, setting, etc.) that make a specific embodied behaviour recognizable as a specific action³¹ (Levinson 2013: 104, 110; Schegloff 2007: xiv). Accordingly, social action is not tied to verbal action; rather, non-verbal

30 By naturally occurring I refer to situations affected as little as possible by the research (Knoblauch et al. 2006; Silverman 2010; Speer 2002), or situations where 'people act, behave, and go about their business as they would if there were no social scientists observing or taping them' (Knoblauch et al. 2006: 11).

31 Sometimes conversation analytic research also separates action ascriptions from action formations, referring to how these are oriented to (Levinson 2013; Schegloff 2007). However, given the cooperative nature of embodied communication (C. Goodwin 2013, 2017), in practice action formations and ascriptions are inseparable, as a communicative action cannot be isolated from a response: 'neither may be defined without other' (Enfield 2011: 286). As Heath (1986: 14) points out, 'body movement does not necessarily work within the turn-by-turn structure characteristic of talk, yet the action-by-action character of social interaction can be used as a resource in analyzing movement as well as speech.'

behaviours, including practical actions and movements in space, can perform social actions on their own. Indeed, non-verbal social actions have been shown to often be a default mode for managing social actions, even if verbal actions have most often been the focus of interaction analysis (cf. Andrén 2017; Goffman 1963; Heath 1986: 10; LeBaron and Streeck 2000; Linell 2009: 188; Mead 1934; Rossi 2014; Stevanovic and Monzoni 2016; Cuffari and Streeck 2017).

To specify what the embodied nature of human communication means in terms of this study's methodology, social actions are understood as:

1. Cooperatively produced by all parties of interaction
2. Inseparable combinations of various, multisensorial and multimodal semiotic resources
3. Properties of both focused and unfocused encounters
4. Produced through any practices, such as tactile practices for moving in space
5. Indivisible from living bodies

To unpack these statements:

1. This study understands social actions as cooperative, produced by human beings who inhabit each other's social actions (C. Goodwin 2000, 2013, 2017; cf. Stuart 2012: 170–171). This means that even if sequentiality is one of the most prevalent features of any (focused or unfocused) interaction (Schegloff 2007: 14–15), the interpretation of each social action does not only lie in the 'next turn' produced by the addressee of the ongoing turn (cf. Enfield 2011: 286–291). Instead, while some interaction resources, such as spoken interaction, are based on the turn-taking system (only one party speaks at a time, and the roles of speaker and listener change turn by turn (Sacks et al. 1974)), social actions are produced neither through one modality nor by one interactor alone. Thus, this study holds that social actions are not something that move back and forth 'between' people; instead, they develop through moment-by-moment unfolding collaborative actions of interacting bodies.

2. Furthermore, this study holds that social actions consists of inseparable combinations of various, multisensorial and multimodal semiotic resources (e.g. Mondada 2018b). Thus, spoken language or other modalities are not isolated, self-contained systems, but instead are only part of the action and thus only make sense together (C. Goodwin 2013, 2017; Philipsen and Vöge 2018). As C. Goodwin (2007: 195) notes, gestures are environmentally coupled: they 'cannot be understood by participants without taking into account [the] structure in the environment to which they are tied'. Thus they are 'packaged together to accomplish a particular activity'

(Heath 1986: 17). C. Goodwin's (2000) term contextual configuration³² refers to this kind of nexus of qualitatively different actions, such as movements of bodily postures, environmental resources and gazes.

3. On the third point, social actions occur in both focused and unfocused encounters, in the sense that human beings are inevitably communicating with each other, at least while in each other's immediate co-presence (Andr n 2010; Goffman 1959, 1963; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2006; Watzlawick et al. 1967). Therefore, this study follows phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty's (1962, 1964, 1968) understanding that signifying, or gesturing, is a way for a particular body-subject to be a living being (Cuffari and Streeck 2017: 174–175). What is more, since bodies are inherently signifying, they are also constantly sense-making. As Sheets-Johnstone (2002) points out, sense-making is a criterion for living human beings' liveability (Sheets-Johnstone 2002: 139).

4. Related to this, people can perform social actions by enacting any practices, and as Andr n (2014a, 2017: 115) suggests, practical actions can exhibit elements of both gesture and practical action. Therefore, practical bodily actions are an ongoing resource for social actions. C. Goodwin (1986: 42) elaborates:

It is interesting to note that many movements that conversationalists make, including those such as self-grooms which are not meaningful elements of the talk in progress, display clearly what they are and why they are happening. A person's scratching may be random and irrelevant but it remains recognizable and meaningful to those who happen to see it. It appears that even with its most trivial actions the body remains a locus for meaning and maintains an essential rationality; rather than performing irrelevant, inexplicable actions, it provides others with the resources to interpret what it is doing.

5. Finally, social actions are inseparable from bodies, which are not mere instruments of social action but living organisms whose movement and expression communicate social meaning immanently. Besides this symbiosis between social action and body-producing social actions, a human body's particular sized and shaped materiality, together with its particular style of movement and dress, is already embedded with culture-specific meanings. Goffman's (1963: 33) term body idiom describes the communicative significances ascribed to bodily features, such as 'bodily appearance and personal acts: dress, bearing, movement and position, sound level,

³² According to C. Goodwin (2000: 1490), *contextual configuration* is a 'particular locally relevant array of *semiotic fields* that participants demonstrably orients to'. *Semiotic fields* refer to a process within which different kinds of sign phenomena initiated in diverse media are juxtaposed in a way that enables them to mutually elaborate each other.

physical gestures such as waving or saluting, facial decorations, and broad emotional expression'. Even if they have a temporal order radically different from, for instance, hand gestures or verbal actions, the communicative meanings incorporated in the materiality of bodies, such as gender, age and race, are already placed in bodies that cannot not communicate (Butler 1999; Garfinkel 1967: 116–185). Given that one cannot unperform a certain body, one also cannot perform any social action disengaged from a body. In other words, social actions are not something that happens 'outside' or 'between' bodies, but instead can only be understood as intercorporeal processes, as described in Section 2.1 (cf. Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017; Meyer et al. 2017). This is especially true when it comes to social actions produced through tactile practices: in tactile practices, bodies themselves are both the mediums and the sense makers of communication through their own living and sensing bodies.

Social actions thus consist of manifold semiotic resources, cooperatively produced through multiple bodies that are themselves historical. Social actions are therefore nested with various temporal orders (cf. Deppermann and Streeck 2018; Mondada 2018a; Streeck 2018). However, not only does meaning emerge from these moment-by-moment social actions, but social actions can also be made sense of as meaningful parts of temporally extended action projects. Following previous researchers, in this study I use the terms interaction project (Levinson 2013) and communicative project (Linell 1998, 2009) to refer to temporally extended meaningful action that leaks from single social actions into sequences of social actions that together comprise a meaningful interaction or communication project. Following Levinson (2013: 126), this study holds that interaction projects 'are interactionally negotiated, jointly launched, diverted or aborted'. Actions then are in the service of projects, and projects are themselves actions to accomplish.' Parallel to this, Linell (1998, 2009: 188) has adopted the term communicative project to refer to the fact that single social actions are parts of bigger-level projects – both local and more global.³³ Accordingly, projects are more primary and fundamental than actions, which are 'behavior in accordance with a plan of projected behavior' (Schütz 1964: 11). Following these ideas, the chapters in this book adopt the term social action to refer to more temporally restricted actions, such as the social action of a facial frown to show a negative emotional stance. Communication project, in turn, refers to a

³³ According to Linell (2009: 188), it was Thomas Luckmann (1995) who developed the notion of *communicative project*, following Alfred Schütz's (1962: 67) understanding of 'project in action'.

more temporally extended series of social actions, such as a child climbing onto her mother in certain manner to communicate that she is bored – a project that consists of multiple social actions.

2.2.1 Following Garfinkel and Goffman to study seen but unnoticed background expectancies

We might think back to our pre-reflective, pre-conceptual questioning of our world as we move around grasping, touching, and caressing enquiry, but similarly we could think of the rhythm, or momentum, we build up when walking on a moving walkway in an airport, or when walking down a moving, descending escalator; think about how smoothly this intentional activity establishes kinaesthetic expectations about how the world will continue to be, and how in this engagement we are travelling with our background in the background, out of sight but not phenomenologically hidden. It is living-streaming sense-making enacted through our enkinaesthetic relations which draw us into a kind of kinesthetic prosody with our changing world, and it's a prosody which is jarred and fragmented when we leave the walkway, or the next walkway we anticipate to be moving is not, or the escalator stops unexpectedly. At this point our background is foregrounded. (Stuart 2012: 173–174)

In the quotation above, Stuart refers to what Harold Garfinkel (1963: 217, 1967: 36, 1996: 11) calls the 'seen but unnoticed background expectancies' of everyday life. As Stuart (2012: 173–174) suggests, it is only when the world does not behave according to our kinaesthetic expectations that we come to realize that we had such expectations (cf. Meyer 2017: 144–146). The same is true of face-to-face interactions, whose orderliness and routinization in everyday life is often unquestioned. Accordingly, only the 'instances of awkwardness, or our acquaintance with interactional troublemakers, make us realize, from time to time, that routine interactional smoothness is not something that comes automatically, but is an interactional achievement' (Kendon 1990: 2). My research is interested in how social actors both accomplish routinized 'seen but unnoticed' kinaesthetic expectations and also notice and make sense of exceptions to those routines (Garfinkel 1996; Schegloff 1986). In this study, the focus is on the routinized manner in which mothers and children make sense of tactile practices as either communicative or non-communicative (and when communicative, what they are communicating about). This is not a problem for bodies in moment-by-moment actions, unless it needs to be explicated. It is this study's aim to do this explicating – microanalysing just how the bodies are able to make sense of this tactile communication. Thus this study is at the heart of ethnomethodology: making visible what more (Garfinkel 1996) there

is in ordinary social practices that makes their meaning fluently and directly sensible for the parties in those social practices.

Following Harold Garfinkel's (1963, 1967, 2002) ethnomethodology, this study is interested in how mothers and children make sense of each other's tactile movements as tactile practices. In alignment with Garfinkel – whose ideas stem from the phenomenological tradition, and especially from the thinking of phenomenologist Alfred Schütz (1962; 1964) – sense-making with regard to practices is inherently corporeal,³⁴ as practices 'are chiasmically chained embodiedly to the environment of ongoingly ordered phenomenal detail' (Garfinkel 1996: 13). Moreover, according to Garfinkel, embodied sense-making should be studied when people are in the midst of embodied practices. As Garfinkel (2002: 211) suggests:

There's nothing in the heads but brains. If you look in heads you're no further along. You're still in the enterprise of inventing see-ers, inventing players, inventing readers, inventing children, when that is not what you require and that's not what you want to do. What you want to do is to find yourself in the midst of their lived activities. (Cf. also Garfinkel 1963: 190)

Harold Garfinkel's interest in the orderliness of everyday social practices aligns very closely with the interests of micro sociologist Erving Goffman (e.g. 1959, 1963, 1964, 1971, 1981). Like Garfinkel, Goffman believes that rather than there being inflexible norms for interpersonal behaviour that explain the orderliness of social encounters, 'the normality and naturalness of situations is a situational accomplishment' (Goffman 1971: 223). Goffman's work is spectacular in its observations and detailed descriptions of continuous communication – what people communicate when they are apparently not communicating at all. Garfinkel (1967, 1996, 2002, 2006), for his part, studies these 'seen but unnoticed' background expectancies by analysing social actors' accounts of background expectancies, or by disturbing those expectancies with 'troublemakers' in order to reveal their orderliness. Thus both Garfinkel and Goffman are interested in how social practices are accomplished, but they have slightly different emphases in their methods. While Garfinkel emphasizes how interactors flexibly 'make sense of' routines (and breakages in them), M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2018: 48–50) suggest that Goffman draws attention to the moment-by-moment unfolding mutual monitoring through

³⁴ This is especially noticeable in Garfinkel's (2002) elaborations based on a setting where he asked his students to observe the world through inverted lenses. Inverted lenses are masks that invert (i.e. turn upside down) the phenomenal field of the person wearing them (Garfinkel 2002: 207). They are, as Garfinkel (2002: 210) suggests, a means '*to become strange again* with the ways of practical action as worldly stuff' (emphasis in the original). Adopting inverted lenses therefore reveals that the sensing process is an embodied skill that requires that bodies are embodiedly engaged in ordinary activities, and this is how the coherence of the phenomenal world is achieved.

which co-present interactors accomplish routines (Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135). Following both Garfinkel and Goffman, in this research I explore on the one hand how mothers and children manage tactile practices fluently and habitually through implicit mutual monitoring of each other's embodied movements, and on the other hand how they collaboratively make sense of occasions when frictions occur in this fluency.

2.2.2 Identifying marked and unmarked tactile practices through intercorporeal effort

In this research I study how mothers and children accomplish, co-produce, make sense of and live through routinized tactile practices, both in an unmarked manner (a manner that communicates about not communicating) and in a marked manner (a manner that communicates about communicating, and about what the communication is about). Following Cuffari and Streeck (2017), I define markedness through the degree of effort put into body practices. Cuffari and Streeck (2017: 189) elaborate on the communicative potential of hand-closings: 'We explicate the gestural significance of hand-closings in light of the degree of effort with which they are made – that is, their kinesthetic, not visual, qualities, which we call "markedness".' They go on to elaborate on the intersections between the practical movement of hand-closing and hand-closing's potential gestural features:

Closing a hand is not always – and certainly not in the first place – a gesture; it can also be a return of the fingers to a rest position. Thus the closing of the hand may also be a 'natural,' obvious way of completing a gesture. When the hand is closed after the stroke of a gesture, this often happens with diminishing effort: the fingers literally go to rest, all tension leaves them. In this case, when the action is effortless, we will say the movement is unmarked. (Cuffari and Streeck 2017: 190.)

In this research, I study mothers' and children's tactile practices by adopting the logic introduced by Cuffari and Streeck (2017). I take as my case various tactile practices whose primary purpose is not to act as gestures, but to embody practical movements in space, such as transforming body postures or exchanging objects. Therefore, I focus on how these practices are designed in such a way as to be treated as either officially relevant or non-officially relevant social actions (C. Goodwin 1986: 45–46). Accordingly, I analyse how mothers and children accomplish them either effortlessly/unmarkedly – in a manner that does non-communication – or effortfully/markedly, in a manner that explicitly produces a social action. While I have adopted the concepts of effortless/effortful from Cuffari and Streeck (2017),

it is worth noting that the effortlessness of the practices analysed in this study is at a slightly different level. By comparison with the effortfulness of the natural hand-closings studied by Cuffari and Streeck (2017), the effortless accomplishment of practical movements such as getting onto one's mother's lap does not entail a complete lack of muscle effort, or letting one's body fall loosely into the lap. In other words, even the 'unmarked' acts involved in getting onto one's mother's lap require considerable energy expenditure. The effortlessness referred to in these practices thus implies something more like their 'smooth', 'flowing' accomplishment, with the application of as little muscle effort as possible. Moreover, the relationship between 'effortless' and 'unmarked' is not always simple: for instance, there is a special sense in which effortlessness can also be marked, in that it may be treated as explicitly producing an interaction project. In this sense, effort can be described as a situational practice for bodies to make sense of the potential interactional markedness of body movements. Furthermore, effortlessness is not just 'doing nothing', but instead in an important sense is also communicating about doing nothing. Alternatively, sometimes the doing-nothingness itself is effortful or marked, as with effortful disattention to another person's obviously communicative tactile actions.

A crucial thing to note is that there is an inevitable bedrock practice or cluster of practices that enables tactile practices to be enacted as a medium for communication, namely (mother-child) relationship practices. The bodies are familiar enough for the other person's tactile co-presence not to be an issue per se, but for it also to be possible to enact her tactile co-presence as a medium for tactile communication. This familiarity of bodies could be referred to as what anthropologist Marcell Mauss (1973: 70) calls body techniques, or 'the ways in which from society to society men know how to use their bodies'. Body techniques are practices that are habitualized in relation to the lived body and its abilities and affordances.³⁵ When routinized in a relationship-specific manner, one-body techniques become body-to-body-specific collaborative body techniques.

The effortfulness or markedness that occurs in tactile contact between mothers and children is not about the bodies being strange, as it might be in the case of tactile

³⁵ Asta Cekaite (2010) adopted Mauss's (1973) idea of body techniques in her study of parental shepherding moves, such as a parent twisting or steering her children's bodies in order to control their movements. Cekaite studied these shepherding moves as resources to provide a locus for the moment-by-moment socialization of the child into the accountability and conditional relevance of embodied interaction practices (Cekaite 2010: 2). Later, Cekaite, together with M.H. Goodwin, continued to uncover the parenting techniques that enable adults in various institutional setting to control children's bodies (e.g. Cekaite 2015, 2016; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2013, 2014). The shepherding techniques are collaborative, tactile practices that aim to mould the orientation and attention of the other.

contact between two persons who are strangers to each other. Hence there is also a special sense in which bodies immediately recognize whether the ‘aboutness’ of the markedness or effort is about the bodies being unfamiliar, or about familiar bodies marking the practices to produce other interaction projects. As Bezemer and Kress (2014: 79) suggest in a non-human context, ‘we might tell from the way in which somebody touches water (say, dipping of the surface with the feet, rather than a sudden plunge) whether that person is certain of the temperature or not.’ Therefore, in order to genuinely produce bodies as familiar, the tie signs enacted are not supposed to be topicalized; and if they are topicalized or ‘overperformed’, they are treated as either not being ‘genuine’ familiarity or as doing something other than the familiarity of the bodies (Goffman 1971).

Goffman (1971: 233) gives the example of holding hands as a relationship tie sign: ‘once hand-holding becomes established between two ends, it will be sensed to be something that one simply finds oneself doing, not something that one sets about to do.’ Consequently, it is treated as a side involvement,³⁶ an activity that individuals can carry on in an abstracted fashion without threatening or confusing the simultaneous maintenance of the main involvement (Goffman 1963: 43, 1971: 230–231). However, as Goffman discusses, sometimes a relationship practice such as hand-holding can be enacted so as to be ‘doing’ something more than a mere relationship, as when a politician is present to receive the news that he has been elected president. In this kind of context, Goffman (1971: 230) suggests, ‘there is likely to be a hand there to be held, his wife’s, to show that at this moment he has not become overfilled with pride and ambition and has not placed himself above the reach of ordinary men.’ These doings are embedded in the manufacturing of any practice, and there is no single practice that is entitled to only one single social action. Accordingly, there is no ‘objective’ manner of holding hands that would fit the dictionary meaning of hand-holding; it is always to some extent context-specific or indexical (cf. Garfinkel 1967). (This is also the reason why no (tactile) practice is non-communicative, a point made above.) Nevertheless, even though in this study I say that people can perform social actions through practices, I neither understand performing as separate from living nor regard practice as separate from social action.

³⁶ As Goffman (1963: 45) suggests, certain activities are to be carried on only as a side involvement, or otherwise they are to be treated as doing something extra. For example, ‘at court hearings when a middle-class man is arraigned for an act that might be thought to render him unfit for pairing, his spouse may specifically hold his hand to show that she still considers him worthy of the relationship’ (Goffman 1971: 230). As Heath (1984: 247) notes, ‘involvement in interaction however is rarely explicitly addressed; if it were it would shift the focus of attention from the topic at hand to the problems of being involved in it.’

As Garfinkel (1996: 8) notes, ‘enacted local practices are not texts which symbolize “meanings” or events. They are in detail identical with themselves, and not representative of something else.’

Besides studying ‘seen but unnoticed’ communication through tactile practices, this study also analyses how mothers and children manage the seen but unnoticed at the unnoticed level. This means that even though the markedness or unmarkedness of practices is a routinized accomplishment, the mothers and children do not always align over the trajectories of the routine. Consequently, there is an ongoing corporeal negotiation over the working consensus³⁷ (Goffman 1959) or alignment³⁸ (Stivers 2008) regarding the initiation, temporality and meaning of these subtly negotiated (tactile) practices. Take as an example a transition in tactile arrangements, such as child sitting on a mother. Given that this is often a deeply routinized collaborative body technique, the concrete accomplishment of fluently sitting on a mother is not an issue per se. But there might occur an implicit disalignment between the mother and child, and the mother and child may therefore engage in subtle tactile negotiation over whether the practice is going to happen or not. Furthermore, as will be studied further in Chapter 5, a negotiation might also occur over the specific social action of the tactile practice. Social actions embedded in sitting on one’s mother include, for instance, doing initiating an interaction, being involved in an activity, or merely sitting down as locating oneself in space. It is exactly these tactile negotiations that are most often not explicitly ‘noticed’ and are coordinated through the interkinaesthetic effortfulness of movement (Cuffari and Streeck 2017).

The potential effortfulness or markedness of practices reveals whether something in the conduct of habitualized practices can be interpreted as some sort of deviation – a shortcut or detour – from the habitualized manner of doing things, from the

³⁷ Goffman (1959: 9–10) describes his concept of *working consensus* as follows: ‘Together the participants contribute to a single over-all definition of the situation which involves not so much a real agreement as to what exists but rather a real agreement as to whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honoured. Real agreement will also exist concerning the desirability of avoiding an open conflict of definitions of the situation. I will refer to this level of agreement as a “working consensus”.’ Goffman develops the concept *working consensus* in terms of the more general presentation of self in everyday life, as a form of mutual face-work to which participants in interaction orient as mutually accepting or playing along with the other person’s presentation (Goffman 1967: 5–45). Nevertheless, I adopt the concept when discussing the difference between symmetrical or unmarked and asymmetrical or marked tactile arrangements between mothers and children.

³⁸ Conversation analysts have pointed out the difference between *alignment* and *affiliation*. According to Stivers (2008: 32–35), one aligns to the level of aboutness of social actions by responding to the other person’s turns in a relevant manner (for instance, to respond to the other person’s question is to align to the other person’s interactional aboutness of having asked a question). Affiliation occurs when ‘the hearer displays support of and endorses the teller’s conveyed stance’ (Stivers 2008: 35).

ordinary amount of effort put into carrying out practical tasks or practical movements in space.³⁹ These types of communication cue are everywhere. Take for example the practice of shutting a door. One can shut a door fiercely, and thus communicate anger besides just shutting the door for practical purposes. Alternatively, one can shut a door carefully, communicating through this carefulness that silence is expected or that one does not want to draw attention to oneself (for instance, when one is arriving late). In the end, there is no ‘neutral’ way to shut a door. Even in the commonest cases, when one just shuts a door without paying any attention to it, the manner of shutting the door is still metacommunicating that there is no communicative aim embedded in the practical movement of shutting it.

Anyone can implicitly recognize these kinds of subtle communication cue visually, but when they are produced tactilely, against another body, they are also sensed directly through muscular effort. Furthermore, besides this muscular effort, the temporality of practising a routine is a bodily method to track markedness: there exists an ‘ordinary’ bodily rhythm for conducting practices, and when this tempo is broken – as in cases of sitting slowly on one’s mother’s lap – a marked activity is most likely at play.⁴⁰ In sum, effortlessness/unmarkedness and effortfulness/markedness are nothing but ordinary embodied methods that all bodies use in their everyday lives. Interaction analysts are already using these methods, at least implicitly. One project in this study is to make these tools visible and rely on them consciously, so as to be able not only to study the ‘seen but unnoticed’, but also to bring out seen but unnoticed analytical methods. I argue that these everyday methods for subtle communication are inevitable in making sense of another person in both focused and unfocused interaction, and are especially crucial in subtle tactile communication.

2.2.3 Using the natural attitude and researcher’s body as analytical tool to study embodied interaction

The reason why I am able to understand the other person’s body and existence ‘beginning with’ the body proper, the reason why the compresence of my “consciousness” and my “body” is prolonged into the compresence of my self and the other person, is that the ‘I am able to’ and the ‘the other person exists’ belong

³⁹ In conversation analysis, this has been called the rule of minimization or economic efficiency of actions (Sacks and Schegloff 1973).

⁴⁰ Conversation analysts have noted that delays in the progressivity of talk are often treated as somehow marked or ‘dispreferred’ (Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 2007).

here and now to the same world, that the body proper is a premonition of the other person. (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 175)

A culture is an apparatus for generating recognizable actions; if the same procedures are used for generating as for detecting, that is perhaps as simple a solution to the problem of recognisability as is formulatable.⁴¹ (Sacks 1992a: 226)

Human beings are usually able to ‘know what that another is doing, why (s)he does it now and under these circumstances’ (Schütz and Luckmann 1973: 15). This ability has been explained by, among other things, our belonging to a shared culture (Sacks 1992a: 226), our inherent intercorporeal interconnectedness with other human beings (Merleau-Ponty 1964) or our ability to kinaesthetically empathize (Reynolds and Reason 2012) with another person’s movements thanks to the mirror neuron system⁴² (Rizzolatti and Craighero 2004; Rizzolatti et al. 2001). Stuart (2012: 79) has suggested that as mirror neurons enable us to enkinaesthetically co-feel with others, they make us natural ‘heterophenomenologists’ (cf. Dennett 2003: 19). A major part of this ability stems from the fact that people in everyday life do not doubt the meaningfulness of other persons’ actions, unless there is a special motivation to do so. Phenomenologists following Husserl (1982) have called this manner in which people go about their everyday lives by ‘suspending their doubts’ the natural attitude (e.g. Garfinkel 1963: 210–217; Schütz 1962: 207–259). By contrast, the scientific attitude refers to the principled doubt within which scientists ‘put the world into brackets’ – that is, scientists make up their minds to suspend their beliefs about world’s existence for analytical purposes (Husserl 1982; Schütz 1962: 104–105).

The conversation analytic tradition represented especially by Emanuel Schegloff (e.g. 1992, 1997) has implicitly taken a scientific attitude towards social phenomena by emphasizing that only the ‘explicit’ orientations of study participants can be taken into account in analysis. While there is certainly great variety in the conversation analytic field, some of Schegloff’s early studies have had a major influence. This has meant that only actions that are regarded as explicitly communicative – such as

⁴¹ This quotation from Sacks (1992a) comes from his famous lecture on a child’s story (‘The baby cried. The mommy picked it up’), given in spring 1966. Sacks discusses in detail how we are able to immediately make a connection between the categories ‘child’ and ‘mommy’ in these two sentences.

⁴² It has been suggested that the mirror neuron system functions both as a system for action imitation and as a basis for action understanding. This means that when an observer sees an action by another individual, the neurons that represent the same action are also activated in the observer’s premotor cortex. Therefore, the mirror neuron system is defined by the function of simulation understood as matching, i.e. an intracranial match between observation mode and action mode (Gallagher 2016: 166, 169; Rizzolatti and Craighero 2004: 170–172; Rizzolatti et al. 2001; Streeck and Jordan 2009: 96; Stuart 2012: 178).

spoken language, hand gestures and certain types of gaze work – have been the primary focus of analysis, as their relevance to participants in interactions has been easiest to verify. However, if taken to its extreme, this understanding neglects the body as an inherently communicative corporeality, regarding bodies as mere instruments of action (cf. Streeck 2013). Furthermore, the way explicit action is understood often arises from the perspective of the researcher rather than the interaction participants themselves, even though actions that are not easily accessible to the analyst may be easily accessible and very explicit for the interactors. Thus, in this type of scientific attitude, the primary concern has seemed to be not necessarily with how to recognize social actions, but with how to scientifically verify them. As Heritage (2012) and Levinson (2013) suggest, for example, the insistence on observable provability has led to challenges in verifying social actions (Heritage 2012; Levinson 2013). As Levinson (2013: 105) suggests regarding the identification of social actions in conversation analysis (CA), ‘identification is largely based on an appeal to our knowledge as societal “members” or conversational practitioners. This loose hermeneutics is the soft underbelly of CA, and it is one of the reasons that other disciplines sometimes think of CA as a branch of the occult.’ If defining social actions in terms of ‘scientifically verified’, explicit, observable conduct is already treated as challenging, one can only imagine how challenging – or even impossible – it would be to define social actions in unfocused, non-verbal or otherwise more implicit embodied communication. As Andrén (2017: 111) points out:

From within the scientific attitude, action understanding is guided by principled doubt and observed behaviour is only treated as ‘communicative’ if explicit evidence can be presented that supports this conclusion. The fact that it may seem to be communicative to those involved in the interaction is, in a curious way, not considered as relevant.

Following this line of thought, this study holds that interaction analysis – at least when it considers phenomena as subtle as tactile communication – cannot, and does not need to, solely rest on ‘explicit’ observability for it to constitute serious interaction analysis or interaction science. This does not mean abandoning the grounding of the analysis in data; to the contrary, it means acknowledging the role of the researcher’s own natural attitude – an initial embodied ability to make sense of the natural attitude of the research participants. Therefore, it means acknowledging that the researcher as an embodied being is not separate from the social world that she studies, and that she is thus to some extent able to interpret the implicitly communicative meaning of embodied behaviour through her own bodily

knowledge and empathetic⁴³ ability (see Katila and Raudaskoski n.d.; Trevarthen and Aitken 2001).

Andrén (2017: 111) continues:

When one is trying to understand how human communication works, it should be kept in mind that the ‘default’ habitat of social interaction is the natural attitude. The suspension of doubt, or rather no doubt to begin with, that is associated with this attitude is an important reason for why the other is in a sense open to us and vice versa, because it creates no artificial boundaries between self, world, and other.

Following Andrén (2017), I suggest that rather than invoking principled doubt, social scientists should come closer to suspending it. While the scientific attitude might sometimes artificially make a study seem more objective and thus perhaps upgrade its status in the scientific world, it does not entirely capture how the world works in everyday face-to-face encounters. This of course is nothing new for ethnomethodologists or micro interaction analysts. But because it has been taboo to apply these observations in scientific work, we find ourselves treating problems in the analysis of social actions as a ‘loose underbelly’ (cf. Levinson 2013: 105). Nevertheless, as shown in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, the founder of conversation analysis, Harvey Sacks himself (1992a: 226), understood that our cultural knowledge was our apparatus for both generating and recognizing social actions.

However, this does not mean that interactors have direct access to each other’s intentions, and nor do analysts who look at the data while detached from its moment-by-moment unfolding intercorporeality (cf. Andrén 2017: 107–109). I am therefore not suggesting that researchers like me have direct access to the meaning of research participants’ embodied behaviour, especially given that I only have visual access to tactile actions.⁴⁴ In other words, a researcher is never able to access research participants’ experience in the same manner as they access each other, through the natural attitude, in a common vivid present (cf. Ingold 2011: 75; Schütz 1962: 253–259) and from their unique, historical living bodies. Instead, I am suggesting that embodied experiences of corporeally and/or culturally understandable social phenomena that any interaction analyst can recognize while watching data should be explicitly acknowledged as evidence for the existence of those social phenomena.

⁴³ Following phenomenologist Edith Stein (1989), I understand empathy as as a way of feeling oneself into the experience of the other person (ibid; Svenaeus 2018).

⁴⁴ Even though I was one of the research participants myself – and in this study I also discuss two extracts in Chapter 6 where I partly analyse my own tactile behaviour – I can no longer remember what the moment felt like while it was happening.

This means openly using researchers' bodies as analytical tools for their own investigations (cf. De Jaegher et al. 2016). In one way, this is self-evident and already happening, as Harvey Sacks (1992a, 1992b) pointed out. But I would argue that there still exist certain ways in which researchers' embodied experiences and knowledge are not treated as scientific methods.

To sum up, I use the video analysis of naturally occurring interactions (e.g. Heath et al. 2010) to study how mothers and children live through tactile practices, both in an effortless, unmarked manner and in effortful, marked manner (Cuffari and Streeck 2017). This kind of tactile metacommunication (Bateson 1972) is often accomplished at a seen but unnoticed level (Garfinkel 1963: 217, 1967: 36, 1996: 11). Hence, interactors are constantly mutually monitoring (Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135) each other's actions through tactile communication. This type of intercorporeal process (Meyer et al. 2017) enables continuous subtle negotiation while co-experiencing the other in tactile co-presence (M.H Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018) or at tactile homebase (Katila 2018). The amount of effort, together with the temporal order of the tactile practices, is analysed through the researcher's own embodied knowledge, as close as possible to the natural attitude (Andrén 2017; Schütz 1962, 1964).

3 TACTILE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN MOTHERS AND CHILDREN AS PRACTICES FOR INTIMACY AND PARTICIPATION

This chapter introduces the most basic practice that mothers and children enacted in the group to organize themselves in space: tactile arrangements. Tactile arrangements refer to different manners in which mothers and children arrange their bodies in relation to each other and other group members in and through tactile intercorporeality. In these arrangements, any parts of mothers' and children's bodies can be touching, and they can be either temporally short active touches or longer periods of passive touching through tactile co-being in space (cf. Gibson 1962). While corporeal arrangement refers to corporeal relations of bodies in general, or how bodies are positioned in different kinds of co-embodied ensemble (de León 2012; Ochs et al. 2005), tactile arrangement is a type of corporeal arrangement that occurs and/or is managed through tactile contact⁴⁵. Although mothers and children were not constantly located in tactile arrangements, this chapter focuses particularly on episodes when they were. In this chapter, I will describe these tactile arrangements in general level, to set a background for Chapters 4–6, which study in detail how these arrangements were initiated, negotiated and otherwise transited, and how mothers and children in the group communicated with each other through tactile arrangements.

⁴⁵ Equivalent concept adopted by M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2018: Chapter 10.1) is haptic formation. The researchers describe haptic formations as families' haptic practices for mere "being with" another in their homes, such as when family members read stories or attend bedtime routines together. Given that M.H Goodwin and Cekaite (2018) study families' routines mostly at people's homes and in this study the setting is institutionally organized (reference), in terms of House of Girls' group practices, the type of interaction and setting in this study is quite different from M.H Goodwin and Cekaite's (2018) study, although complementary. In the mothers and their children's group studied in this research, tactile "being with" provides the mothers and children with a platform to constantly co-experience and communicate with each other through touch, *while* the mothers orient to activities targeted at adult group members. In other words, the official main involvement in the group is not tactile intimacy, like it is often the case for instance in bedtime routines. Instead, the mother and children's tactile intimacy is part of them mere being located in the group session room in tactile homebase (Katila 2018).

This chapter will establish that in tactile arrangements, bodies being with each other is inseparable of communication. I will reflect on the communicative affordances of various tactile arrangements, both for the parties involved in the tactile arrangement through the division of muscular effort, and as visual embodiments of certain relationships for co-present others (cf. Goffman (1971), who calls such corporeal embodiments of relationship's tie signs⁴⁶). Therefore, even though framing various types of tactile intercorporealities as arrangements is certainly an outside viewer's perspective (the participants hardly think of their moment-by-moment unfolding tactile co-being in terms of arrangements), the goal here is to describe these various types of tactile intercorporealities in terms of their both tactile and visual communicative affordances. As will be suggested throughout the book, tactile arrangements afford the mothers and children in the group with an opportunity to continuously co-experience each other. In addition, they enable a basis for subtle tactile communication through sense of touch. Accordingly, the bodies mere being with each other in tactile arrangements is inherently communicative.

In this chapter, I will ask:

1. What kinds of tactile intercorporealities do mothers and children in the group produce through various tactile arrangements and attention formations?
2. What kinds of opportunity do these various tactile arrangement-formation gestalts afford for mothers and children in terms of performing and co-living different intercorporeal intimacies and group participations?

I have divided this chapter into five sections (3.1–3.5), including a conclusion. In 3.1, I describe how I identified cases of body-to-body contact from the data, and what kind of tactile arrangements the mothers and children formed in the group sessions. I describe three different tactile arrangements – nested tactile arrangement, side-by-side tactile arrangement and distant tactile arrangement – which I identified from the data according to differences in the levels of intimacy and the affordances for tactile communication that they provided for the mothers and children. The next three sections (3.2–3.4) introduce and describe the three main types of attention formation that I found in all of the above-mentioned tactile arrangements. These attention formations consist of face-to-face formation (3.2), joint attention or joint action formation (3.3) and (aligned and disaligned) separate attention formation

⁴⁶ Goffman (1971: 194) argues that participants in a social relationship are accountable for making their relationship publicly evident, both to each other and to others, through various tie signs, which can involve things such as objects, acts, expressions and postures.

(3.4). In the chapter's conclusion (3.5), I summarize the main features of the different arrangement-formation couplings and specify the research questions addressed in the analytical chapters (Chapters 4–6).

3.1 Tactile arrangements coupled with various types of attention formation

This chapter covers occasions in the group sessions where visually observable body-to-body contact occurs between mothers and children. Following Fleck and Chavajay (cited in Berghner and Cekaite 2017: 6), episodes of touch are defined as 'any form of body to body contact between individuals', and I found 533 such episodes in total in the data. In addition to this definition, which refers to direct body-to-body contact, this study also takes into account bodily contacts that are mediated through an object. This is because the object of this study is not merely touch per se, but practices that occur in or through touch, including for instance haptic practices for exchanging objects (see Chapter 6). In any case, the identification of episodes of touch as separate events in the above-mentioned manner is purely technical, and should not be taken as descriptions of how such touches are experienced. I therefore use this identification so as to be able to generally describe the different types of tactile arrangement that exist in the group. In practice, and for the participants in body-to-body contact, single 'touches' are often hard and/or irrelevant to separate, as they are part of a continuum of tactile flow where many parts of (the child's and the mother's) bodies touch and are touched at the same time. As Merleau-Ponty (1962: 93) suggests, when one is touching and being touched at the same time, this is not just two sensations felt together but an 'ambiguous setup' in which the roles of touching and being touched alternate.⁴⁷ Given that episodes of touch are therefore parts of tactile intercorporealities, rather than concentrating on touch as one body's action upon the other, in this study I understand such episodes as bodies' collaborative productions where the roles of touching and being touched (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1968) are inherently coupled⁴⁸ (cf. C. Goodwin 2007).

⁴⁷ An often-cited (e.g. Gallagher 2016: 162; M.H. Goodwin 2017: 73; Radcliffe 2008: 87–88) example from Merleau-Ponty (1962: 93, 1968) considers self-touch, and how, when a body touches one hand with the other, it is not just a matter of 'double sensation' – the ability to touch and sense at the same time – but of both hands' ability to alternate between those roles. Nevertheless, as Gallagher (2016: 163) elaborates, Merleau-Ponty (1968: 141–142) extrapolates this notion of the hands of the same body touching each other into something that to some extent exists between two bodies as well.

⁴⁸ I use the word *coupled* according to the logic that C. Goodwin (2007: 195) introduced in the expression *environmentally coupled gestures* – gestures that cannot be understood outside the structure of

Therefore, while cases of touch are identified in the above-mentioned manner (Fleck and Chavajay cited in Berghner and Cekaite 2017: 6), the analytical unit adopted here is the tactile arrangement. Moreover, the types of tactile arrangement identified here are also to be understood as clusters on a continuum of the (always to some extent unique) manners in which living bodies can be in touch with each other, in the moment-by-moment unfolding corporeal ecologies that they live.

I have distinguished between different tactile clusters according to both the distance between mother and child when the touch occurs and the intercorporeally different experiences they afford in terms of intimacy. These clusters contain three different types of experiences of intimacy. First, nested tactile arrangements refer to cases where the child is located on her mother's body. Second, side-by-side tactile arrangements (cf. de León 2012; Kendon 1990: 211; Ochs et al. 2005: 555–556; Scheflen 1972 31–33) consist of cases where the mother and child are located with their side bodies touching each other. Finally, distant tactile arrangements cover cases where either the mother's or the child's limb produces a distant tactile link between the bodies (see Figure 1). Even though there is often no sharp division between these various intimacy zones, they feel different in bodies, and they provide different opportunities for the bodies' tactile communication. For instance, co-living through a nested tactile arrangement is enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2010, 2012, 2017a, 2017b) and intercorporeally (Merleau-Ponty 1962) different from co-living through a side-by-side or distant tactile arrangement, because each of these tactile arrangements affords different options for the mother and child to perform, co-live and negotiate corporeal relationships, both in relation to each other and in relation to other group members.

the environment to which they are tied. However, I redeploy it at a slightly different level: for instance, when I say that corporeal agencies *couple* in tactile arrangements or co-embodied gestalts, I mean that the arrangements are only understood as co-embodied gestalts as a result of the coupling of two bodies.

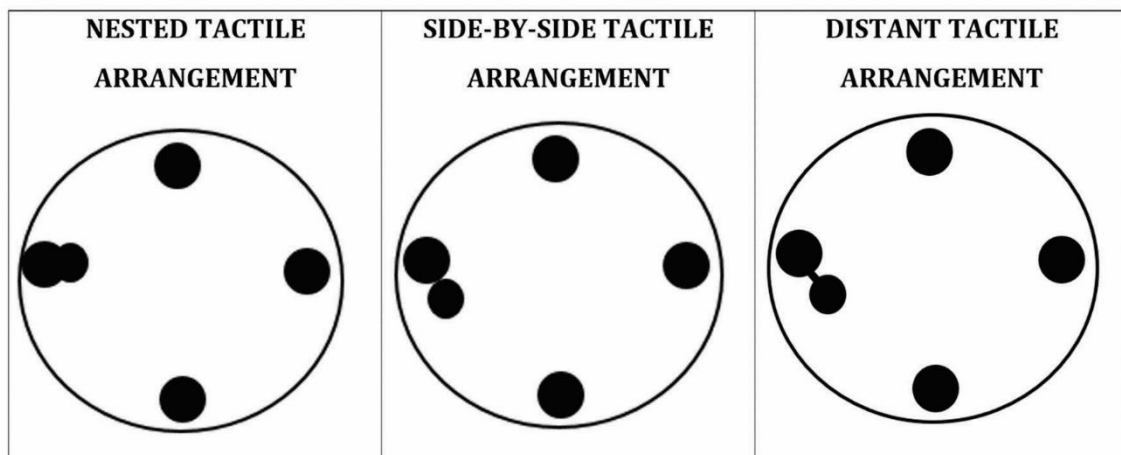


Figure 1. Tactile arrangements.⁴⁹

In a nested tactile arrangement, a child entrusts her body weight to her mother, who then passively carries the child's weight. This asymmetrical division of labour in terms of muscular effort results in the complementary roles of 'carrying' and 'being carried'; thus intercorporeal agencies in nested tactile arrangements couple in a manner that implicitly calls for the roles of caregiver and child. Furthermore, nested tactile arrangements between caregivers and young children are often completely habitualized (cf. Bourdieu 1977), in the sense that they are part of the bodies' continuous co-living in and through intercorporeal ecosystems. In these relationship-specific ecosystems, the caregiver's body is experienced as a nest or 'home' for the child. Therefore, nested tactile arrangement as a body-to-body-specific relationship practice is also referred to in this study as nested homebase (Katila 2018).

Like nested homebase, side-by-side tactile arrangement or side-by-side homebase also enables the bodies to constantly mutually monitor (Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135) each other through tactile co-presence. However, the intercorporeal experience in side-by-side homebase is radically different from nested homebase, since in the former neither the child's nor the mother's body weight rests on the other body.

⁴⁹ The arrangements identified in this study group partly converged with the corporeal arrangements identified by Ochs et al. (2005): face-to-face, nested and side-by-side arrangements. However, Ochs et al.'s primary focus is to discuss how the arrangements are part of cultural habitus (Bourdieu 1977), and how this habitus affects the communicative development of autistic children. In this study, rather than discussing outwards or face-to-face orientation on a cultural level and (its effects on) the communicative abilities of children, the focus on the corporeal or tactile arrangements identified (Figure 1) concentrates on the differences in the arrangements' tactile intimacy.

Therefore, the type of tactile experience in side-by-side nested homebase lacks the sensation of carrying and being carried, and consequently lacks the sensation of an asymmetrical division of muscular effort. Hence, in side-by-side homebase, the enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2010, 2012, 2017a, 2017b) and intercorporeally (Merleau-Ponty 1962) experienced muscular effort is arguably coupled between the bodies in a more symmetrical way, as the arrangement is not based on one body carrying the other.

Meanwhile, in the distant tactile arrangement, the intercorporeal agency is more analogous to a companionship between bodies' ecosystems, as the distance between the bodies affords each body the ability to be mobile without its movement being constantly sensed by the other body. Thus, in a sense, the distant tactile arrangement affords the bodies greater corporeal independence.

Laminated with various types of tactile arrangement, mothers and children in the group position their faces, torsos and other body parts relative to each other and the environment in various ways, creating an unlimited number of options for moment-by-moment unfolding co-embodied arrangements that are constantly (re)moulded, as living bodies constantly move (Sheets-Johnstone 2009). Let me briefly describe this wide continuum of different manners in which the bodies of mothers and children in the group arranged their bodies in relation to each other, taking as my example different face-torso relations in nested tactile arrangements.

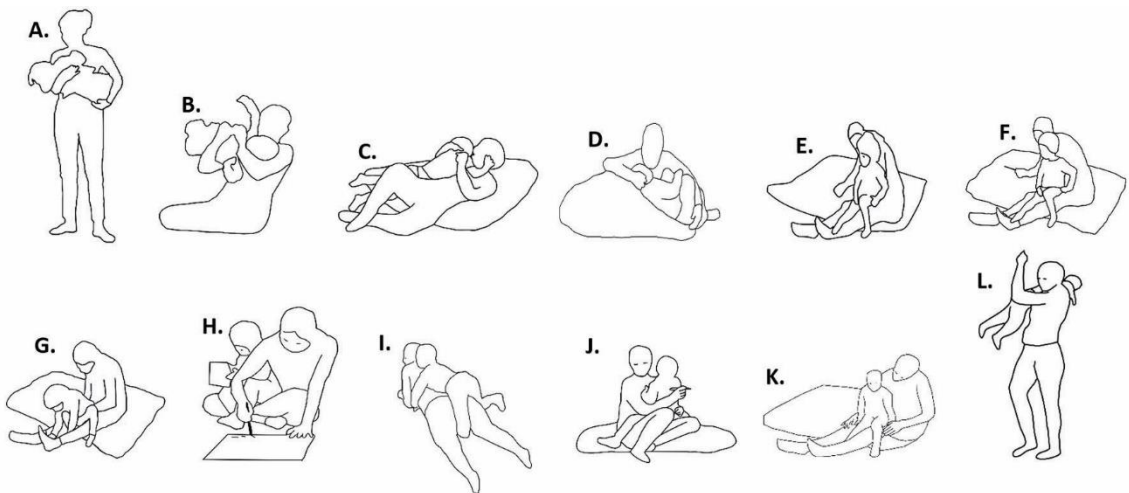


Figure 2. Nested tactile arrangements

The episodes of nested tactile homebase in the group sessions encompassed, for instance, cases of the child lying in her mother's arms like a baby (Figure 2, image A); the mother lifting, twisting and kissing her child as part of an affective and playful encounter (Figure 2, image B); or a child resting on her supine mother while a similar affective-playful encounter occurred (Figure 2, image C). Moreover, sometimes this kind of affective touch (Berghnehr and Cekaite 2017: 7) occurred in an embracing formation (Cekaite and Holm 2017: 113) of sitting nested homebase (Figure 2, image D). As exemplified in image E, the child and mother could be sitting in a nested homebase that coupled with a visually managed face-to-face orientation (Schefflen 1972). Moreover, mother and child could be in a joint attention formation with their torsos and faces directed towards the same third object (image F). Alternatively, they could engage in a joint activity formation, which differs from joint attention formation in that participants in a joint activity formation are conducting a joint activity, often with their own task-relevant items (image G): thus, in joint activity formation mother and child are not necessarily attending to the exact same third object at the same time. Image H represents an occasion where mother and child are sitting on the floor, whereas in image I the mother is lying on the floor. Both images H and I still exemplify cases where mother and child have their torsos and heads facing in separate directions in separate attention formations. Image J shows an example where most of the child's and mother's bodies (except their faces) encounter each other while the mother has her hands around the child, controlling the child's body (e.g. Berghnehr and Cekaite 2017; Cekaite 2016) and thereby enabling the mother to participate in a group task. Image K shows how mother and child could have their bodies facing in asymmetrical or disaligning directions, whereas image L is an example of a mother-child asymmetrical vehicular unit (Goffman 1971: 6–11): their conflicting interaction projects are shown in how the mother lifts and carries her boy, while he protests at being carried through his snaking body movement.

Besides their great variety, a preliminary interpretation based on the comparison of these tactile arrangements is that the intercorporeally coupled agency in them, and thus also the amount of corporeal effort invested in them, feels different in the bodies. The differences might be due, for example, to the mother's posture (standing, sitting or lying down), the particular body parts that are touching (stomach, back, thighs, chest, neck, face, arms), the type of touch adopted (active lifting or passive tactile co-presence) (cf. Gibson 1962), the quality of touch incorporated (gentleness, control, affection), the type of ongoing action (cuddling, playful encounter, joint action, control of the other's body), and the other senses

available and/or active (vision, smell, hearing). All of these aspects are embedded with meanings that are experienced directly in tactile intercorporeality. These meanings are manifested and felt through bodies' continuous movement, which provides an opportunity for subtle tactile communication. Even if, as suggested in Chapter 2, this tactile experience is not directly available to the analyst, it is reachable through indirect empathetic co-living of the cases through the analyst's body.

Tactile intercorporeality is experienced through varying levels of tactile intimacy, which is coupled with and affords different types of visually mediated interactions. Therefore, even though the nested tactile arrangements exemplified in Figure 2 are primarily mediated through tactile intercorporeality, they are also practices for visually mediated communication. The adjustment of bodies in certain manners in relation to each other either enables or disables visual access. Indeed, as suggested in Chapter 2, visual access – or the lack of it – has been found to be one of the primary mediums for participants in face-to-face encounters to live, perform and negotiate over moment-by-moment unfolding participations or statuses in participation frameworks (e.g. Goffman 1963, 1971, 1981; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004). In the group sessions in this study, visually mediated participation seemed to be a primary means of managing participation in official group tasks and other interactions between adult group members. However, as will be discussed later, gaze direction was also crucial in negotiations over engagement between mothers and their children.

While Figure 2. clearly shows that the manner in which mothers and children arranged their heads and torsos in relation to each other was a continuum, for the sake of clarity and comparison I have divided the face-torso attention formations into clusters of visual participation. These clusters of attention zones, which intersect with different tactile arrangements, encompass face-to-face formation, joint attention and joint action formations, and separate attention formation. Taken together with the continuum of tactile intimacies (nested, side-by-side and distant tactile arrangements), the three attention zones can be divided into nine attention formation-tactile arrangement clusters, set out in Figure 3.

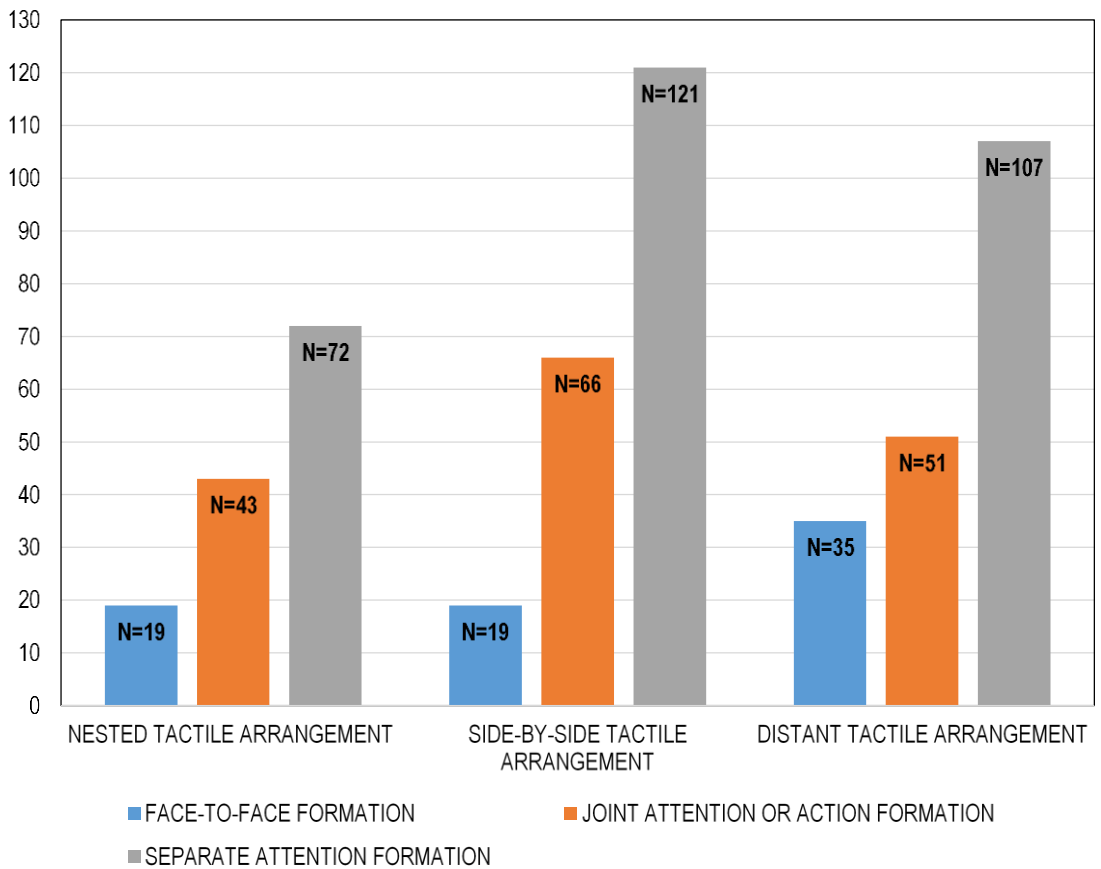


Figure 3. Attention formations coupled with tactile arrangements.

As shown in Figure 3. (and specified in Appendix B), among the attention formations between mothers and children, face-to-face-formations (N=73, 14% of all cases) occurred the least often, while separate attention formations (N=300, 56% of all cases) were the commonest type of attention formation. Among tactile arrangements, side-by-side tactile arrangements were the most prevalent (N=206, 39%), while nested tactile arrangements (N=134, 25%) were the rarest. Among the nine clusters, the single commonest mother-child attention formation-tactile arrangement combination was separate attention formation with side-by-side tactile arrangement (N=121, 22% of all 533 cases). Initially, these numbers are in alignment with the quality of the group’s multi-activity setting: the main involvement (Goffman 1963: 43) in the group was the mothers and tutor conducting various art-based group

tasks, which were mostly mediated through visual and verbal interaction. Accordingly, the setting left fewer visual resources for mother-child interactions, and thus invited tactile interaction between mothers and children. As for the relative curio of nested tactile arrangements, these tactile arrangements seemed to be the least economical manner for mothers and children to co-locate themselves, as the mothers were constantly engaged in group tasks that required the availability of their full bodies.

Next, in Sections 3.2–3.4, I further describe the three different attention zones found in the data, and exemplify how they could intersect with different tactile arrangements, forming unique couplings of tactile intimacy and facial mutuality. In Section 3.2 I exemplify different kinds of face-to-face formation on a continuum of tactile arrangements. In Section 3.3 I discuss the kinds of joint attention or action formations that exist in various tactile arrangements. Finally, in Section 3.4, I elaborate how separate attention formations are managed in different tactile arrangements, and how these separate attention formations can be further subdivided into aligning and disaligning formations.

3.2 Face-to-face formations in tactile arrangements

Different types of tactile arrangements couple (C. Goodwin 2007) with different face-to-face formations⁵⁰ (Scheflen 1972: 27), moulding the bodies into unique corporeal or interkinaesthetic gestalts (cf. Voigt cited in Wedelstaedt and Meyer 2017: 107–108). These gestalts are experienced through different body parts' movements, which are always designed in relation to each other in somewhat novel ways. These unique distributions of tactile and visual intimacy, laminated with the type of ongoing activity for which the arrangement provides a platform, together produce a moment-by-moment unfolding subtle communication between bodies through intercorporeal experience. Figure 4. provides a brief overview of the

⁵⁰ Face-to-face formations or engagements (Goffman 1963: 83, 88–89; Heath 1986: 80; Kendon 1990: 209–212) refers to bodies physical coming together and orientating towards each other. Sometimes face-to-face formations are defined according to lower bodies' orientations; hence within them an individual can still rotate her head and shoulders. In this study, face-to-face formation is understood similarly to Scheflen's (1972) face-to-face orientation, that refers to cases where the participants 'look at or toward each other' (Scheflen 1972: 27).

continuum of different types of coupling between face-to-face formations and tactile arrangements found in the data.

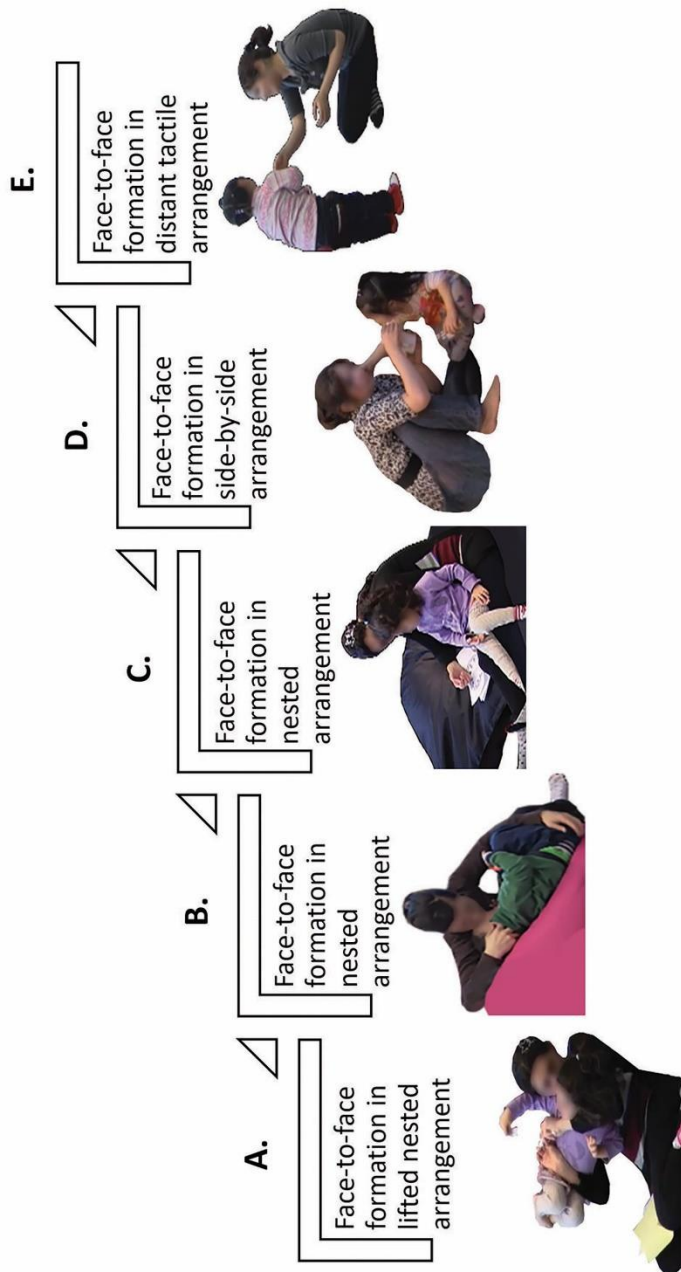


Figure 4. Face-to-face formations in tactile arrangements.

Image A in Figure 4. exemplifies one of the most intimate moments of mutuality between mothers and children in the group sessions. In this image, mother and child are in a nested tactile arrangement that couples with a tactilely mediated face-to-face formation. In the moment captured in the image, the mother lifts her child into an intensified huddle or ‘embracing formation’ (cf. Cekaite and Holm 2017: 113; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018) and plants kisses all over her child’s face. Together with the child’s awkward position, the large amount of muscular effort that the mother observably invests in the movement indicates that the arrangement has a short life cycle. Therefore, it is treated by both mother and child as producing a departure from a resting posture. Accordingly, the arrangement seems to be experienced as an intensified intercorporeality that consists of playfully and gently forceful affectionate touch (cf. Bergnehr and Cekaite 2017: 7) or playful affection (Jones and Yarborough 1985: 40). Furthermore, given that the mother applies considerable corporeal force while scooping her child into her arms, her action also implies an expectation on her part of mutual trust⁵¹ (Goffman 1971: 17) that the other person will situate the ‘forcing’ into the affection huddle and the ‘torturing’ with kisses in a play frame (Bateson 1972). The child responds in an appropriate manner, flooding out⁵² (Goffman 1961: 50–55) with scream-laughter that relevantly ‘as-if dislikes’ the affection-torture, while at the same time still making evident the fakeness of the disliking.

Image B in Figure 4. is another example of the mutuality of heightened intimacy embodied in an embracing formation (Cekaite and Holm 2017: 113). However, in image B, the mother evidently incorporates less muscular effort than in image A: in image B the child is resting on her sitting mother, while in image A the mother lifts the child’s whole body, an action requiring considerably more muscular effort.

⁵¹Goffman (1971: 17) talks about mutual trust in the context of the pedestrian walking system – the voluntary and routinized coordination of walking trajectories to avoid collision. Nevertheless, mutual trust regarding orientation to relationship-specific routines of moving and being together can be found in any setting.

⁵² According to Goffman (1961: 50) *flooding out* occurs when:

under certain circumstances the individual may allow his manner to be inundated by a flow of affect that he no longer makes a show of concealing. The matter in which he has been affecting disinvolvement suddenly becomes too much for him, and he collapses, if only momentarily, into a person not mobilized to sustain an appropriate expressive role in the current interaction; he floods out. Whether the individual bursts out crying or laughing, whether he erupts into open anger, shame, impatience, boredom, or anguish, he radically alters his general support of the interaction; he is momentarily out of play.

Nevertheless, the tactile arrangement in image B is also produced as a break from resting homebase – a sequentially evolving cycle into, and back from, an intensified huddle (M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; cf. Chapter 4). The extended intimacy in these two arrangements is most evident in the application of touch to extremely touch-sensitive areas – lips, cheek and other areas of the face (cf. Cekaite 2018). Furthermore, both these arrangements imply an asymmetrical coupling of corporeal muscular effort, creating and being created upon an intercorporeal trust that is a common characteristic of intimate relationships. Accordingly, in the most intimate moment, rather than the mutuality being coordinated through gaze, tactile intercorporeality takes place (Cekaite and Holm 2017).

In image C in Figure 4., mother and child assemble into a face-to-face formation (Schefflen 1972: 27) while in a nested tactile arrangement, but the two intercorporeal zones – lower bodies touching in a homebase, and heads torqueing (Schegloff 1998⁵³) to face each other – seem to be parts of temporally different interaction projects. Consequently, the ongoing homebase touch (the child sitting on her mother) is part of the child's 'mere sitting' in space, using her mother's body as a 'chair' in a resting position (Streeck, 2018), while the body torque couples temporally (C. Goodwin 2007) with verbal interaction. Using the mother as a chair does not seem to play a direct role in the action incorporated through face-to-face formation, but the nested arrangement implies a type of intimacy that may be more primary and temporally longer-lasting. Thus, being able to merely 'be located' on another person, in the same way that one can be located on a chair or some other piece of one's environment, shows fundamental corporeal trust in the person one's body weight is on.

Another type of routinized intimacy takes place in image D, where mother and child face each other in a side-by-side tactile arrangement, and the mother – who has turned her face towards her child and away from a group activity just a moment before – gives her daughter the next portion of a drink, in face-to-face formation. The mother thus manages two overlapping involvements (Goffman 1963) – participating in the group activity, and giving her child something to drink – by orienting to the temporal order of those activities, such as the enkinaesthetic estimation of the time it usually takes to swallow a drink through a straw⁵⁴ (cf.

⁵³ Schegloff (1998: 536) defines 'divergent orientations of the body sectors above and below the neck and waist' as body torques. Schegloff (1998) suggests that lower bodies' orientations indicate a more temporally extended and fundamental commitment, whereas upper-body torques refer to temporary orientations that unfold moment-by-moment.

⁵⁴ According to Gibson (1966: 100), 'the remarkable fact is that when a man touches something with a stick he *feels* it at the end of the stick, not in the hand' (emphasis in original; see also Katz 1989: 121).

Gibson 1966: 100). These two overlapping touches – the temporally longer-lasting side-by-side touch, and the instrument-mediated touch through the straw – are laminated with yet another tactile contact as the child touches her mother’s ear. This ear-touch is produced in a manner that does not seem to be directed at her mother as a person but seems to be an active, exploratory touch⁵⁵ (Gibson 1962: 477; Cuffari and Streeck 2017: 175) afforded by the ear (Gibson 1986). The unproblematic manner in which the child touches her mother implies her being permitted to do so; the touch seems like touching any tangible object that affords experimentation.

Finally, in image E, the mother and child are in a mutual intercorporeality that is mediated through distant tactile arrangement and face-to-face formation (Schefflen 1972: 27). Furthermore, it is laminated with the mother’s positive facial expressions that colour the encounter with a play frame (Bateson 1972). Moreover, before the moment captured in image E, the mother and child were not sitting together in tactile co-presence, and the image thus represents a case where bodies come together into an eye-to-eye ecological huddle (Goffman 1963: 95), laminating this mutual gaze with an object-mediated distant tactile link. The lack of previous tactile togetherness not only seems to heighten the mutuality of this encounter, but also enables the bodies to ‘come together’ in the first place. Nevertheless, although the moment captured in image E is explicitly treated as play, the child actually subtly controls her mother’s attention through tactile contact: the child has taken an activity-relevant item from her mother, and the mother is trying to get it back while the other group members wait to continue the group session.

3.3 Joint attention and joint action formations in tactile arrangements

Attention formations where mother and child either appear to share a relationship with a third object (here referred to as joint attention) or have analogous relationships with their own corresponding objects (here referred to as joint action) can couple with different types of tactile arrangement. In previous research, joint attention has been associated with behaviour where dyads coordinate their interaction by sharing a relationship with objects or events (Bakeman and Adamson 1984: 1278; Kidwell 2011; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007; Mondada 2014d: 121;

⁵⁵ According to Cuffari and Streeck (2017: 175–176), active touches can be understood as a preform of gesture, as they select and shape certain features of an environment in certain way; or to put differently, hand gestures select and shape reality in a certain way through our tactile ability to sense and create things in gestures.

Philipsen 2016; Streeck, 2018; Tomasello 1999: 62). Accordingly, in joint attention, the dyad is moulded into a moment of cooperative action – an intercorporeal We – whose parties share the same focus of attention in the now (Schütz 1964: 25). Joint actions, for their part, have been referred to as actions produced in the coordination of individual actions by two or more people, such as waltzing, playing football, buying an item from a grocery shop, or conducting any verbal interaction project (Clark 1996: 59). As already suggested, here joint action refers to a very specific type of corporeal arrangement: producing similar individual actions together, such as writing on pieces of paper side-by-side.

However, given the special setting of the group sessions (mothers participated in group tasks, while their children could join them if they wanted to but this was not required), I found that joint action and joint attention tactile arrangements occurred on an interesting continuum, where the sharedness of the joint action/attention and the coupling of intercorporeal agencies varied. The group activities were designed specifically for the mothers; although the children were allowed to play with the materials that their mothers were using for group activities, they did not have equal rights to participate in the official group activities. Consequently, even though the mothers and children often assembled themselves into joint attention or joint action formations, they attended to the same object or action with somewhat different interaction projects, epistemic statuses (e.g. Heritage 2012, 2013) and/or understandings of the aboutness of that shared attention. Given this epistemic asymmetry in joint action or joint activity formations, it often seemed that the primary aboutness of the formations for the mothers and children was simply being in tactile contact and experiencing each other in tactile intercorporeality.

Figure 5. shows an overview of various types of ‘jointness’ of co-participation found in the data. These mother-and-child tactile intercorporealities of momentary We-ness embody a continuum: from the child co-participating in joint attention or joint action formations as ‘part of mother’ (nested tactile arrangement), to ‘with mother’ (side-by-side tactile arrangement), to ‘in companionship with mother’ (distant tactile arrangement), to ‘as a corporeally independent unit’ (no tactile arrangement).

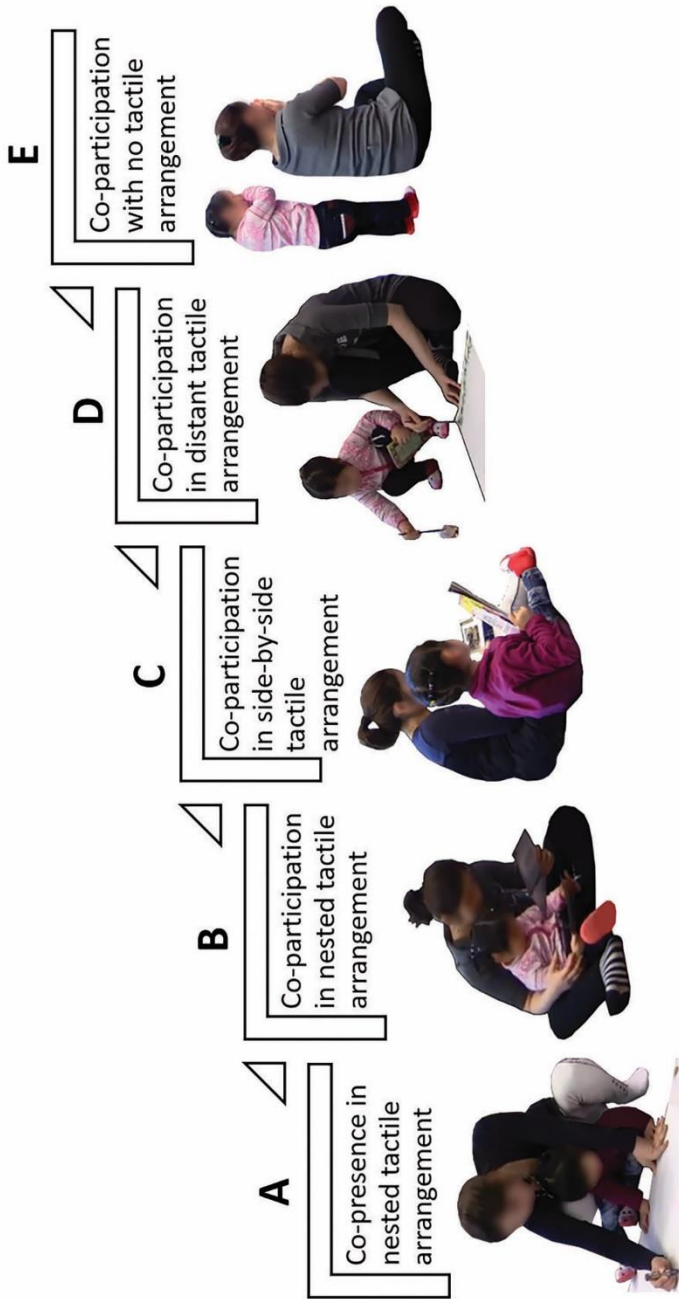


Figure 5. Joint attention and joint action formations in tactile arrangements.

In image A in Figure 5., the mother is conducting a group task in a squatting position, while her child nests between her legs and gazes towards the same point as the mother does. The mother and child thereby have the same target of attention and are able to intercorporeally sense each other's attention through their aligned body postures. However, their attention is not shared in the sense that they are participating in the group task equally or that the sharedness of their attention is the primary 'aboutness' of this tactile arrangement. Instead, the mother and child primarily simply co-live each other's bodies through nested tactile intercorporeality, and the child participates in the group activity by being included in her mother's body, not as a separate participatory unit. In this way, the mother permits – or even presumes – her child's tactile co-presence and allows her to observe the activity, at least as long as she does not interrupt the mother's body movements (see Chapter 4). This arrangement is co-lived in a particularly intimate manner, since the mother and child align to each other's movements as if they were one single corporeal unit. Yet that intercorporeal unit seems to be experientially asymmetrical, in the sense that it calls for the roles of caregiver and dependant. This shows in the manner in which the child is positioned as if she were 'hiding' in safety underneath her mother's crouching body.

In image B of Figure 5., mother and child are in a nested tactile arrangement, with their lower bodies experiencing each other while their bodies are moulded in almost symmetrical or analogous attention formations. Furthermore, they both hold their own group task materials, to which they attend individually but contemporaneously (cf. Schütz 1964: 24–25). Nevertheless, the child did not select the card by herself: just a moment before the occasion captured in image B, the child took the card from her mother's hand, and the mother then allowed her to hold the card. Consequently, the child was able to upgrade her participation status, from mere tactile co-presence and permitted observation (cf. image A in Figure 5.) to co-participation with her own group task material. The mother, for her part, holds her child's body still with a mild control touch (Cekaite 2016; Jones and Yarborough 1985: 41–42) so as to be able to gaze at the card her child is holding.

In image C, the child and mother are sitting next to each other in a side-by-side homebase that couples with a joint action formation through which the two co-participate in a group task with their own group items. Unlike in nested tactile arrangements, in side-by-side tactile arrangements like that exemplified in image C the child and mother share an ecological substrate with each other only partially, from their side bodies. Given that the child has her own magazine – and thus her own one-to-one relationship with the magazine – her posture is somewhat analogous

to the 'official' group members' relationships with their own magazines. Hence, through the side-by-side tactile arrangement in image C, the child and mother collaboratively entitle the child to co-participate with her mother in the group.

In image D, the child and mother are involved in a joint action – a group task that includes painting – while only their hands touch each other as part of the painting trajectory, creating a distant tactile link between the bodies. Given that the touch is thus accounted for by the bodies' activity-related trajectories, it is not an essential part of their locating in space. Instead, the mother-child distant tactile arrangement captured in image D seems to coordinate corporeal companionship between the two.

Finally, in image E, the child is doing the same thing as her mother and other group members – giving herself a head massage – but is doing so as a corporeally independent unit: there is no tactile link between the child and the mother. The episode represented in image E was part of a tutor-led relaxation exercise before the end of a group session. The point of the head self-massage was for each member to temporarily withdraw into her own private space through a haptic link with herself. Interestingly, the child mirrored her mother's and other group members' activity by rubbing her own head while remaining corporeally separate from her mother, thus attending relevantly to the group activity. Moreover, even though she was standing close to her mother, the child was actually located slightly behind her, and thus was in a tactile arrangement that did not afford direct visual access to the mother. Accordingly, the child seemed to be simply participating in the intercorporeality of the group as an individual group member, and hence not co-participating just in order to be in tactile contact with her mother. However, the child still did not inhabit (Dreyfus 1991: 45) the circle at a symmetrical distance from every group member, but instead was located closest to her mother, thereby loosely reproducing a with-relationship with her mother (Goffman 1971).

General observations from the description and analysis of the occasions captured in Figure 5. suggest that mothers and children in the group sessions were parts of different co-participation units in relation to each other, to group activities and to other group members. These co-participation units embodied an intercorporeally coordinated continuity from separation to unity in terms of group participation. Hence, even though these steps of participation are not to be taken as clear-cut participation types, they exemplify the continuum of moment-by-moment co-performed, co-negotiated and co-lived participations, from co-corporeality to separate corporealities. Furthermore, since the multi-activity setting of the group was continuously changing, the mothers and children needed to situationally negotiate

their corporeal relationships to each other and other group members. While participating in the group activities was considered an implicit expectation or criterion for belonging to the corporeal unity of the group, the tactile distance between mothers and children was enacted as an ongoing resource through which mother-child relationships were uncovered. Sometimes (e.g. image A in Figure 5.), the corporeal body-to-body contact seemed to be the primary ‘aboutness’ of being in a nested homebase, whereas at other times the tactile intimacy was harnessed as a vehicle to negotiate over group participation status.

Furthermore, the children were able to upgrade their participatory statuses (Goffman 1981) in the group by mirroring their mothers’ and other participants’ actions. By doing this, the children could participate skilfully in the group’s practices, without necessarily needing to understand the actual aboutness of those practices – or the wider network of practices to which certain specific practice units belonged (cf. Scollon 2001). In these cases, recognizing the locally relevant routine provided a resource to claim participation (Lerner et al. 2011). For example, Lerner et al. (2011: 56) found that a toddler was able to claim inclusion as a ‘ratified diner’ in a mealtime activity by taking advantage of the sequential order of food distribution, suggesting that an ‘unfolding mealtime routine can form a highly structured task-based activity context for the actions of very young children’. In a similar vein in my study, recognition of the temporal order and aboutness of different group activities provided a resource for children to participate and be included in the group. At the same time, the children’s attention in the interkinaesthetic gestalt provided the mothers with an opportunity to tactilely monitor their children’s actions, and consequently enabled the mothers to function in the group without the distractions that would be likely to arise if the children were denied access to group task-relevant items such as paint and colouring pens.

The manner in which the children in this study co-participated in different joint action and joint attention formations with their mothers, in tactile co-presence with them, resembles de León’s (1998, 2012) ethnographic study of the participation frameworks of Zinacantec Mayan infants and their mothers. Concentrating on prelinguistic infants’ early socialization and communicative competence, de León (1998, 2012) shows that long before children produce language, they already emerge as competent co-participants in routinized activity with their mothers. For instance, in a detailed analysis, de León reveals that a child is able to orient her gaze and body, relevantly and in temporal synchrony with her mother, to a shared field of interaction, or to a third person/object with which she is interacting in a spatio-temporal unit with her mother. De León (1998: 134) uses the term ‘embedded

speaker' to refer to the child as an implied participant in tripartite interactions in situations where the child co-participates in social encounters with her mother in this way. Moreover, de León also suggests that constant tactile co-presence between caregiver and child provides a context for ongoing, tactilely mediated subtle communication. As an example, she describes the subtle embodied communication between Mayan mothers and their babies, who are often wrapped in a cotton or woollen 'skirt' without a nappy. This tactile co-presence enables mothers to detect their babies' bodily functions immediately, and a child can 'let her caregiver know' when she wants to urinate. Then, as de León (1998: 139) describes: 'the caregiver reacts by taking the child away from herself and often unwrapping it to change its "skirt". Here is a "communicative" situation that can develop into a semiotically mediated routine involving the alignment of both parties.' Thus, as de León (1998) suggests, ongoing tactile contact can not only enable the continuous confirmation of the other person's co-presence, but can also provide resources for subtle communication that can transform into semiotic action.

Observations of episodes exemplified in Figure 5. also strongly support Botero's (2016) claim that joint attention or joint action is not always configured through visual means. As Botero (2016: 1200) points out, in previous research the understanding of joint attention has rested on the operationalization of the jointness of attention through vision, while touch-mediated jointness has received less attention. This observation is of special interest here, because the joint attention or joint action arrangements between mothers and children in this study group were primarily mediated through tactile intercorporeality. Hence, a basic type of joint attention or action may simply be the arrangement of bodies into shared interkinaesthetic gestalts (Voigt cited in Wedelstaedt and Meyer 2017: 107–108).

3.4 Aligned and disaligned separate attention formations in tactile arrangements

Often when children and mothers in the group are in constant tactile co-presence, they are orienting towards different interaction projects with separate face/torso directions. In these separate attention formations, the ongoing tactile contact seems to be about being located in space as relationship units (Goffman 1971), or in a homebase (Katila 2018) that enables constant living with and experiencing the other's body. While often the mothers and children in tactile intercorporeality participate in separate attention formations in harmony (see Appendix B), at other times there is a disalignment (cf. Stivers 2008) or a lack of working consensus

(Goffman 1959) over the tactile arrangement's level of intimacy and/or the separation of attention. A typical scenario in these disaligned separate attention formations is that while one party displays an orientation either to the other's attention or to an intimate tactile arrangement with the other, the other party either implicitly or explicitly resists that transformation⁵⁶. In adult-child interactions, sometimes the motivated one is the adult, who possesses a set of embodied resources, such as various shepherding or disciplining moves (Cekaite 2010, 2015, 2016; McIlvenny 2009; Tulbert and Goodwin 2011) to manipulate the focus of the child; at other times it is the child, who has other types of resource, such as verbal, visual and object-mediated resources (e.g. Andr en 2017; Butler and Wilkinson 2013; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007; Lerner et al. 2011), to mould the attention of the adult. In the mother and children's group examined in this study, bids for arrangement transition were often non-verbal, communicated through effortfully produced tactile practices (see Chapters 4–6). Figure 6. exemplifies different kinds of separate attention formation in tactile arrangements, and how they appeared on the continuum from aligned to disaligned separate attention formations.

⁵⁶ This resembles M.H Goodwin and Cekaite's (2018; chapter 9.3) observations on hugging practices and how in invitations to hug there sometimes occurs asymmetry – dis-sync in the level of alignment – between the one who invites and invitee of a hug.

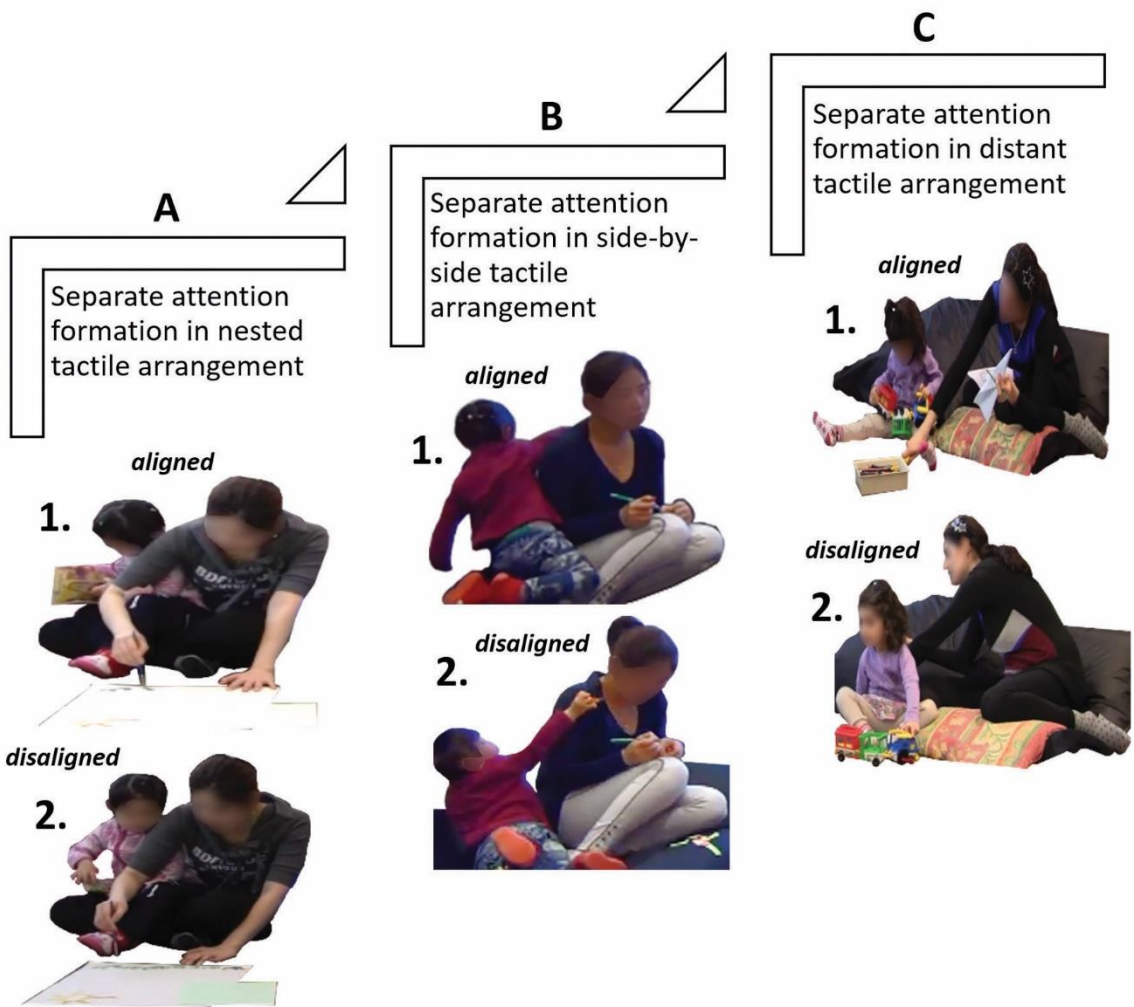


Figure 6. Aligned and disaligned separate attention formations in tactile arrangements.

In Figure 6., image A1 exemplifies an episode where mother and child are in a nested tactile arrangement that couples with their aligned separate attention formations: the mother is orienting her body towards a painting, while the child is “reading” a book. The tactile intercorporeality of the mother and child in this arrangement resembles different branches of the same tree, with only the mother’s and child’s lower bodies participating in the same tactile ecology. In contrast, in the episode shown in image A2 – which occurs only a little while after A1 – the child twists her torso and face towards her mother, while the mother continues her

occupation with the painting without changing her posture. The child's new posture in A2 is made sense of as suggesting a postural transition through the enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2012, 2017a&b) felt increased corporeal effort invested in it. This corporeal effort is experienced body-to-body, through the resonating tension of the new posture (Fuchs 2017) and the change in the location of the weight, which at this point slopes towards the mother's front body. The mother passively resists this transition by actively continuing with her previous posture and not attending to her child's subtle postural transition initiator. For a moment, therefore, there is an implicit disalignment over the ongoing tactile arrangement, and the bodies are discreetly negotiating over the future of the arrangement (for a full analysis of this episode, see Chapter 4).

In image B1 of Figure 6., mother and child are in a side-by-side tactile arrangement while the mother conducts a group task, and the child is orienting to an interaction with another child (not visible in the image) who is behind the mother. While the mother and child clearly have separate interaction projects, the child also utilizes her mother's body as an 'interaction shield' while she peeks at the other child from behind her mother (cf. Katila 2018). Thus the child utilizes her mother's body as a resource for another interaction, thereby showing deep intercorporeal trust and orientation to the self-evident nature of her mother's tactile availability (C. Goodwin 2000, 2013, 2017). Nevertheless, there exists a contented working consensus (Goffman 1959) over this arrangement. However, slightly after this arrangement, the child – who is still interacting with the other child – offers her mother a pair of scissors (image B2), while the mother continues to

attend to another action. The mother is actively disattending to her child's handing of the scissors by twisting her torso in another direction and applying her right arm as an interaction shield to block the scissors. The mother is thereby showing disalignment with her child's arrangement transition bid by active non-attention.

In images C1 and C2, mother and child are sitting side-by-side with no passive tactile contact, but they are still in close corporeal proximity and therefore in the group space with each other (Goffman 1971). However, in C1, as part of her body's movement trajectory, the mother touches her child's leg 'accidentally' while reaching for a pen. The manner in which the contact is not reacted to reveals both that it is communicating non-communication (cf. Bateson 1972) and that it is not oriented to as surprising. The not-being-surprised shows that the mother and child orient to an ongoing potential for the other person's touch, and that the other person's close corporeal co-presence is treated as habitualized. Furthermore, the non-

communication is being communicated in the lack of effort put into the body contact; the meaning or in-order-to of the gesture is already there in the movement (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Cuffari and Streeck 2017). The closest trajectory for the mother's hand to reach for a pen is through lightly touching her daughter; indeed, avoiding the touch could have actually been more susceptible to being treated as meaningful. In C2 there occurs a similar reaching movement from the mother, but now the mother is trying to reach for a group task-relevant picture that the child has taken from the mother and hidden underneath her own body. The mother is asking her child verbally and tactilely to move, while the child is actively facing her body towards the opposite direction. In this example, the disalignment over the tactile arrangement – which is sensed in the extra intercorporeal effort that both parties embed while grabbing the picture – concerns the social action being done with the location of a body: hiding a group task-relevant item, and thereby controlling the other's attention. The mother is temporarily forced to put her previous main involvement on hold, due to the child's conflicting interaction project.

In sum, the ability to have separate attention formations, or to attend to separate interaction projects while the lower bodies experience each other tactilely, may constitute a fundamental type of intimacy. In these arrangements, the other person's tactile co-presence is treated as a side involvement, in a similar vein to habitualized activities such as walking or sitting (cf. Goffman 1963). In other words, the bodies are co-living with each other in a constant intercorporeality that enables separation, just as the branches of a tree share a trunk and roots but may be directed in completely different directions. However, as discussed above, sometimes the separation is under negotiation, resulting in intercorporeal disalignments over the arrangement. The disalignment is configured through subtle, enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2012, 2017a&b) incorporated tactile communication. This subtle tactile negotiation and its dynamics will be analysed in detail in the empirical chapters of this book.

3.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have described different tactile arrangements between mothers and in a House of Girls' group of mothers and their children. The group's multi-activity setting (Haddington et al. 2014; Mondada 2011, 2014b) provided an opportunity to study how mothers and children coordinate multiple simultaneous intercorporealities and layered interaction projects through various tactile arrangements. Furthermore, I introduced the continuum of different types of tactile

arrangement that the mothers and children collaboratively formed in the group sessions. As suggested, the tactile arrangements can be distinguished both by their corporeal intimacy (distant, side-by-side and nested tactile arrangements) and by their attentional intimacy (mutual, joint and aligning/disaligning separate attention formations), in such a way that each attentional intimacy can occur with each corporeal intimacy. In practice these are idealizations, as bodies are constantly co-moving, co-living and co-acting in a creative manner. Therefore, the mother-child tactile arrangements in the group sessions are constantly changing according to the changing spatial requirements of group activities, the tendency to maintain or (re)negotiate mother-child homebase (Katila 2018), the changing bodily states, and the overlapping involvements in multiple participation frameworks (e.g. Goffman 1981; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004).

I have suggested that tactile arrangements enabled the mothers and children to simultaneously co-experience and communicate with each other. This continuous communication occurred through the manner in which the bodies touched each other and how the muscle effort was divided between the bodies in different tactile arrangements. Therefore, the mothers and children's bodies were coupled with symmetrical/asymmetrical divisions of muscular effort through tactile arrangements, thus affording sensations of different levels of intimacy that were experienced on a continuum of corporeal dependency and independence. Furthermore, the tactile intimacy often seemed entirely habitualized, in the sense that the shared intercorporeal space was inhabited through apparently inconspicuous familiarity (cf. Dreyfus 1991; Heidegger 1978: 104). This meant, for instance, nested tactile arrangements where familiarity was revealed by touching the other person as one touches a chair – as a mere platform or medium for action. In this type of tactile intercorporeality, the other's body was like a nest or homebase (Katila 2018). Furthermore, different tactile arrangements represented different relationship tie signs (Goffman 1971) to other group members, acting as fully co-embodied gestures that signalled certain relationships, such as co-participation units, to other group members. Through these tactile intercorporealities, mothers and children not only performed various attentions in relation to each other, but also co-experienced each other. Consequently, these tactile arrangements as mediums seemed to be communicative and experiential aboutnesses in and of themselves.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Malinowski (1923) famously called this *phatic communication* where 'the medium is the message.'

4 HABITUALIZATION OF TACTILE INTERCORPOREALITY AFFORDS TACTILE COMMUNICATION

This chapter studies how mothers and children in the group initiate transitions in tactile arrangements, and how these transitions, together with other practical actions in tactile intercorporeality, can be enacted as mediums to produce and negotiate over various kinds of interaction projects. Sometimes this tactile negotiation over arrangement transitions occurs rather fluently and effortlessly. At other times, the other party's tactile communication cues to initiate transitions can be resisted, for instance by being actively ignored. In what follows, I will analyse naturally occurring examples of how children and mothers negotiate a working consensus (Goffman 1959) or alignment (Stivers 2008) over these transitions in tactile arrangements. First, I will analyse how mothers and children accomplish unmarked transitions in tactile arrangements, i.e. transitions that occur fluently and effortlessly (Cuffari and Streeck 2017) at 'seen but unnoticed' level (Garfinkel 1967: 36). Then I will study tactile arrangement transitions or transition initiators that are treated by participants as somehow marked, i.e. transitions that are either produced effortfully by the initiator or ignored effortfully by the non-initiating party. Thus I will explore how the mothers and children conducting these tactile practices are able to intercorporeally make sense of the communication incorporated into these tactile movements through the amount of muscular effort (or lack of it) put into them (Schindler 2017; Cuffari and Streeck 2017).

Specifically, in this chapter I ask:

1. How do mothers and children in the group initiate transitions in tactile arrangement-formations?
2. How are these transitions, together with other practical actions in tactile intercorporeality, enacted as mediums to produce and negotiate over various kinds of interaction projects?

The chapter is divided into analyses of seven data extracts (Sections 4.1–4.6) and a conclusion. First, Section 4.1 analyses an unmarked, effortless example of a mother

and child sequentially transitioning first into and then away from heightened corporeal and attentional intimacy in nested tactile homebase. Next, Section 4.2 takes as its case an example where a child exits nested homebase in a marked, effortful manner that is treated by both mother and child as communicating an emotional state or attitude. Section 4.3 analyses a case where a child initiates an effortful exit from homebase that is treated as communicating her intention to be included in a group activity. In Section 4.4., an example is analysed where a mother marks her child's 'mere sitting' as interactionally effortful non-occupation, and thus as a subtle sign that she is not enjoying herself in the group session. Consequently, the mother organizes her child to get engaged in the group activity. Section 4.5 provides an example of a mother and child enacting a group activity practice of reading a magazine as an interaction practice for tactile negotiation over tactile intimacy and mutual involvement. Finally, Extracts 6 and 7 in Section 4.6 present cases where a mother shows effortful disattention to her child's interaction bids, thereby implicitly communicating about the dispreferred nature of those interaction bids.

4.1 Effortless transitions of tactile intimacy in nested homebase

Extract 1 represents a case where a mother and child withdraw effortlessly (Cuffari and Streck 2017) from group involvement into an embracing formation (Cekaite and Holm 2017) while they are already in a nested tactile homebase. Extract 1 shows how the mother and child merge into an extended intercorporeal huddle primarily through spatially and tactilely managed communication cues (Goffman 1971; Hall 1968: 84). Furthermore, this moment of heightened intercorporeality has a sequential time cycle of its own (cf. M.H Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018), and the participants therefore treat it as a breakaway from the resting position established in this group session, not as a homebase for this particular dyad. When Extract 1 begins, there are seven participants present in the group session: four mothers, two children and the group tutor (see Figure 7. Extract 1 and 2: Participant map).



Figure 7. Extract 1 and 2: Participant map.

At the moment in focus, there is a brief interval in the group’s activities, as the members are waiting for the tutor to provide them with instructions for the next activity. The first image in Figure 8. shows C1 initiating a subtle change in tactile arrangement that affords (Gibson 1986) M1 to initiate a mutual engagement with him by caressing his forehead and neck.



Figure 8. Extract 1.

C1 closes his eyes and repositions his head and upper torso to lean against the beanbag. Partly ‘encouraged’⁵⁸ by the beanbag, C1’s head then lies in intimate proximity to his mother’s chest. Besides reformulating his posture for the obvious possible reason of feeling tired and giving in to the body’s need to lie down, C1 is also turning his body away from group involvement into more extended state of rest and private space, with his head slightly turning towards his mother. This posture both creates and is built upon intercorporeal trust (Cekaite and Holm 2017), given that falling asleep in somebody’s arms requires a certain amount of trust that the other person will take care of, or at least not harm, one’s sleeping body. Orienting to this expressed trust, M1 turns her gaze to C1 and produces an affectionate touch⁵⁹ (Berghner and Cekaite 2017; Jones and Yarborough 1985: 39) or act of love⁶⁰ (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962: 184) on some of the most vulnerable areas of the human body: the bare cheeks, head and neck (e.g. Cekaite 2018; Jones and Yarborough 1985: 36). The love is interaffectively (Fuchs 2017) resonated from body to body through a gentleness that can be co-felt from the manner of intimate effort with which the touch is produced. The child surrenders to the act of being loved by letting go of control, allowing a temporally isolated timeout from the ongoing activities (Cekaite 2018; Cekaite and Holm 2017: 118). Moreover, C1 emphasizes his experience of his mother’s love by intercorporeally co-living the moment with his eyes closed, thereby perhaps both sensing the touch better and displaying his orientation towards it (Nishizaka 2011). By simultaneously living and showing a positive emotional stance (M.H. Goodwin et al. 2012) towards his mother’s affectionate touch, C1 is also coupling (C. Goodwin 2007) the touch in a meaningful way: the affectionate touch only makes sense through these simultaneously experienced roles of giving and receiving love.

This intercorporeal mutuality and intensified intimacy in C1 and M1’s tactile arrangement is mediated body-to-body through tactile communication. Therefore, in this arrangement, ‘rather than visual, as in face-to-face interaction, another kind

⁵⁸ The structured quality of a beanbag when two persons are sitting on it is such that the persons have a tendency to slide towards each other if they are sitting close enough together. Sitting on a beanbag with someone therefore makes it more likely that one will touch the other person compared with some other seats, as beanbags do not have any clearly designed seats for certain amount of people (see Goffman 1971: 32–34).

⁵⁹ Berghner and Cekaite (2017: 7) define *affectionate touch* as touch that is ‘used to show fondness, to comfort, or to express praise and approval’.

⁶⁰ As Merleau-Ponty (1962: 184) famously suggests regarding how sensations are already experienced in gestures: ‘I do not see anger or a threatening attitude as a psychic fact hidden behind the gesture, I read anger in it. The gesture *does not make me think of anger*, it is anger itself’ (emphasis original).

of – intercorporeal – mutual engagement is in play’ (Cekaite and Holm 2017: 118). The arrangement unfolds through the continuous sensing of the other person’s movement enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2012, 2017a&b), afforded by the familiarity of the bodies’ tactile co-presence. The agreed-upon, mutual nature of the tactile huddle is evident in the complementary nature of the body-to-body alignment, which re-evokes a special relationship history when parent and child are in a close, intimate, tactilely intertwined ecological huddle (Goffman 1963: 95). Even though C1 has already passed through the culture-specific phase of the infant’s corporeal niche (Ochs et al. 2005: 554), an infant arrangement is nevertheless being restored in the dyad’s interbodily memories (Fuchs 2017), creating a set of expected bodily trajectories or kinaesthetic expectations (Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017: 13; Stuart 2012: 174) based on their historical habitus. Thus, the arrangement re-establishes an arrangement that has most likely been repeated countless times, resulting in implicit knowledge of how to be and move with this particular other.

In image 4 of Figure 8, after C1 and M1’s most intimate moment of submerging into each other, M1 withdraws from the exclusive ecological huddle and opens her body and gaze towards participating in verbal interaction with other group members, while C1 keeps his eyes closed. C1 and M1 then return to a previously established amount of mutual involvement: a ‘mere’ nested tactile co-presence that allows a platform for other activities to emerge. Interestingly, however, C1 does not return to exactly the same posture as he started from (i.e. image 1), but reformulates his location in extended corporeal distance from his mother (image 6) – thus communicating that he is no longer calling for an intimate cuddle. The amount of effort C1 invests in his body posture reveals the previous negotiation over the bodies’ state of intimacy: this hardly would have been the first posture to initiate when sitting on his mother’s lap. Instead, the posture not only attends to the previous interaction (by no longer calling for cuddles), but also shows a certain postural or emotional stance or state⁶¹ (tiredness, boredom) (e.g. Du Bois 2007; C. Goodwin 2007; M.H. Goodwin et al. 2012; Streeck, 2018).

It is notable that M1 and C1’s bodies here accomplish communication of the temporally restricted life cycle of the intensified tactile huddle. This unspoken working consensus (Goffman 1959: 9–10) is achieved through effortless body movements that are made sense of by C1 and M1 as a bypath from the main

⁶¹ Arguably, displays of emotional and bodily state are not usually allowed for children or adults. As Goffman (1959: 56) notes, emotional and bodily states are not usually treated as context-appropriate: ‘as human beings we are presumably creatures of variable impulse with moods and energies that change from one moment to the next. As characters put on for an audience, however, we must not be subject to ups and downs.’

involvement and that constitute neither their main involvement nor their ordinary homebase position. Hence neither of the relationship ends⁶² (Goffman 1971: 188) tries to extend the huddle to make it last longer than it does.

Thus in Extract 1 (Figure 8), mother and child collaboratively produced an unmarked transition in and out of an extended huddle, effortlessly co-flowing through the cycle together. This was accomplished by communicating the evolving, moment-by-moment changes in the bodies' attention formations through tactile and visual means. Accordingly, in the space of only a few seconds, C1 and M1 collaboratively co-lived through a cycle of multiple different collaborative involvement idioms (Goffman 1963), from joint involvement (image 1) into mutual (images 2–5) and separate (image 6) involvements. These postural transitions occurred in a nested tactile arrangement that enabled the bodies to constantly communicate with each other. In particular, the child was able to communicate to his mother his ongoing actions by changing his body posture and distributing his weight in a certain manner on her lap.

4.2 Effortful exit from nested homebase as communicating an emotional state

Right after Extract 1, the same mother and child engage in another tactile arrangement transition, this time one that is interactionally marked. The markedness of the transition is managed through enkinaesthetic sense-making as the child intentionally slides along his mother's legs towards the floor. Thus, C1 leaves M1's lap in an effortful manner that does not simply exit from nested homebase, but also communicates a certain emotional attitude or state: helplessness, tiredness and boredom.

As Extract 2 (Figure 9.) starts, C1 and M1 have just withdrawn from their intimate huddle (Extract 1), and – perhaps because he torques his head backwards (Figure 8, image 6) – C1's whole body starts to slowly slide along his mother's legs. Thus, C1 exits from M1's lap as if 'helplessly' falling, thereby both implicitly recruiting his mother's assistance⁶³ (Kendrick and Drew 2016).

⁶² Goffman (1971: 188) suggests that 'two individuals tied to each other by a social relationship can be called its "ends".'

⁶³ Kendrick and Drew (2016: 2) describe such recruitments of assistance as a set of embodied resources, encompassing:

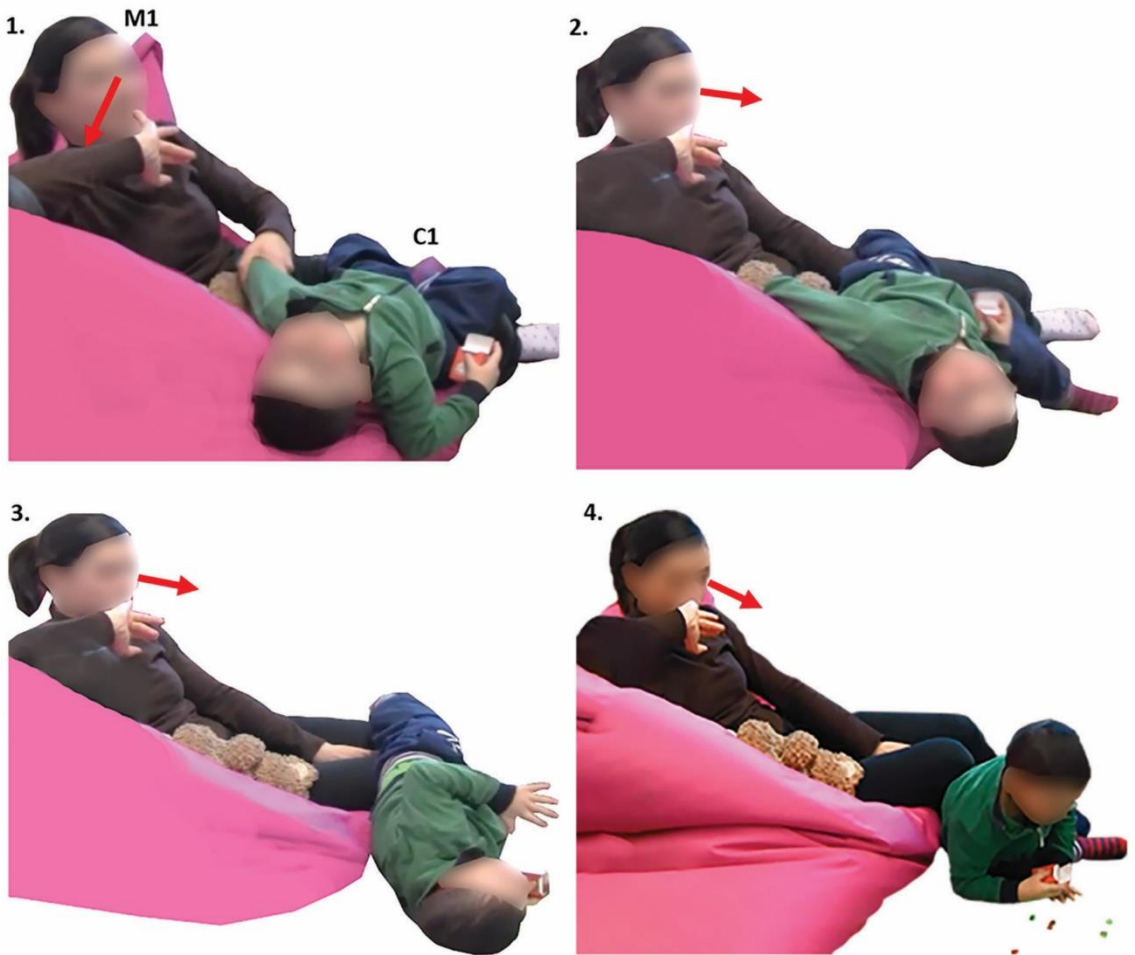


Figure 9. Extract 2.

In image 1 of Figure 9, while M1 is orienting to another group member's talk through her upper torso, she grabs C1's hand and lifts his body to stop him from sliding off her lap. While M1 holds his hand, C1 lets his hand remain loose or floppy, making it difficult for M1 to stop him from sliding. Consequently, M1's help does not prevent C1 from sliding. The fact that M1 does not start any further procedures to stop C1's body sliding further is telling that she is most likely treating the looseness

the various ways in which one person can ask for, seek, or solicit help from another, including giving indirect and perhaps embodied indications of their need for assistance, as well as another's anticipation of someone's need for help and their offering or giving that help without being asked, without their help having been solicited.

of his hand as a purposeful lack of muscular effort, and not as a real inability to control his own body and collaborate with her attempt to prevent him from falling. Accordingly, by not continuing to help him not to slide, M1 implicitly treats her son's sliding as intentional falling or exiting from her lap. On the one hand, by halting his muscular effort, C1 seems to be implicitly recruiting his mother's help (Kendrick and Drew 2016) by invoking the sensation of his falling helplessly. On the other hand, this performed inability enables C1 to account for his exit from his mother's lap as if he were unable to stop the exit. Furthermore, by exiting M1's lap in this way, C1 is also able to display his bodily mood or emotional state (of being tired and therefore not in charge of his bodily movements, or of being bored and therefore clowning around). Thus, the selection of this particular method to exit M1's lap is embedded with communicative affordances, since falling or sliding in a sense embodies 'effort' by comparison with merely getting up and leaving the nested tactile homebase.

It is noteworthy that there is a subtle but crucial difference in the amount of corporeal effort between the first occurrence of C1's sliding, which M1 attends to (image 1), and the further occurrences of sliding, which M1 then treats as intentional falling. Therefore, an implicit difference in intercorporeal effort, mediated through tactile communication, enables M1 to directly understand that her son is not falling for real but is exiting her lap. Moreover, the speed at which C1 'falls' or rolls along M1's legs is not very great, making it evident that there is no uncontrollable momentum at play, as there usually is when a person falls unintentionally.

Further, it is worth noting that when help is being recruited – whether intentionally or not – there are some moral aspects involved in cooperation with the helper. When one person invests corporeal effort to help another, the one being helped is usually expected to collaborate with the helper as much he or she is able – or at least is not supposed to deliberately make the helping harder for the helper. If the latter occurs – i.e. if the target of the help purposefully makes the helping harder for the helper (for instance, by letting his hand go floppy when the other person tries to grab it) – the action of recruiting help is vulnerable to being treated as some other type of action, such as teasing or seeking attention. Consequently, in Extract 2, there is evidence that M1 implicitly orients to her son as doing some other sort of social action through his activity of sliding, such as seeking her attention or merely exiting her lap with a particular emotional stance.

In sum, in Extract 2 the transition in tactile arrangement – i.e. the exit from nested tactile arrangement – was treated by the participating mother and son as interactionally marked, embedding a communication project in the practical

movement of departing the mother's lap, which was made sense of in terms of a particular emotional stance.

4.3 Effortful exit from nested homebase as negotiating participation in group activity

In Extract 3, a child (C1) exits from nested tactile homebase with her mother effortfully, in a manner that communicates her action as an intention to be included in an ongoing group activity that includes painting. However, the child's mother, M1, slightly blocks C1's access to the group action, accounting for the blocking as a body trajectory to apply some more colour to her painting. M1 thus tactilely communicates to C1 regarding an area of space she is not supposed to enter, and thereby also secures for herself enough space to continue with the painting activity without being distracted by her child's body. Accordingly, M1 and C1 use subtle tactile communication through the amount of effort placed in their corporeal movements, in order to negotiate over their next tactile arrangement. When Extract 3 starts, there are two mothers (M1 and M2), two children (C1 and C2) and the group tutor present (see Figure 10. Extract 3: participant map).

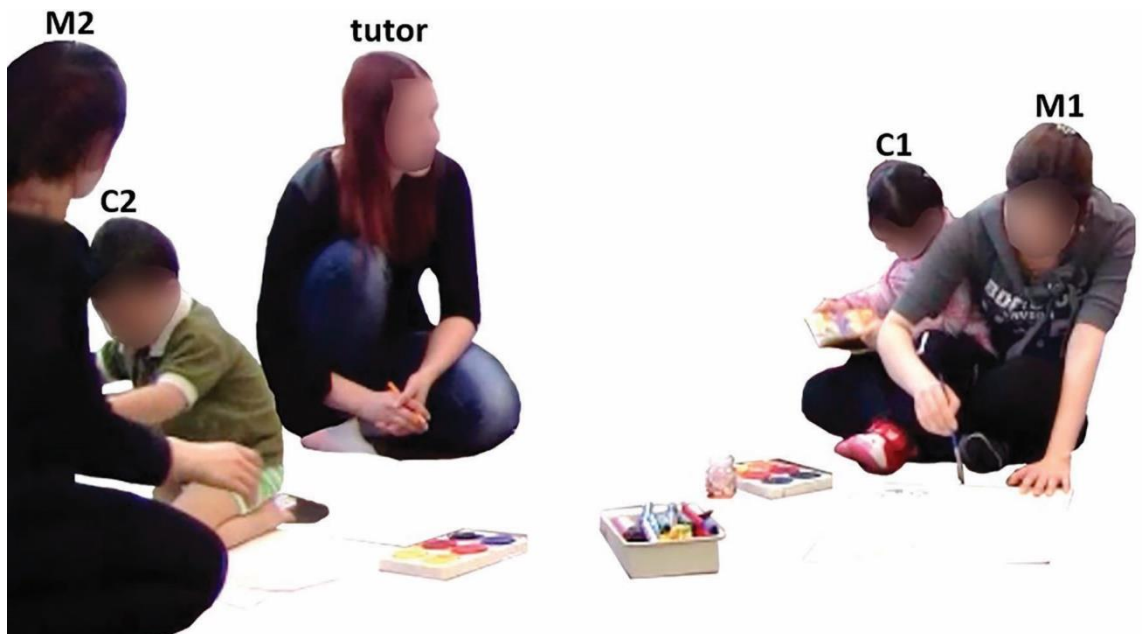


Figure 10. Extract 3: participant map.

In Extract 3 (Figure 11.), C1 and M1 have been sitting for some time in a nested tactile homebase with separate interaction projects: C1 reads a book, while M1 conducts a group activity that includes painting another group member's day on a sheet of paper.

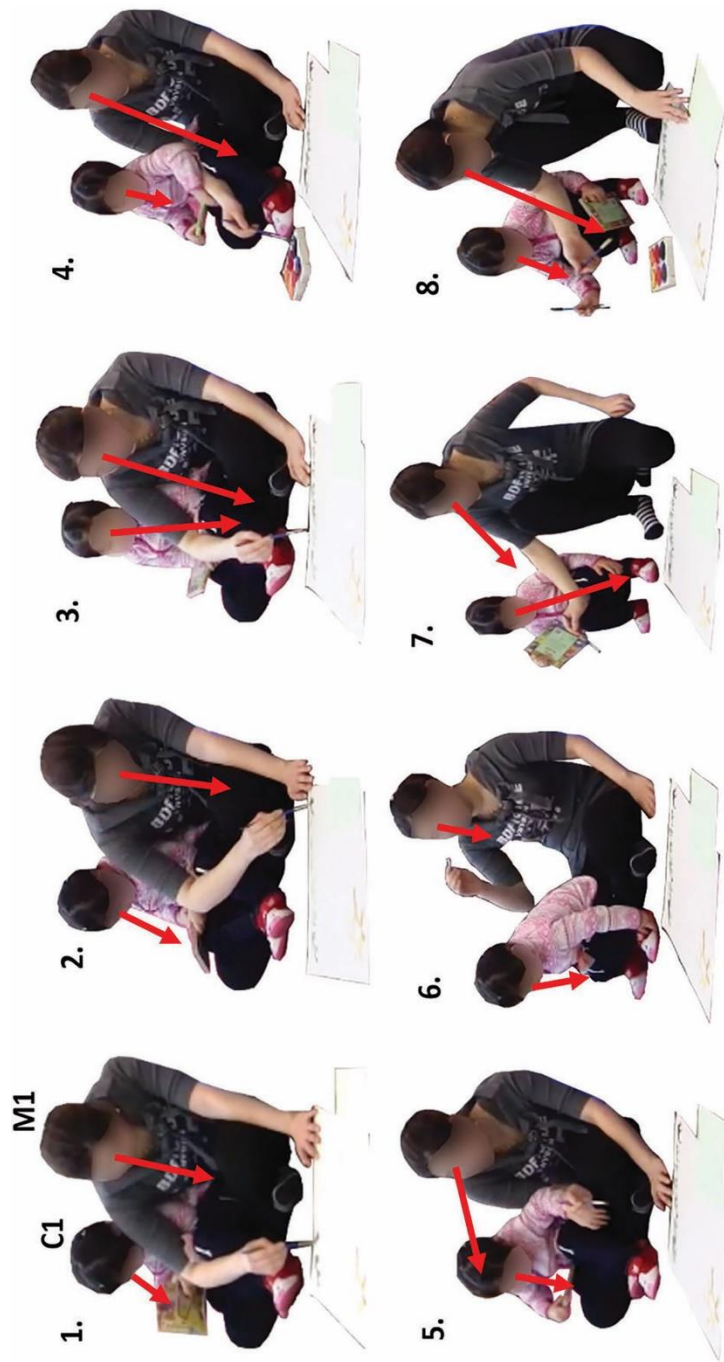


Figure 11. Extract 3.

After C1 and M1 have rested in a nested tactile arrangement for a while with aligned separate attention formations, C1 closes the book she has been flipping through (image 2), indicating that she has finished the book. C1 then turns her gaze towards her mother's painting activity and starts to transfer her weight towards her mother's arm (image 3). These subtle transition initiator cues, or tactile body glosses⁶⁴ (Goffman 1971: 11), are disattended to by M1. As a consequence, C1 heightens her interaction projects by leaning her whole body forward with her gaze fixed on M1's painting, and placing her left arm on M1's right arm (image 4). Moreover, C1 pushes her body towards M1's front body, making M1 rearrange her painting posture and make space for C1 (image 5). As a result, M1 moves her body slightly backwards to let her child step in and reorganize herself on her body (image 6). C1 then (image 7) exits M1's lap into a crouching posture, heading towards the painting activity. At exactly the same time, M1 produces a fast, dance-like side movement, moving her body away from C1's body. M1 blocks her child's access to the painting through the movement with which she reaches for the colour palette (image 7). Hence, the movement by which M1 reaches for the next helping of paint also excludes C1 from the painting action. Even if this touch excluding C1 from the painting action is thus accounted for by M1's painting action trajectory, M1's hand also produces a minor detour from the trajectory that slightly pushes C1's body away. The minor extra effort that M1 embeds in this reaching movement that touches C1 is made sense of as subtly negotiating over C1's next location. Therefore, M1 is able to tactilely communicate to her child about the space that she should not access (i.e. the space M1 needs for the painting action). The 'extra' effort embedded in the movement of reaching for more paint is intercorporeally evident to the bodies. If M1 had not put any muscular effort into the movement, she would not have been able to reach for the palette, as C1 would have been slightly in the way of her hand's movement trajectory. Consequently, while the fine-grained control touch that M1 applies with her arm primarily belongs to the painting practice (taking paint from the palette), M1 also silently communicates 'you are in my way' to C1 through the touch. Subsequently, in image 8, C1 orients to this subtle tactile cue by staying on her mother's right side and not blocking her mother's access to the paint. From image 8 onwards, C1 co-participates in the painting activity in a distant tactile arrangement with her mother, but with her own paintbrush and paper.

⁶⁴ Goffman's (1971: 11) term *body gloss* refers to 'the process whereby an individual pointedly uses over-all body gesture to make otherwise unavailable facts about his situation gleanable'. Thus, body gloss is an intentional display of the body's upcoming movements.

To sum up, in Extract 3 there occurred an effortfully accomplished or interactionally marked transition, from separate attention in a nested tactile arrangement to joint action formation in a distant tactile arrangement. The practical actions through which the transitions evolved were embedded with tactile negotiations over the bodies' collaborative tactile involvement idioms (Goffman 1963). Mother and child negotiated over the child's involvement in the group painting activity through practices for changing body positions and attention formations in tactile intercorporeality. C1 produced both subtle (closing the book and turning her gaze towards the painting activity, images 2–3) and explicit (placing her hand on her mother's arm and starting to lean towards her mother's front side, images 4–5) cues regarding her intention to transit from the tactile arrangement shown in image 1. Furthermore, embedded in C1's arrangement transit was a communication of her intention to be included in the painting activity. If C1 had merely wanted to exit her mother's lap, she could have just got up, without interrupting M1's painting posture. Therefore, by blocking M1's visual access to the painting activity, C1 was already marking her invasion of M1's transactional segment⁶⁵ (Kendon 1990: 210–211), communicating that her transition was aimed towards M1's painting activity. Consequently, C1's corporeal transition created the expectation that M1 would mould into co-corporeality with her child in relation to the painting activity. Subsequently, M1 'responded' to this tactile communication by preventing her child from accessing her transactional segment, while still allowing the child to participate in the painting activity with her own equipment. This all occurred without any moment of mutual gaze or verbal actions. As a result of this tactile negotiation, mother and child were able to proceed into a joint action arrangement with a distant tactile link, thereby accomplishing a new temporary working consensus (Goffman 1959: 9–10) over the aboutness of the tactile arrangement.

⁶⁵ Kendon's (1990: 210–211) concept of *transactional segment* refers to the space that an individual is using for whatever his ongoing activity is. Therefore, 'it is space into which he looks and speaks, into which he reaches to handle objects' (Kendon 1990: 211). According to Kendon (1990), as a rule others respect this space by not entering or crossing it – or they at least show apologetic/embarassed orientation if they must cut through the transactional segment or make a 'territorial passage' (Schefflen 1972: 35).

4.4 Lack of involvement treated as effortful: preventive transitions in attention formation

Extracts 1–3 have exemplified transitions in tactile arrangements that were initiated by a mother and child after comparably evident tactile communication cues. However, this is not always the case. Instead, in some contexts even the most slightly intercorporeally experienced body tension can be treated as showing willingness to make arrangement transitions; alternatively, transitions in tactile arrangements can be initiated without any specific tactile cues. The following extract presents such a case: there is no evident body movement to initiate a transition flow, but instead it seems that it is the lack of movement or apparent body tension that inspires the transition.

In Extract 4, a mother attends to her child, who is simply sitting still, and marks her child’s presumed non-occupation as something that needs to be attended to. When Extract 4 starts, there are two mothers (M1 and M2), one child (C1) and the group tutor present (see Figure 12. Extract 4: participant map).

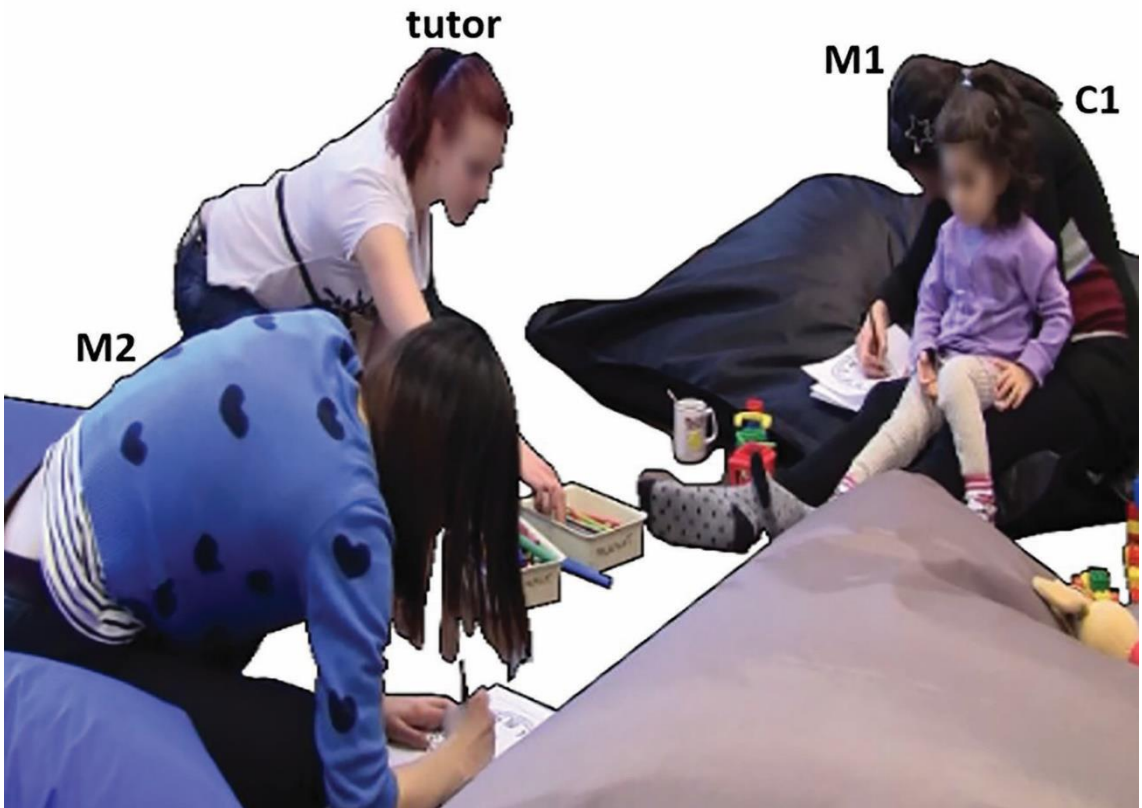


Figure 12. Extract 4: participant map.

As Extract 4 starts (Figure 13), the group members are conducting a group task that includes drawing their day's schedule on pieces of paper allocated to them. In image 1, mother and child sit in a nested tactile arrangement in a separate attention formation: the mother conducts the group task; the child sits on her mother, facing another direction, and seems to be attending to nothing in particular.



Figure 13. Extract 4.

In image 1, M1 and C1 sit in tactile nested homebase, which enables the continuous intercorporeal co-sensing of each other's body postures and therefore also of each other's ongoing involvement idioms (Goffman 1963: 37). In image 2, M1 initiates a mutual encounter with her daughter by torqueing (Schegloff 1998) her head towards her, still presenting most of her torso towards the group activity. C1 and M1 talk for a little while, after which they both simultaneously turn their heads towards the tutor, forming a momentary joint attention arrangement as M1 asks the tutor to give C1 some paper for the group activity as well (image 3). After the tutor gives them the paper, M1 and C1 collaboratively transit into a joint activity arrangement, now with symmetrical attentions (image 4).

In this extract, it seems that the transit in attentional arrangement is initiated when M1 orients to her daughter's corporeally mediated body immobility, treating it as apparently purposeless disengagement (cf. Goffman 1964: 58) and thus as marked or effortful non-occupation. C1's body is not only living not being occupied with anything special, but also inevitably communicates this tactilely to her mother through nested tactile homebase. This is an example of tactilely experienced body or involvement idiom (Goffman 1963) – the inevitability of communication in tactile co-presence. Accordingly, C1's actual non-occupation is made sense of as a communicative resource, which M1 perhaps treats as implicitly communicating that C1 lacks things to do, and therefore as implying information about her being bored/not enjoying herself. The mother's actions can hence be treated as preventive action to avoid potential (but not yet actual) trouble if her child starts feeling unoccupied or bored during the group session. It is also noteworthy that C1's non-occupation is different from cases where the child lacks her or his 'own' occupation but is actively attending to the mother's occupation. These asymmetrical types of joint attention (see Chapter 3) may still be aligned across both parties. Consequently, there seems to be something qualitatively different in C1's non-occupation in Extract 4 that makes M1 treat it as somehow marked.

Given its subtlety, the communicative process embedded in this case cannot be uncovered with certainty. Preventive actions like this occur in caregiver-child interactions, since caregivers manage not only their own but also their children's enjoyment. In this extract, the child's non-occupation was communicated through information embedded in her tactile body idiom (Goffman 1963), and it was thus a continuous affordance (Gibson 1986) for M1 to make sense of her child's embodied state meaningfully. This case also vividly shows that the omnipresence of tactile communication in tactile co-presence cannot be treated as inseparable from verbally or visually mediated actions.

4.5 Effortful conduct of a group task as communicating an incapacity for side involvements

In Extract 5, mother and child enact the practical activity of reading a magazine as an interaction practice for subtle tactile negotiation over involvement. When Extract 5 starts, the group members are conducting a group task: they have been asked to browse through some magazines and select pictures or texts that describe their past day and/or their ongoing daily emotions. In the extract, there are six participants present: three mothers (M1, M2 and M3), two children (C1 and C2) the group tutor (see Figure 14. Extract 5: participant map).

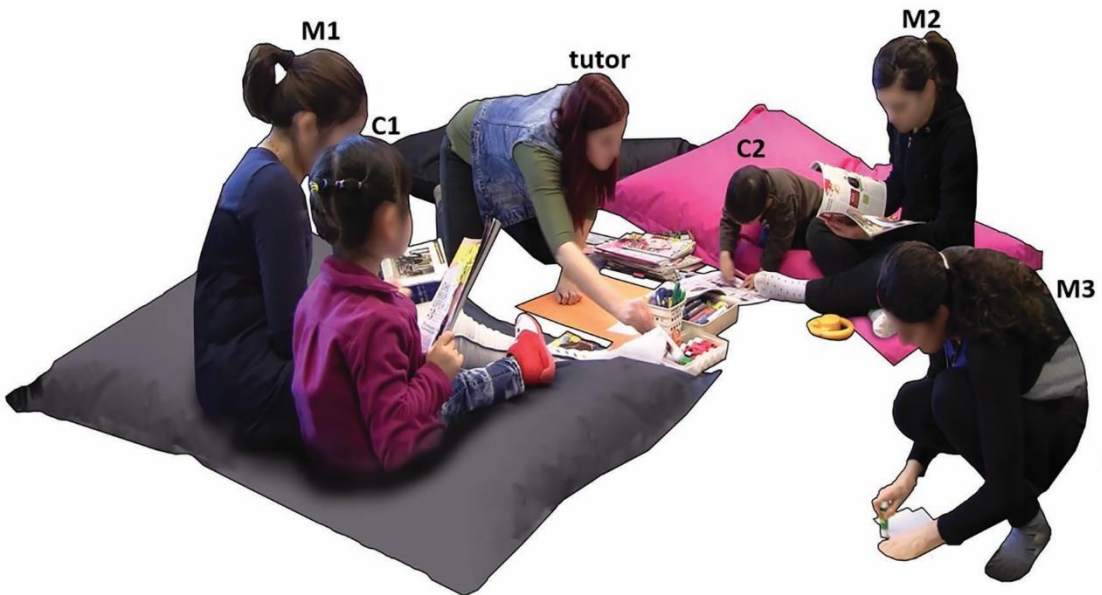


Figure 14. Extract 5: participant map.

In image 1 of Extract 5 (Figure 15), C1 sits next to her mother, who is sitting on a beanbag reading the group task-related magazine. C1, by holding a magazine in her hands, initiates being involved in a joint action with her mother, at the same time upgrading their tactile intimacy into a side-by-side tactile arrangement.

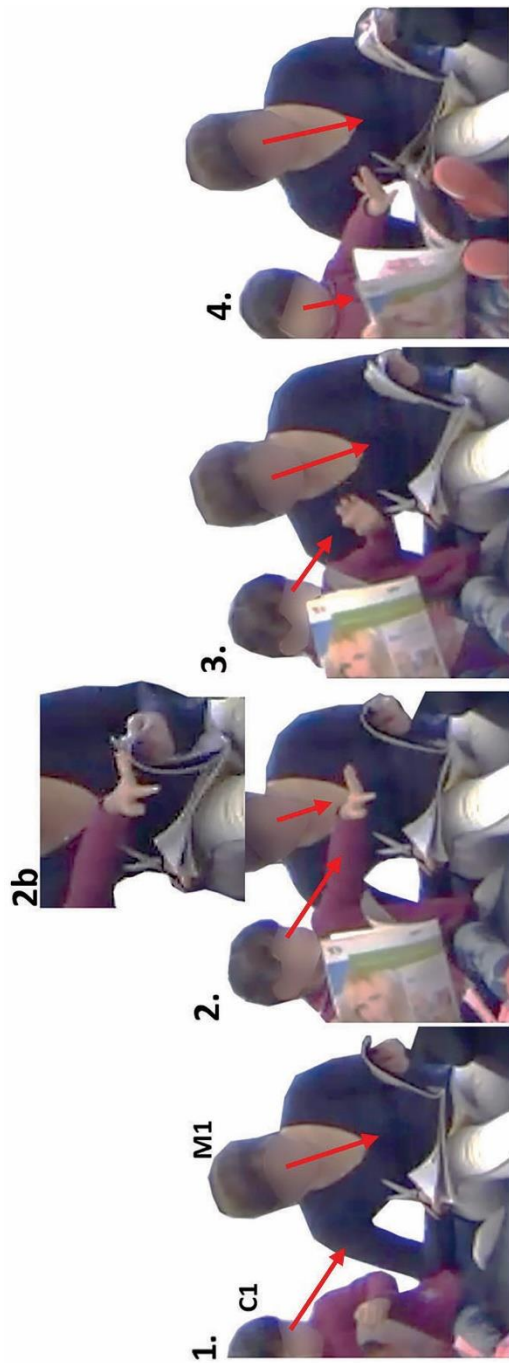


Figure 15. Extract 5.

After C1 has entered a side-by-side tactile arrangement with M1 (image 1) – which is not oriented to by M1 – C1 initiates a mutual encounter with M1 by pointing towards something in M1’s magazine (image 2). This pointing movement creates a momentary distant tactile connection between their bodies, mediated through apparently shared attention to the spot pointed to in the magazine. Interestingly, the pointing is targeted at a location towards which M1 is already gazing. Consequently, the pointing is not made sense as attracting attention. Instead, thanks to the location of the pointing, C1 is producing a group task-relevant action, as if suggesting a specific picture or text for her mother to select.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the location of C1’s gesture may ensure that C1’s initiating action is not dismissed, as M1 is ‘attending’ to the spot already (cf. placing an object on someone’s position to ensure that an offer is accepted (Andrén 2017: Chapter 6)). Therefore, even if M1 does not produce any notable recognition of C1’s gesture, M1 is already ‘forced’ through her body posture to be vulnerable to being treated as having attended to the pointing gesture (gazing at the location where the pointing occurs).

The fact that M1 does not show any observable recognition of C1’s pointing indicates either that she simply does not recognize it as a gesture, or that she is effortfully avoiding recognizing it as gesture and is thereby implicitly communicating its dispreferred/irrelevant nature. There are at least two reasons to suggest that the latter is the case. First, as noted above, C1’s pointing is explicitly located in M1’s visual field, creating a momentary block between M1 and the magazine. Thus in practice the pointing is very hard to effortlessly unnotice. In addition, C1’s pointing movement is made in an effortful, intentional-seeming manner, not in a sloppy or uncontrollable-looking manner that would easily lead to its being treated as an accident. Instead, it looks as if C1 is producing the pointing as a curious but cautious exploration, not as a sloppy or uncontrollable movement. Interestingly, moreover, at precisely the moment when C1 points, M1 turns the page of the magazine, and the magazine ‘hits’ C1’s finger (image 2B). As a result, M1 fails to open the page she was opening and needs to reopen it. Therefore, M1 and C1 together provably witness (and witness each other’s witnessing) an intercorporeal moment – separate from their bodies’ merely passive touching in the side-by-side tactile arrangement – when

⁶⁶ As Kendon (2004: 205–208) suggests, pointing with an extended index finger is often used in cases where the speaker is singling out a particular, individual object to be attended to.

their body trajectories meet and touch. Nevertheless, the magazine-reading trajectory also enables M1 to subtly block or undo C1's gesture by simply continuing her magazine-reading trajectory, and thus she treats it as if it had never happened. Hence, M1 is able to (implicitly) account for her non-attendance to C1's gesture by taking advantage of the practice of reading a magazine. Accordingly, M1 is able to continue with 'business as usual', given that she had already turned the pages of the magazine many times before C1 entered at her side, and the page-turning is not therefore being initiated for the first time when C1 points at the magazine. Consequently, the page-turning this time is not vulnerable to being treated as an intentional response to C1's pointing, even if it still manages to tactilely communicate to C1 about M1's ongoing involvement in the group task (and hence also that other involvements are momentarily dispreferred).

In sum, by simple (non-attended and non-'intentional') page-turning with a magazine, M1 can implicitly communicate to her daughter that she is concentrating on reading a magazine and thus that the initiation of mutual or shared attention with her is not preferred. By this I do not mean to suggest that M1 is not also reading the magazine in order to actually read it and conduct the group task. But a simple practical action can also afford a channel for making a subtle communication by conducting it in certain manner, without having to point things out verbally. Unlike explicit communications, this subtle communication may therefore avoid vulnerability to a framing of the interaction as troublesome in some way. It is also noteworthy that any practice is always conducted in some particular manner, and hence it inevitably includes information – for instance, about the level of commitment to the practice. There is no 'objective' way for a body to enact a practice. In this case, with this effortful reading⁶⁷ of a magazine, M1 is able to metacommunicate (Bateson 1972) about her ongoing involvement. Of course, the effortful reading cannot last forever if M1 actually wants to conduct the activity effectively (unless this effortfulness is simply her personal style for reading magazines in any context). This relates to what Goffman (1959: 33) refers to as the problem of dramatizing one's actions, a dilemma of expression versus action. According to Goffman, the most productive conduct of an action does not require much explicit work, and there is therefore an ongoing dilemma about how to show

⁶⁷ Goffman (1963: 60) uses the term *overinvolvement* to refer to occasions where an individual breaks social norms by paying too much attention to what are ordinarily regarded as 'side involvements', such as self-grooming, or any individual task in a social space. Reading a magazine may be thought of as an involvement that is not often expected to be prioritized over social interactions. Consequently, overinvolvement in reading a magazine may be more vulnerable to being treated as having some extra communicative message.

others that the action is actively being done (or that one is the kind of person who does the action in question).⁶⁸

Responding relevantly to the body contact between C1's finger and M1's magazine, C1 pulls her finger away (image 3) and ceases any future interaction bids for a while. Instead, in image 4 of Extract 5, C1 chooses another way to engage with her mother. She sits down in a side-by-side tactile arrangement with her mother and opens the magazine with a big movement, making sure that the magazine 'accidentally' hits her mother. Then with a movement that includes just slightly more effort than opening a magazine usually requires, and with a proud expression on her face, C1 theatrically fixes her gaze on her own magazine. C1 thereby intercorporeally communicates to her mother that she has officially started reading her own magazine with a commitment similar to that with which M1 is reading hers.

Extract 5 is an example of a type of communication that is implicitly embedded in all embodied action, but which is very hard to capture because it is hardly ever the official aboutness of an encounter: namely, subtle communication by conducting a practical action in certain manner. Sometimes this communication is less effortfully 'spontaneous' than at other times – and hardly ever is it calculated or planned, or else it might quickly appear fake to others: as Goffman (1959: 8) points out, others may sense when an individual is actively manipulating the supposedly spontaneous aspects of his or her own behaviour. It is more related to the fact that some level of communication is inherent to all practical actions. Given the thoroughly communicative nature of human behaviour, subtle communicative cues are embedded in being a living human body. Arguably, the tacit kind of tactile communication exemplified in Extract 5 is especially prevalent in intimate relationships. Moreover, a multi-activity setting like the group focused on in this study provides a rich substrate (C. Goodwin 2013, 2017) for the occurrence of tacit tactile communication between mothers and children, as involvements other than those in the group are usually regarded as side or subordinate involvements. In what follows, I further explore how the mothers subtly communicate to their children about the primacy of group involvement by conducting group practices effortfully.

⁶⁸ Goffman's (1959: 33) citation of Sartre (1992: 103) is telling in this matter: 'The attentive pupil who wishes to be attentive, his eyes riveted on the teacher, his ears open wide, so exhausts himself in playing the attentive role that he ends up no longer hearing anything.'

4.6 Effortful disattention as communicating an incapacity for side involvements

The next and final extracts, Extracts 6 and 7, are cases where mother and child engage in tactile negotiation over the intimacy of a tactile arrangement and the intensity of their mutual attention. The negotiation occurs because there is a subtle asymmetry in their levels of commitment to mutual engagement – the child is trying to initiate mutual engagement and upgrade the tactile intimacy with the mother, while the mother is actively disattending to these initiators – but open conflict is avoided because the mother still allows her child to access an intimate nested tactile arrangement.

When these extracts occur, there are six participants present: three mothers (M1, M2 and M3), two children (C1 and C2, the latter not visible on the participant map) and the group tutor (see Figure 16. Extracts 6 and 7: participant map 6).

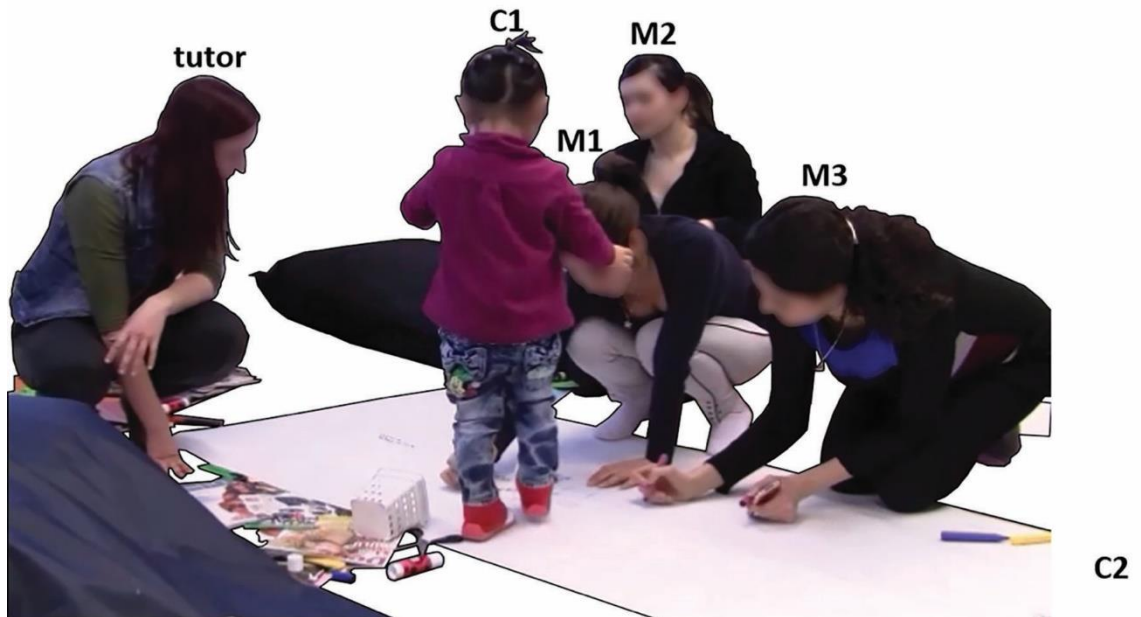


Figure 16. Extracts 6 and 7: participant map.

When the first negotiation phase starts, the group members (M1, M2 and M3) are compiling the group's shared lifeline, meaning that each individual member is writing her own past life events on a shared piece of cardboard. In Figure 16, the members have assembled on the cardboard when C1 starts to approach her mother to initiate a mutual encounter, inviting a tactile huddle with M1 by approaching her with

extended arms⁶⁹ (M.H. Goodwin 2017; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018). As follows, M1 responds to her child's tactile request (image 1 in Figure 17).

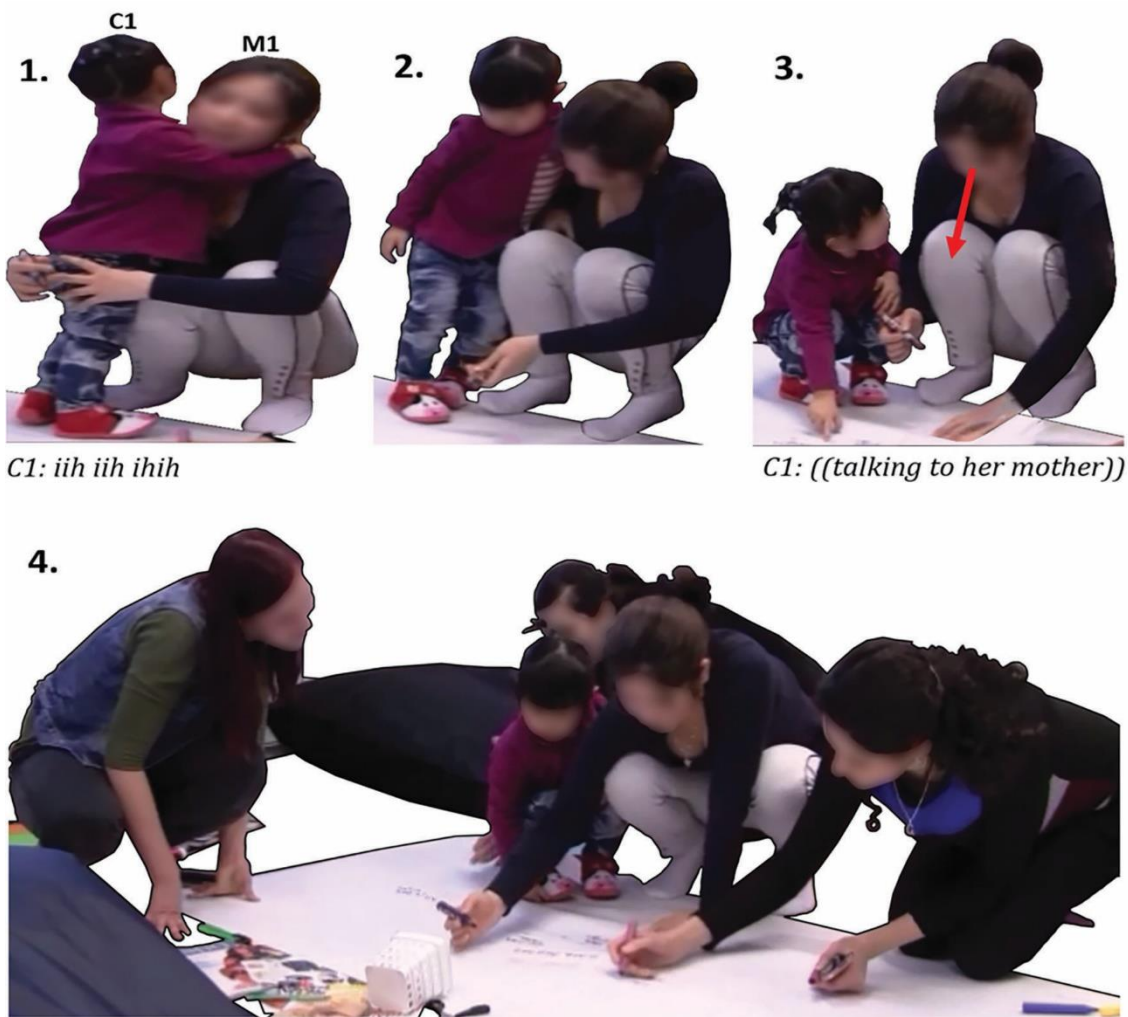


Figure 17. Extract 6.

In image 1 of Figure 17, M1 not only accepts engagement in this tactile huddle, but also incorporates a body twist where she subtly lifts and reformulates the face-to-face tactile huddle (cf. Cekaite and Holm 2017) into a side-by-side tactile

⁶⁹ M.H. Goodwin (2017) and M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2018) analyse how hugs are initiated as a step-by-step unfolding sequential process. Image 1 in Extract 4 is slightly different, however: it is not treated as initiating a hug as a temporally restricted action, but as initiating a tactile homebase – for the child to be located within her mother's body.

arrangement (image 2). With this body twist, M1 is able not only to comply with C1's initiator, but also to subtly negotiate a slightly less intimate form of engagement with her – one that attracts C1's attention to the lifeline.⁷⁰ Interestingly, after this, in image 3, C1 crouches slightly towards her mother's transactional segment (Kendon 1990: 210–211) and points out something on the lifeline to her mother, coupling the pointing gesture with verbal action and gaze (cf. C. Goodwin 2007). Through this pointing gesture, C1 upgrades the level of We-ness with M1 and engage her in shared attention (C. Goodwin 2003; Kendon 2004: 199–200; Mondada 2014d; Streeck 2017: 132; Tomasello 2006). The gesture gains a minimal head-nod recognition from M1, who continues her primary orientation to the lifeline by leaning towards and writing on it (image 5). Besides simply enabling her to write, the movement of M1's right arm towards the lifeline provides her with a means to subtly exclude C1 from her transactional segment (Kendon 1990: 210–211), without topicalizing the exclusion. Instead, M1 is able to account for subtly moving her daughter's body away through a natural, activity-relevant trajectory (cf. Extract 3). Therefore, M1 does not disallow C1's intimate tactile co-presence or ask her to move away, but implicitly negotiates space for herself to attend to the group activity, while managing her child by allowing her to enter side-by-side tactile co-presence.

The negotiation is not over, however. Just a few seconds later, the situation continues when another group member, M2, approaches C1 from her right. C1 turns her head towards M2 and gives her space by standing up (Figure 18, image 1).

⁷⁰ This reminds me of Siri Mehus's (2011: 126) study of the techniques used by toddlers' caregivers, which include techniques such as reframing the children's actions away from dispreferred actions, and doing 'positive guiding' rather than directing children stop what they are doing. There are numerous everyday examples of techniques like these: for example, taking a dispreferred or dangerous object (such as a pair of scissors) from a child and replacing it with something else (such as a toy) so as to distract or redirect the child's attention and avoid conflict.

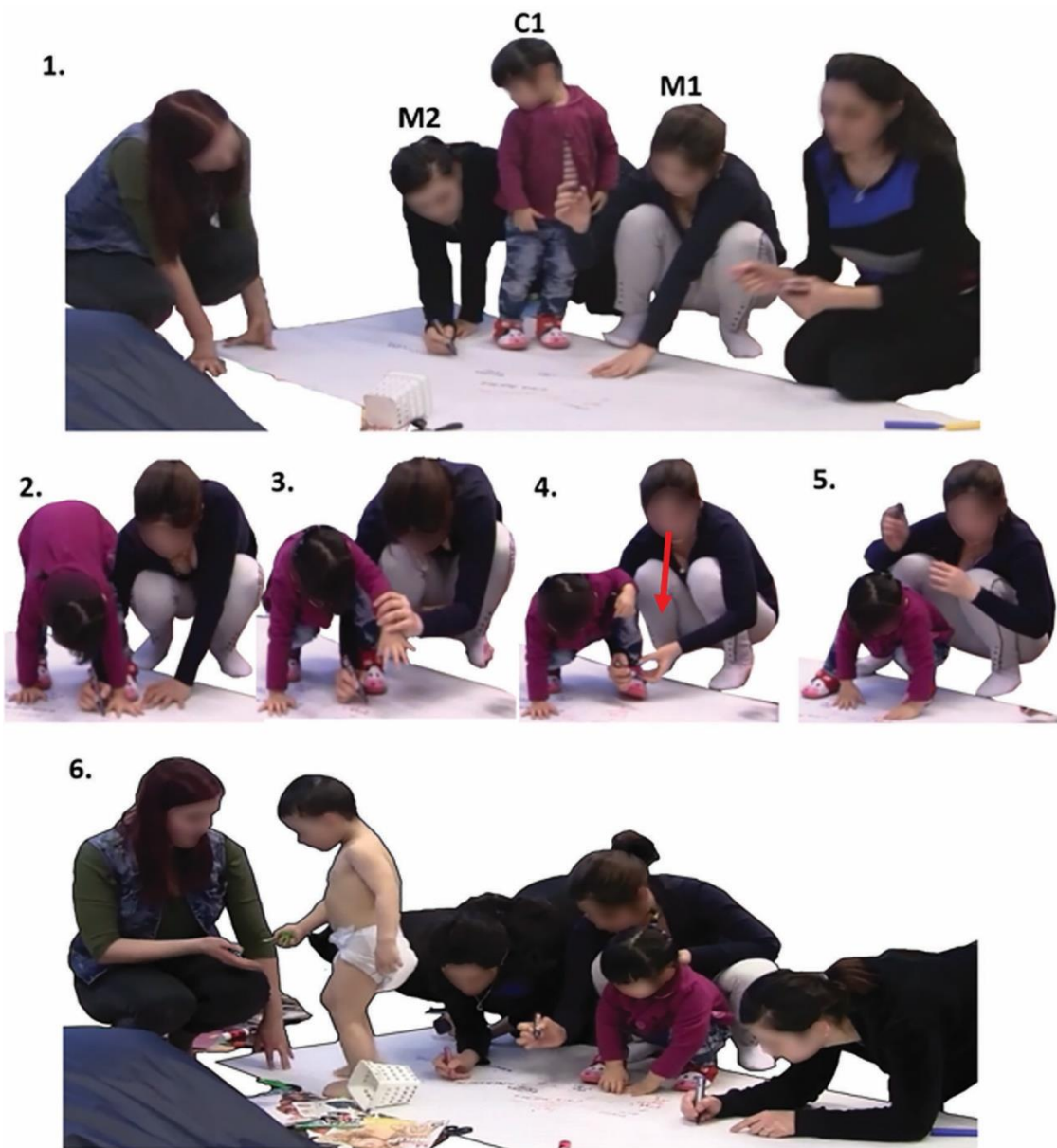


Figure 18. Extract 7.

In image 1 of Extract 7, M2 moves towards the lifeline to write, making C1 stand up and make room for her. C1’s movement of giving way is somewhat similar to the movement she produced when her mother (M1) ‘excluded’ her with her arms a few seconds before (Extract 6, image 4). But interestingly, the movement this time is slightly more dramatized: C1 stands up and twists her whole body towards M1 in a

preventive position. Besides her lesser familiarity with M2's tactile co-presence, C1's movement might also indicate slight surprise at M2's sudden approach from behind. C1, however, does not take any steps to move away, claiming entitlement to stand where she is standing. Nevertheless, both of these trajectory-accounted expulsions (M1's in image 4 of Extract 6, M2's in image 1 of Extract 7) act as implicit signs through which the group members communicate to C1 that her location in the middle of the group task is not treated as particularly necessary. Furthermore, all the mothers, including C1's own mother, display only minimal orientation towards C1 by dodging her, and while doing so also perform a subtle effort in having to dodge her. Finding oneself having to continuously give way to other people may give an implicit sensation that one's location is somehow marked as it is causing 'extra corporeal effort' for oneself and others. Despite this, C1 does not move away from the action scene, and she gives way to group members only to the most minimal necessary extent. C1 is thereby orienting to her right to stand next to her mother in homebase, in a relationship-relative location, despite group task-based variations in the tactile arrangements of the group members. Nevertheless, these subtle signs may partly lead to what happens next: C1 initiates a transition into upgraded tactile homebase with her mother.

In image 2, C1 leans towards the lifeline and places her hand right next to where M1 is writing, in a manner that does not completely hide the writing spot but does partially block M1's visual access to it. Given that of all possible places C1 decides to locate her hand right where M1 is writing, this body movement is marked with extra communication in any case. C1 in a sense is paying attention to and accompanying her mother's writing effortfully: in a manner that is not 'mere' passively attending, but is also attracting M1's attention to C1 attending to M1's writing. Subsequently, M1 orients to this action, but with the most minimal movement possible: by lifting C1's hand and holding it while she finishes writing on the exact spot (image 3). Thus M1 not only orients to the practical problem of not having visual access to the lifeline, but effortfully disattends to the obviously embedded social action in C1's movement, thereby perhaps implicitly communicating to C1 about its inappropriateness.

Immediately after finishing her writing, M1 lets go of C1's hand and takes the pencil in her own left hand while moving away (image 4). Interestingly, enabled by M1's practice-driven momentary withdrawal to relocate herself at the next spot along the lifeline, C1 produces some dance-like choreography to slip underneath her mother's legs, into a 'hole' just big enough for her body (image 5). Allowing this to happen, M1 reorients towards a new spot in the lifeline, now with C1 between her

legs, slightly controlling C1's body by holding her with her left hand. The rhythmic movement with which C1 transits into a nested tactile arrangement with M1 is enabled by the rhythm of the lifeline practice (the cycle of leaning towards the lifeline, writing, withdrawing, and relocating in a new writing spot). Noticeably, this new arrangement not only affords C1 an upgraded tactile intimacy with her mother, but also enables her to relocate herself in a position where she is not in anyone's way. Consequently, from image 6 onwards, C1 is participating in the lifeline activity by being included in her mother's body, not as a separate participatory unit. This tactile arrangement, which has resulted from subtle tactile communication in Extracts 6 and 7, now both allows C1 to observe the group activity through M1's body and also allows M1 to passively control C1's body to the extent that C1 does not interrupt the group activity.

To sum up, in Extracts 6 and 7, M1 subtly communicated visually and tactilely to C1 that C1's location in the middle of the lifeline was dispreferred, and that involvements other than group task-related ones were also dispreferred. The mother communicated this to her child through a type of tactile and visual communication: effortful disattention, or 'officially absent'⁷¹ (Schegloff 2007: 20) attention, where the other person's corporeality and interaction bids are only oriented to in the most minimal manner possible, the minimality thereby implicitly metacommunicating (Bateson 1972) the dispreferred nature of further interaction bids.⁷² In the field of interaction studies, something like effortful disattention has been studied in analyses of response absences.⁷³ For example, Stokoe and Smithson (2002) noted that social actions treated as somehow problematic, such as racist or sexist actions, may sometimes be actively ignored by the participants themselves. Furthermore, Paul Drew (1987: 219–220), who studied po-faced receipts of teases – the phenomenon of responding to teases seriously – noticed that in some cases there was no explicit

⁷¹ Schegloff (2007) suggests that in conversational actions there is a relevance rule, meaning that after certain actions, adjacent actions are relevant to occur (such as answers after questions). If an adjacent action does not happen, Schegloff (2007: 20) points out that 'it is "missing" in a different sense than the sense in which everything that does not happen is missing, and with a different import. It is therefore, "officially absent".' In this setting, C1's embodied actions are initiatives that, when not responded to, evoke the sensation of an official absence – i.e. the 'absence' is treated as a social action.

⁷² This also briefly resembles what Erving Goffman (1963: 83–84) calls 'non-person treatment', except that effortful disattention uses non-person treatment as a momentary semiotic resource in the most extreme sense to display one's inability to be responsible for other involvements due to one's current involvement.

⁷³ Here I do not refer to silences, delays or gaps in interaction – although these have also been shown to be signs of potential disalignment (Schegloff 2007) – but to action non-orientations: total bypassings of some explicitly uttered social action as if it had not happened at all.

orientation to the tease at all. He argued that even if a recipient does not show recognition of a tease, that does not necessarily mean that she or he has not recognized it as such. He went on to suggest that in cases where there is no response to teases, there is still some implicit evidence that the recipients recognize that they are being teased but have chosen not to respond to it because they do not treat the tease as serious enough to be addressed (Drew 1987: 230–231.) In other words, a social action – a response of some kind – is produced through non-recognition. Even though the settings studied by Stokoe and Smithson (2002) and Drew (1987) were very different from my own study – not least because both of them concentrated on verbal interaction – their evidence is in initial alignment with observations from Extracts 6 and 7, in terms of active or effortful disorientation being a social action in its own right that is usually adopted when the previous interaction bid was somehow dispreferred. However, when it comes to tactile contact, the initiator and the response to it are simultaneous, because they are public for both parties involved in the touch in the moment-by-moment unfolding sensation of the division of intercorporeal effort. Nevertheless, interestingly, at times one can even ignore a touch by accounting for it as non-recognized. Arguably, this is particularly afforded by a setting where the other body's tactile co-presence is already to some extent habitualized, and therefore one's own and the other person's tactile movements can be either effortfully or effortlessly treated as 'mere' practical movements in space.

Arguably, these effortful or deliberate non-recognitions are sometimes hard to prove, as there is not always explicit evidence that would allow us to tell non-recognition from deliberate non-recognition. Nevertheless, I argue that – especially in cases like these – besides looking at what is usually understood as 'explicit' evidence, sometimes an analyst must also rely on her own body's empathy and practical sense to interpret the movements of interactors in relation to the specific ongoing situation. Accordingly, while analysing interaction, a researcher does not stop being an embodied being who interprets social situations through embodied, everyday sense-making practices (Garfinkel 1967). Thus, researchers as embodied beings are able to know at a sufficiently adequate level whether, for instance, one person's body movements are slower or faster, or harsher or gentler, than other people's body movements in similar contexts, and can make sufficiently adequate sense of how these body movements occur for the participants (cf. Schütz and Luckmann 1973: 15).

4.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have analysed how mothers and children utilized subtle, non-verbal, tactile communication to initiate transitions in tactile arrangements, and I have also analysed how these transitions, together with the other practical actions involved, were enacted as a medium to produce different kinds of interaction project. In Extract 1 (Section 4.1), mother and child followed each other's subtle tactile cues to engage in a moment of upgraded tactile huddle in a nested tactile arrangement. The transition cycle into and away from the huddle occurred in an unmarked manner: the bodies engaged in tactile body techniques (Mauss 1973) for moving into and out of the arrangement effortlessly, while applying no extra muscular effort or contradictory body resonance. Next, in Extract 2 (Section 4.2), the child marked his exit from his mother's lap, and the effortfulness and non-fluent manner in which he did so iconized and thus subtly communicated a particular emotional state (boredom, helplessness). Furthermore, through interbodily sensing of her child's body, the mother was able to make sense of the communication embedded in her child's exit, and not to treat it as an accidental fall from her lap. In Extract 3 (Section 4.3), the child initiated a transition from a nested tactile arrangement into a distant tactile arrangement in a manner that communicated her desire to be included in the group task. In response, the mother renegotiated the child's location through a group task-related movement trajectory (applying more paint) that at the same time communicated tactilely to the child about where she was not supposed to go.

In Extract 4 (Section 4.4), a mother treated her child's 'merely sitting' unoccupied on her lap as marked. Therefore the mother initiated a transition inside a nested tactile arrangement from a separate attention formation to a joint action formation, thereby integrating her child into the group activity. In this case, the child's non-occupation was implicitly treated as communicative: not coming up with things to do communicated her not enjoying herself in the group session. Therefore, the mother may have intended to prevent her child from getting bored in the group session by integrating her into the group task. Next, in Extract 5 (Section 4.5), mother and child enacted a practice included in a group task – reading a magazine – as a method to negotiate tactilely between involvement in the group task and mutual involvement. In this case, the metacommunication (Bateson 1972) was afforded by the mother and child's tactile co-presence, which allowed the movement involved in reading a magazine to touch the other person, and hence to communicate through the manner in which the magazine touched the other. Finally, in Extracts 6 and 7 (Section 4.6), mother and child tacitly negotiated over their mutual involvement and the child's location in the group setting. In these extracts, the mother utilized

effortful disattention, coupled with effortful conduct of a group task, to communicate to her child about her ongoing involvement, and consequently about the dispreferred nature of mutual engagement.

In this chapter, I have approached types of tactile communication that are not easily analysed, as they are often treated as self-evident, tacit background knowledges of embodied, intercorporeal co-being – by analysts and participators alike. However, given how ingrained body and involvement idioms are in our embodied being, managing everyday life and the communications embedded in it without them would arguably be chaotic – even impossible at first. As Stevanovic and Monzoni (2016) suggest, embodied communication may therefore be the default way of managing activities.

This chapter shows that body and involvement idioms (Goffman 1963) can be managed through tactile means. I propose that in this case this was enabled by the bodies' familiarity, which was also reproduced through these tactile practices. In the extracts analysed in this chapter, mothers' and children's tactile histories showed in the bodies' habitualized familiarity – the manner in which the mothers and children took each other's tactile co-presence for granted. Specifically, that familiarity was evident in how various practical actions in the other's tactile co-presence – such as transitions in tactile arrangements (and the initiators of those transitions) – were enacted as a medium for implicit tactile negotiation over interaction projects embedded in those practical actions. This tactile negotiation through practical actions was not about 'permission' to access the other person's tactile co-presence, or about how to concretely move or transit in the other person's tactile co-presence, as might be the case between strangers; instead, it was about agreeing on the in-orders-to (Schütz 1964: 32) or interaction projects embedded in the practical actions that occurred in tactile co-presence. The extracts in this chapter are examples of some of the countless ways in which various transitions are initiated in intimate relationships' tactile arrangements, and how these transitions, together with other practical actions in the other's tactile co-presence, constitute an ongoing medium for subtle tactile communication.

Moreover, the fine-tuned nature of this tactile negotiation showed especially in Extracts 5–7, where the other person's interaction projects embedded in tactile practical movements were effortfully treated as mere practical movements in tactile co-presence. Consequently, the tactile negotiation also always included negotiation over tactile metacommunication (Bateson 1972) – negotiation over whether the movement was or was not accidental or otherwise non-communicative. Hence, the ongoing tactile co-presence could also be taken as a resource to effortfully non-

recognize the other person's tactile communication, accounting for the non-attention as having treated it as mere practical movement. Importantly, even though communication like this also occurs in non-intimate relationships (see image 1 in Extract 7), the history of tactile intimacy showed in the very fine-grained level at which it occurred. Consequently, touching the body was treated as a self-evident resource for mothers and children to constantly communicate, make sense of and (re)negotiate over each other's tactile involvement idiom (Goffman 1964; Schindler 2017).

5 THE COMMUNICATIVE AFFORDANCES OF CHILDREN GETTING ONTO THEIR MOTHERS' BODIES

When children sit or otherwise adjust themselves on their mothers' bodies, the mother and child involved in the practice inevitably sense each other's body and involvement idiom (cf. Goffman 1963: 33–37) through the instant tactile contact embedded in the sitting or adjusting movement. This means that they intercorporeally make sense of the practical movement of the child as either merely locating her- or himself in a resting position or accomplishing some other interaction project through the tactile practice. In this chapter, I will analyse how mothers and children accomplish this tactile sense-making process. When children get into their mothers' laps in a manner that is treated by both mother and child as the child getting into a resting position, it is referred to as getting into nested tactile homebase – a body-to-body relational locating in space (Katila 2018). In this chapter, I will study on the one hand how children access nested tactile homebase in a manner that mother and child treat as unmarked (effortless, treated as mere locating of oneself in a resting posture) and on the other hand how children get into nested tactile homebase in a manner that is treated as marked (effortful, treated as interactionally doing more than merely locating in a resting posture) (Streeck 2017: 233–243; Cuffari and Streeck 2017: 189). Furthermore, besides orienting to the homebase practice, children can access their mothers' laps in order to primarily produce other kinds of interactional project as well. In this chapter I will investigate examples of these other types of interaction project that children can accomplish through the practice of getting into nested tactile arrangement. I will analyse in detail how these interaction projects are collaboratively negotiated by the participating mother and child. Generally, this chapter thus helps to uncover the continuum of practical and symbolic action, proposing that tactile practices such as a child sitting on her mother are always communicative, at least to some extent (cf. e.g. Andrén 2010, 2017; Goffman 1959, 1964; LeBaron and Streeck 2000; Mead 1934; Streeck 2017; Cuffari and Streeck 2017; Watzlawick et al. 1967).

The data set for this chapter consists of all cases in the group sessions where children accessed nested tactile homebase – their mothers’ laps or other body parts (see Table 1). The data set covers a variety of different types of action, from children sitting down on their mothers’ laps to them jumping into their mothers’ laps. Furthermore, the mothers were in different types of body position, such as sitting or lying on the floor, sitting on a beanbag, standing or crouching. The postures were afforded and restricted by the group session room (for instance, there were no chairs) and the corporeal arrangements of ongoing group activities.

Table 1. Data set.

Type of activity	N
Child accesses a mother who is sitting	29
Child accesses a mother who is lying on the floor	4
Child accesses a mother who is in a squatting position	4
Child jumps on a sitting mother	7
Child jumps on a sitting mother's back	1
Total	45

In this chapter, I will ask:

1. How do mothers and children make sense of the cases where the child adjusts herself on her mother’s lap while either locating herself in a resting position or accomplishing some other interaction project through the tactile practice?
2. When the mother’s body is adopted as a resting location, how do the mother and child accomplish the child’s access to the resting position in a manner that is treated as either interactionally unmarked (i.e. the effortless location of oneself in a resting position) or interactionally marked (i.e. the effortful location of oneself in a resting position, treated by the parties as the child correcting the previous level of tactile intimacy)?
3. Besides adopting the mother’s body as a resting location, what other kinds of interaction projects do children accomplish by sitting or adjusting on their mothers’ bodies, and how are these projects intercorporeally made sense of and negotiated by mothers and children?

I have divided this chapter into three sections and a conclusion. In Section 5.1, I study unmarked cases of children accessing nested tactile homebase, while in Section

5.2 I analyse examples where the access to nested tactile homebase is interactionally marked. Finally, in Section 5.3, I focus on instances where children access their mothers' laps in order to produce interaction projects whose primary purpose is not to become located in a resting position but rather, for example, to initiate a mutual encounter with the mother or communicate some emotional state/stance to her. Finally, in Section 5.4 I summarize and discuss this chapter's results.

5.1 Unmarked access to homebase

One of Hussein's walking modes can be called 'unmarked gait', a stride that does not disclose anything about his motive or destination. (Streeck 2017: 13)

In his video micro-ethnographic elaborations, Streeck (2017) describes how his study subject, Hussein, walks in his garage in an unmarked manner: mere walking, without embedding any information about his motive or destination. In a similar vein, this section analyses two examples (Extracts 1 and 2) where a child gets into nested homebase unmarkedly or with an attitude that does not embed any information about motive. The unmarkedness is mediated through intercorporeal tactile communication, through which the bodies can feel the temporality and relative effort of the tactile practice (cf. Cuffari and Streeck 2017). Accordingly, the unmarkedness is made sense of as effortlessness of the movement, a 'nothing special' through which the tactile movement is simultaneously produced and received as one senses one's own and the other body's moving positions enkinaesthetically (cf. Gibson 1966: 102; Stuart 2010, 2012, 2017a, 2017b). Furthermore, the actual moment of sitting down does not occur in isolation; often the bodies have already subtly prepared each other for potentially imminent entry into nested tactile homebase, even though at first glance it looks as if they are not orienting to each other at all. Goffman's (1971: 11) term *body gloss* refers to this kind of seen but unnoticed communication through which co-present bodies embody an overall body gesture to provide others with information about their next movement intentions (cf. Garfinkel 1963: 217, 1967: 36, 1996: 11; cf. Streeck 2017: 12). Mothers and children enact *body gloss* to prepare each other as to both their whereabouts for access to nested homebase (the children) and their availability/unavailability to be accessed (the mothers). Moreover, after they have visually prepared each other for the imminent sitting down, something that can be called *tactile body gloss* takes place

when the bodies start to manage the practice tactilely⁷⁴ (cf. Schindler 2017). Accomplishing a mutual understanding of the unique meaning of each homebase access and its markedness/unmarkedness is therefore a result of the complex coupling of multiple temporally varying semiotic resources (C. Goodwin 2013, 2017).

Extracts 1 and 2 below are both examples where the accomplishment of mutual understanding while a child accesses nested tactile homebase occurs in an unmarked, effortless manner. Extract 1 is an example where homebase is established for the first time at the beginning of a group session. In this example, the mother and child prepare each other for imminent access to nested homebase by making available each other's whereabouts. Extract 2 analyses a case where nested tactile homebase has already been established in the immediate past, and it is therefore made sense of as a return to an already established homebase.

5.1.1 Unmarked establishment of homebase

In Extract 1, a child sits in homebase unmarkedly, in a manner that is implicitly treated by both parties as establishing a nested tactile homebase for the group session. The mother and child accomplish a working consensus (Goffman 1959) over the establishment of this nested tactile homebase even before the child starts to sit down, preparing each other for this tactile arrangement through body gloss (Goffman 1971: 11) and subtle tactile communication (Schindler 2017) or tactile body gloss, which enables them to enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2012) sense the effortlessness of each other's tactile movement. This effortlessness consists of a temporal and muscular fluency that lacks detours or 'anything extra', only committing the minimal amount of corporeal effort required to sit down. When Extract 1 starts, the mother-child dyad (M1 and C1) in question is arriving in the group room slightly late; the tutor, mothers M2 and M3, and M2's child C2 are already sitting in the room (see Figure 19. Extract 1: participant map).

⁷⁴ Interestingly, Schindler (2017: 444) adopts another concept from Goffman – *body idiom*, the set of bodily properties through which people communicate implicitly while in unfocused encounters – to refer to *tactile body idiom*. I prefer the term *tactile body gloss*, since Goffman's body gloss includes body idiom but also refers to the implicit communicative signs with which people indicate their corporeal whereabouts, for instance in pedestrian traffic.

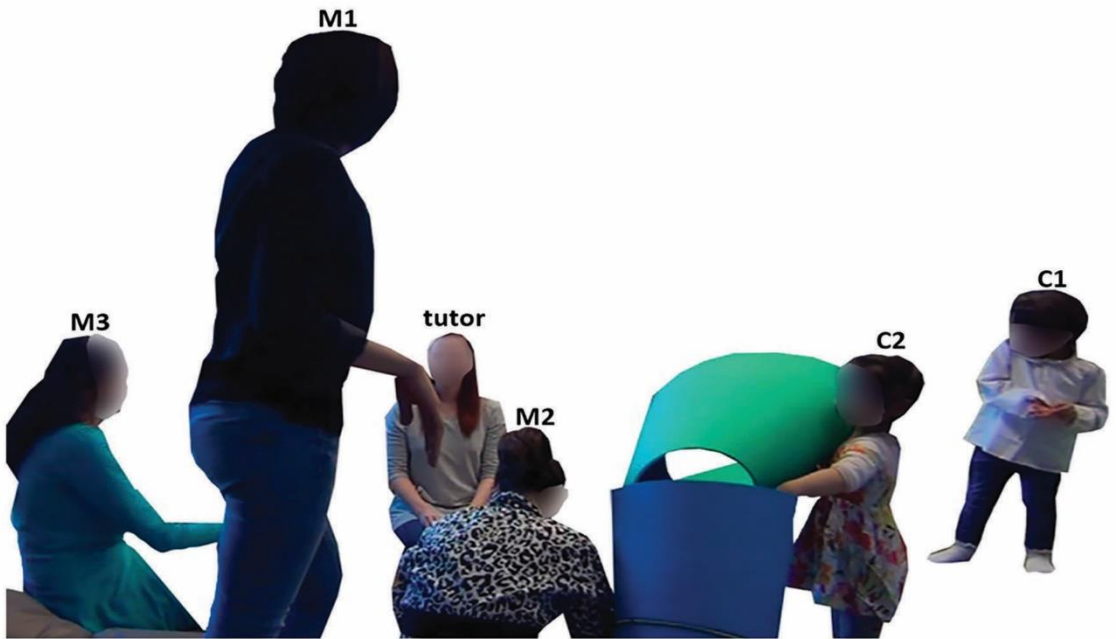


Figure 19. Extract 1: participant map.

As Extract 1 starts, M1 and C1 approach an empty spot in the group’s circular ‘o’ formation (Kendon 1990: 212) that affords (Gibson 1986) sitting.⁷⁵ M1 starts to walk towards C1, who is waiting for her and wearing a reluctant-looking body posture with her arms and gaze targeted downwards, her body slightly facing away from the ‘o’ circle, and her hands self-touching. Just before Extract 1 started, another mother, M3, had invited C1 to come and give her a hug; C1 had refused, and M1 had explained that C1 had been tired the whole day. Consequently, C1’s reluctant body posture and her limited participation in the greeting ceremony was made sense of as tiredness. Moreover, as C1 now waits for her mother to sit down in the space first, she is already implicitly communicating to her mother that she is at least potentially going to locate herself on her lap: sitting on somebody’s lap requires that the one

⁷⁵ Even when there is plenty of empty space in the room, and when one’s choice of any of those empty spaces is apparently voluntary, in this specific context some places are ‘emptier’ than others. In other words, they are *officially empty* (Schegloff 2006), and this is evoked by practice-specific, historically produced norms for appropriate group participation.

being sat on should sit first. Thus, with all this subtle body gloss (Goffman 1971) – C1 wearing a tired body posture and waiting for her mother, M1 accounting for her daughter’s tiredness – C1 and M1 have already produced a rich substrate (C. Goodwin 2013) for C1 to unmarkedly sit down on her mother’s lap. Accordingly, right after M1 has sat down, C1 starts to approach her and sits down on her in an effortless, unmarked manner (Extract 1 in Figure 20).

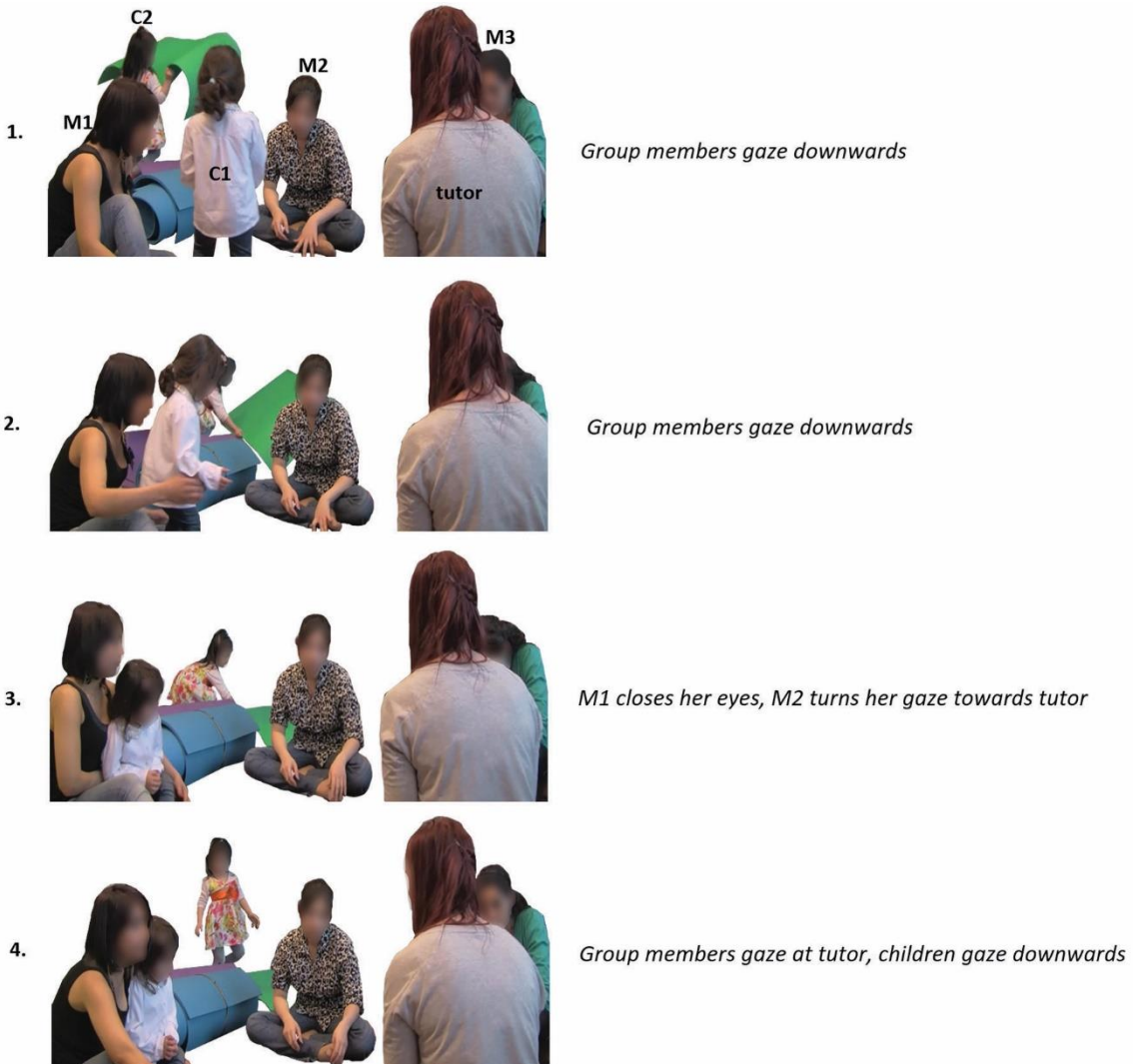


Figure 20. Extract 1.

By image 1 of Figure 20, the tutor is restarting the session with newly arrived participants M1 and C1. C1 moves close to her mother (image 1), while starting to crouch and twist her back towards her. Simultaneously, in image 2, M1 accompanies the flow of C1's body movement with her hands and uses tactile steering to adjust her child into a nested tactile homebase (cf. Kääntä and Piirainen-Marsh 2013). Thus, C1 and M1 collaboratively adjust C1's body into M1's lap in less than a second, during the brief moment when M1 closes her eyes and C1 produces a 'disattended' gaze downwards (image 3). Interestingly, at all other times except during this brief moment with her eyes closed, M1's gaze is in constant synchrony with the other group members' (M2 and M3) gaze work. This split second of closed eyes coincides with the point when the adjustment of C1 into her lap requires the most concentration (image 3). Nevertheless, by closing her eyes M1 is still acknowledging the other group members by actively displaying her momentary inability to be involved in the group practice and communicating her orientation to tactile practice (cf. Nishizaka 2011). Furthermore, all group members, including the group tutor, gaze downwards in images 1–2. Through this downward gaze, which for a moment is analogous with M1 and C1's body movement, the members seem to collaboratively show civil disattention (Goffman 1963: 83–84) to the 'private action' of locating oneself in space. Therefore, for a less than second, the members intercorporeally co-live M1's current state – that she is 'out of the game' for group interaction during the time when C1 is sitting down on her lap and thus momentarily blocking M1's visual access to other group members. Interestingly, in image 4, when the group tutor makes an official acknowledgement of the co-present members by thanking everyone for coming, the group members all synchronously participate in this acknowledgement by noticeably turning their gaze towards the tutor. Similarly, by not attending to this synchronous gaze, both C1 and C2 (the latter having been organizing yoga mats behind her mother (M2) since M1 and C1 arrived) implicitly treat themselves as not official group members.

To sum up, in Extract 1, C1 sat on her mother's lap in an effortless, unmarked manner, as if it were the only possible way to be located in that specific now. Moreover, the sitting down seemed to be intercorporeally made sense of as merely establishing homebase for the upcoming group session. Despite this apparent fluency, my detailed analysis shows that establishing a nested tactile homebase was actually a collaborative accomplishment, in which not only that specific mother and child but also other group members participated. Even before the sitting down occurred, M1 topicalized and accounted for C1's minimal embodied participation in

the greeting ceremony as tiredness. This tiredness created a rich substrate (C. Goodwin 2013) for C1 to sit down in nested homebase, as it perhaps afforded C1 to be more 'needy' than usual and to act accordingly by locating herself in her mother's lap. Thus, the sitting down was made sense of as if it were an unmarked thing to do in a somewhat marked emotional state (tiredness). Furthermore, as C1 accessed a sitting location but waited for her mother to sit down first – and as M1 followed her daughter and sat down first – the bodies silently negotiated sequentially unfolding turns for this embodied choreography (Tulbert and Goodwin 2011) to locate themselves in space.

It is also noteworthy that the simple fact of entering the group session room for the first time at the beginning of each session already provides a 'new now' to renegotiate a baseline for that session's homebase. In other words, the first entrance affords an option to establish a homebase that can be of a different tactile intimacy from previous sessions. In addition, it was more often at the beginning of group sessions that children located themselves in nested tactile homebase with their mothers; later in the same sessions they would often explore the group room more, perhaps at first wanting their mother's support or example regarding how to behave while entering a new place or setting.

5.1.2 Unmarked return to homebase

Extract 2 is an example where a child sits on her mother in a manner that is made sense of as a mere return to nested tactile homebase. The extract occurs at a point when the group session has not officially started yet; the tutor, M1 and her child C1 are waiting for M2 and C2 to be ready. C1, who was sitting on M1 just before, is now standing next to M1, and they both are gazing at M2 and C2, who are on the opposite side of the room (see Figure 21. Extract 2: participant map).

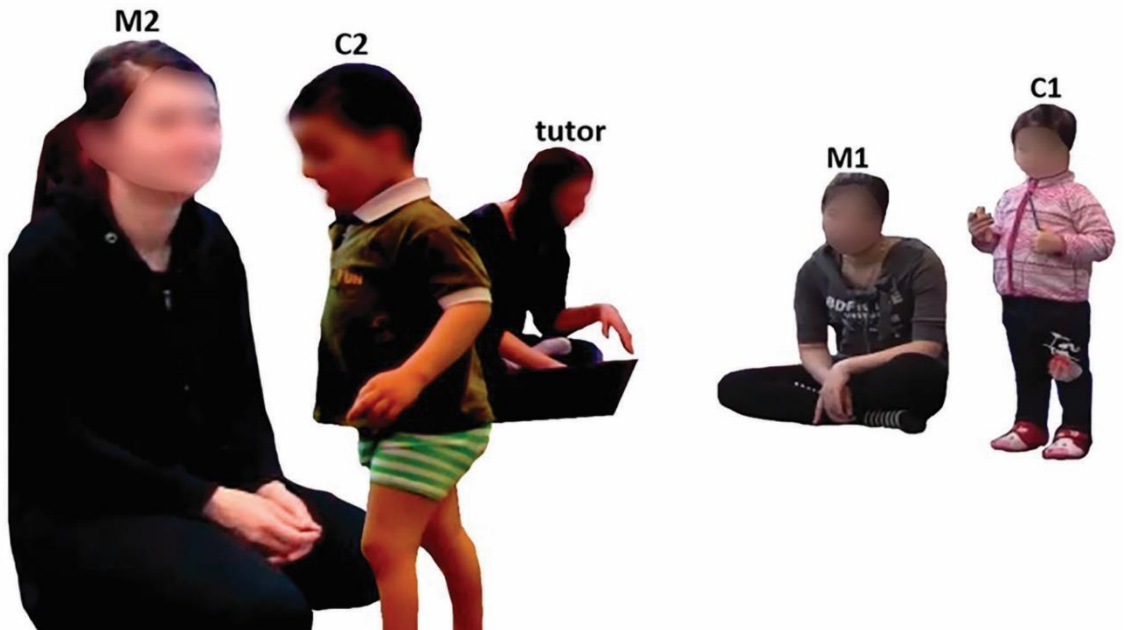


Figure 21. Extract 2: participant map.

After standing next to her mother for a short while, C1 accesses her mother in a manner that is collaboratively made sense of as unmarked sitting down in nested homebase (Figure 22).

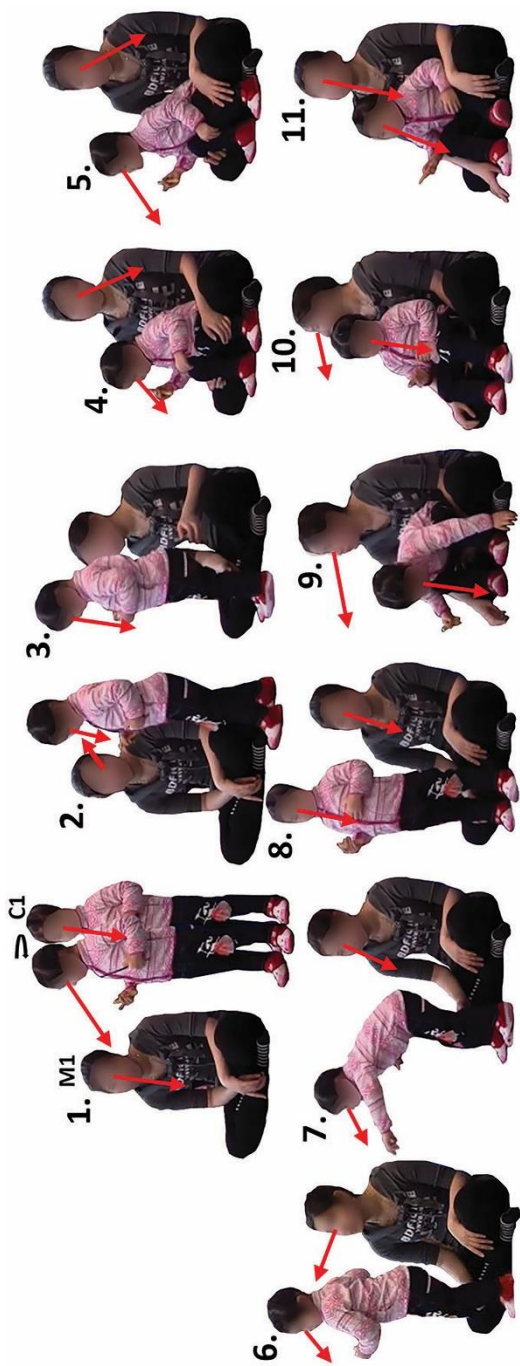


Figure 22. Extract 2.

C1 turns her head towards M1 (image 1). When C1 starts to approach M1, M1 turns her gaze towards her (image 2). With these few subtle non-verbal body movements, and in less than a second of time, C1 and M1 have already created an intercorporeal alignment over C1 sitting in nested homebase. Accordingly, C1 starts to twist her back towards her mother, while M1, with her eyes closed for the short time, reaches her left hand towards C1 to accompany C1's sitting down (image 3). As C1's body touches M1, M1's body goes slightly upwards due to C1's body weight (image 4). However, immediately after this, M1 repositions herself into a crouched resting posture (image 5). Even though M1 and C1 do not explicitly communicate at any point, they are constantly engaged in discreet tactile metacommunication (Bateson 1972; Schindler 2017) about the communicative frame of the movement. Through this metacommunication, C1 and M1 are able to intercorporeally make sense of C1's sitting down as communicating mere sitting by merely sitting down. However, right after C1 has sat down, she twists her body towards the tutor (image 5) and gets up again while pointing towards a laptop that is located by the group tutor (image 6; cf. Figure 21). When C1 gets up, M1 gives her a quick glimpse (image 6), after which she turns her gaze away from C1, still continuing to hold C1's right leg with her right hand (Figure 22, image 7), which has been left there from the previous posture. Interestingly, this loose control touch (cf. Cekaite 2016) seems to have created an invisible fence for C1, implicitly prohibiting her from leaving the homebase as she reaches towards the laptop/group tutor (image 7).

After this, C1 returns to her mother and stands for some seconds in front of her, gazing at C2 and M2 on the opposite side of the group circle (image 8). Blocked by C1's standing body, M1 steers C1's body so as to be able to gaze past her, her right hand still holding C1's leg (image 8). Suddenly C1 bends backwards while reaching for something on the floor with her left hand, and sends her bottom back towards M1's lap (image 9). In image 10, M1 aligns with C1's sitting movement and releases the sustained control touch, followed by a collaborative adjustment into more tensed position while the adjustment occurs (image 10), and the simultaneous release of the bodies into a resting position (image 11).

To sum up, in Extract 2, the mother and child did not attend to each other in any explicit manner, for instance by gazing or talking to each other, but they communicated tactilely to coordinate the tactile practices of the child's body getting on and off the mother's lap. Furthermore, C1 and M1 also implicitly oriented to the fact that C1's preferable location in space was in nested tactile homebase. Especially interesting was M1's minimal control touch, which subtly discouraged C1 from leaving her close proximity, creating a subtle tactile fence for the intimacy of

homebase. The fluency with which C1 relocated herself into M1's lap embodied C1's full intercorporeal trust in her mother (cf. Cekaite and Holm 2017): she collapsed into her mother's body without having to look or hesitate, unconditionally trusting her mother's constant co-presence. By treating each other's presence as self-evident, together they produced the sitting down as an unmarked return to homebase. The bodies produced their embodied movements in constant relation to each other, in a manner that both incarnated their relationship history and reinforced the bodies' future intimate familiarity. The bodies were continuously co-lived as an intercorporeal continuum in fundamental relation.

Extracts 1 and 2 have presented unmarked, effortless cases of children accessing nested tactile homebase. As suggested, mothers and children accomplished these unmarked entries into homebase by subtly communicating their whereabouts through body gloss (Goffman 1971) and by enkinaesthetically co-experiencing (Stuart 2012, 2017a&b) the corporeal effort invested in tactile movement.

Similar intercorporeal sense-making makes it possible to treat some cases of accessing homebase as interactionally marked, that is, as communicating something beyond a mere establishment of (Extract 1) or return to (Extract 2) nested tactile homebase. Section 5.2 analyses cases where mother and child collaboratively make sense of the child's access to nested tactile homebase as marked. Specifically, the markedness of accessing nested tactile homebase in these cases communicates an urgent need to access nested homebase.

5.2 Marked access to homebase

As has been suggested, each mother-child pair produces its own dyadic body memory (Fuchs 2017), which stems from habitualization to and familiarity with the other's body in the timescale of the dyad's relationship (Streeck 2018). Accordingly, if mother and child have established a nested tactile arrangement as a homebase, this previously negotiated intimacy builds kinaesthetic expectations (Stuart 2012) of the other person's tactile availability. Consequently, one relationship end (Goffman 1971) can be held accountable for failing to orient to the other relationship end's dyadic body memory. In other words, if the mother and child have established a certain state of tactile intimacy, they have a tendency to renew this intimacy, and if one party fails to renew the intimacy, the other can mark this lack of consistency by insisting on a return to the previous tactile intimacy.

Extracts 3–4 (Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2) discuss cases where the markedness of accessing nested tactile homebase concerns negotiations over the availability of the

homebase. Extract 3 (Section 5.2.1) is a case where a child accesses her mother’s lap urgently, clearly indicating that she is not merely returning to a resting location but accessing a ‘shelter’ from a presumed external threat. Continuing the same interaction episode, Extract 4 (Section 5.2.2) analyses a case where a child returns a homebase’s intimacy to a nested arrangement after her mother has subtly negotiated her out of nested homebase.

5.2.1 Returning urgently to homebase

Extract 3 is an example of a child’s marked access to her mother’s nested tactile homebase. In the extract, the child forces herself into her mother’s lap in a manner that communicates urgency, thereby accounting for the effortful manner of landing on her mother’s body. In the extract there are two group members (M1 and M2), two children (M1’s child C1 and M2’s child C2) and the tutor present (see Figure 23. Extracts 3–4: participant map.).

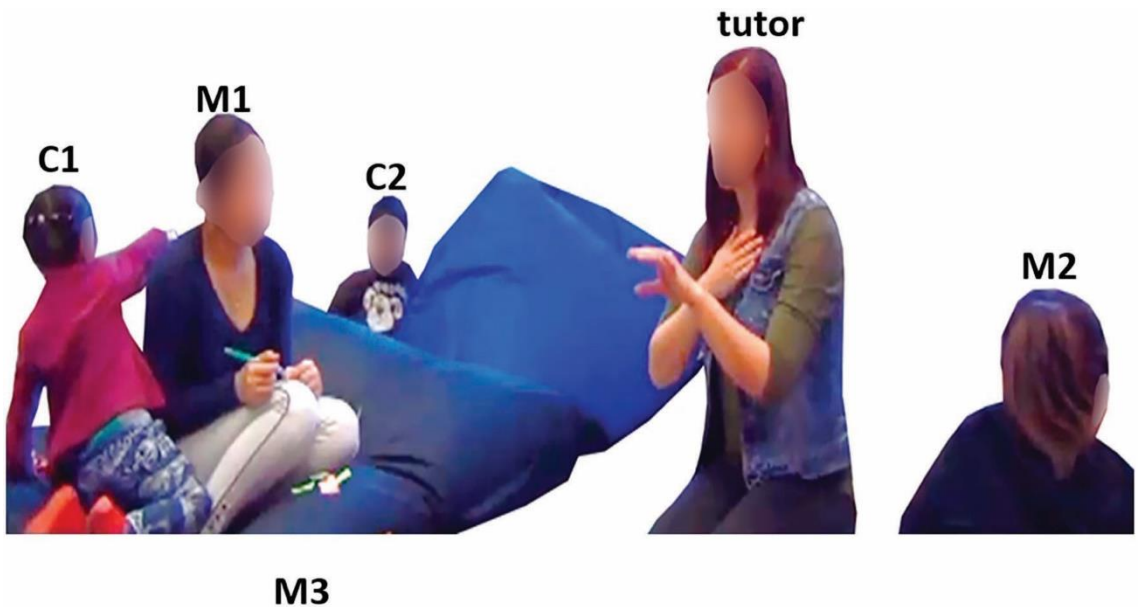


Figure 23. Extracts 3 and 4: participant map.

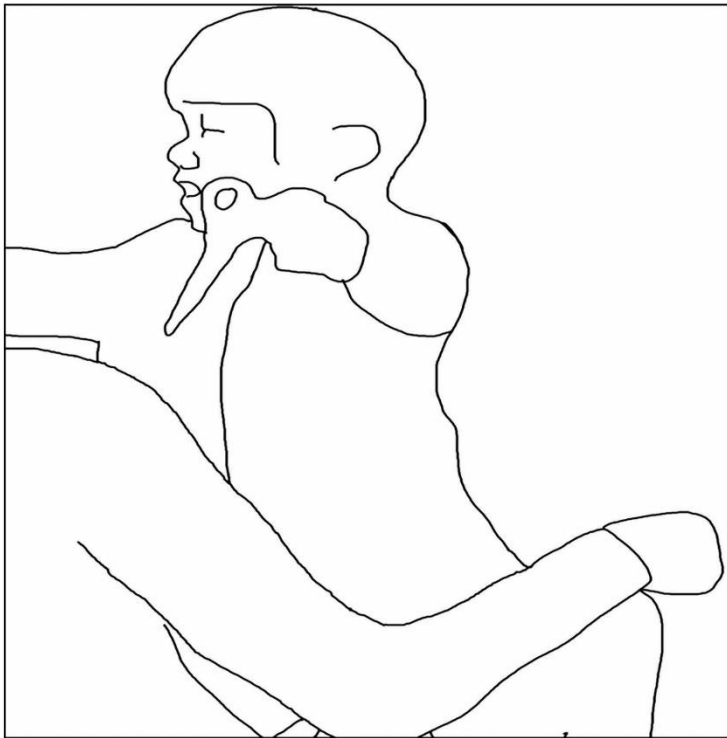
In Extract 3, the group members are conducting a group task that includes writing the most important events of their past lives on small pieces of paper. The task, which is being conducted silently and individually, is part of a lifeline activity where group members chart their own lifelines (see also Chapter 4, Extracts 6 and 7). The solitary-working sequence in this task requires concentration and free access to

pieces of paper on which the members write about their past life events. Meanwhile, C1 and C2 have been playing a chase game, and C1 has used her mother M1 as a 'safety' for the game: a corporeal blockage behind which the children have been hiding and peeking at each other. Furthermore, C1 has been moving on her mother's body as if it were a base for her mobility within the game (see Katila 2018 for a detailed analysis of this). M1, for her part, has been actively disorienting to the children's game and noticeable engagement with the group task. Thus, M1 has also implicitly expressed that she treated C1's continuous movement on her body as distracting her ongoing interaction project (cf. Katila 2018). By image 1 of Figure 24, C2 has temporarily withdrawn from the game, and C1 forces herself onto her mother's lap effortfully, marking the episode as urgent. It is clearly observable that M1 treats this as distracting.



Figure 24. Extract 3.

In image 1, C1 has pushed herself towards M1's body, regardless of M1 turning her body away from C1 and holding her right arm in C1's way to block her access. Hence, as shown in image 1, C1 is not approaching her mother in the effortless, unmarked and aligned manner seen in Extracts 1 and 2. Instead, C1 and M1 are showing corporeal disalignment over C1 accessing nested tactile arrangement (C1 is approaching her mother's body, while M1 is trying to stop C1 approaching). This is evident in how M1 tries to block C1's access with her arm, while C1 pushes her body towards her mother effortfully, accompanying the movement with verbal expression of discomfort "eeeh eeeh" that finalizes her demand to access M1's lap. However, C1 does not force her body towards M1 arbitrarily; rather, the forceful and fast movement is accounted for as the creation of a sense of urgency. This urgency shows that C1 trusts her momentary lack of control over her own body unconditionally to her mother's body, laminating this unconditional trust with a facial expression that communicates distress and need (Figure 25).



C1: eeeheee

Figure 25. Distressed facial expression.

Through this produced urgency, C1 implies that she is approaching the homebase out of necessity, and that it is therefore unavoidable. In addition, C1 accompanies the facial frown by leaning towards her mother with open arms, indicating a request to be held, and sobs (“*eeehee*” Figure 25). Through these expressive elements, which target M1’s love and sense of obligation as a caregiver to take care of her child, C1 is also able to account for the homebase with upgraded intimacy.

Interestingly, by continuing with her group task (Figure 24, image 3), M1 actively treats the tactile arrangement resulting from C1’s entrance as a re-established homebase, not as a temporary engagement (cf. Chapter 4, Extract 1). However, while the arrangement affords C1 a full-body engagement with her mother, it also disaffords her openness to other group members and C2. Furthermore, M1 encloses her hands around C1 to make it possible for herself to write. This control huddle seems to be there to intercorporeally request her daughter to stay still, and thus advocates her previous interaction project of conducting the group task. As it appears, C1 and M1 stay in the huddle for around 10 seconds, until C1 starts to wriggle in M1’s arms, turning her body from side to side (Figure 24, images 4–6). While aligning to this movement by always going to the other side to write, M1 applies active disorientation to her daughter to show her disalignment to the wriggling movement.

Finally, C1 twists her body on M1’s left-hand side, placing her hands on the beanbag and thereby releasing herself from M1’s control touch (Figure 24, image 7). As C1 starts to emerge towards the beanbag, M1 sees an opportunity to guide her daughter’s body onto the beanbag and away from her lap (images 7–8). When C1 has landed on the beanbag, M1 takes hold of C1’s leg and starts to reorganize it in an empty space between her own legs, followed by a movement flow as C1 and M1 rearrange themselves in tactile side-by-side arrangement (image 9). M1 starts to re-engage with her writing project; C1 does not continue with her ordinary business, but maintains her gaze towards her mother, thereby indicating that the negotiation over the nested arrangement is still not finished on her part. Consequently, as follows in Extract 4, C1 insists on getting a space on her mother’s lap in a way that – in light of the context provided by Extract 3 – can be understood as ‘repairing’ an apparent eviction from nested homebase.

5.2.2 Negotiating over the right to return to homebase

In Extract 4 in Figure 26, which directly follows on from Extract 3, C1 climbs towards her mother and pushes herself onto her mother’s lap in a manner that

noticeably makes a corrective statement to her mother's previous action of escorting her away from nested tactile homebase.

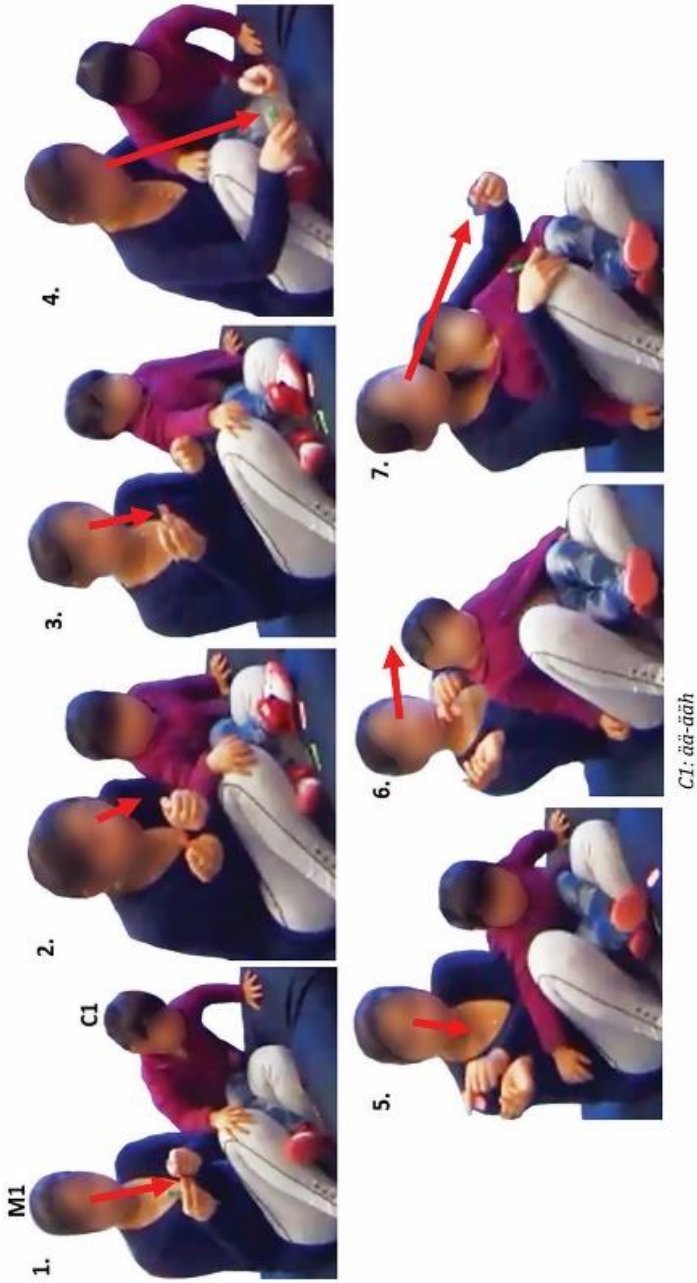


Figure 26. Extract 4.

In image 1, after sitting next to M1 for a few seconds, C1 lifts herself up and places her right hand on M1's right knee. As a result, M1 moves her upper body to her right and actively performs engagement with the writing task. In image 2, C1 starts to place her weight on her right hand, which lies on M1's leg. C1 lifts herself up and bends forwards, providing an enkinaesthetic sensation of active effort to get up and change her body posture. Meanwhile, M1 closes her upper body into a crouching posture that explicitly body glosses (Goffman 1971) that access is not available. However, by actively doing non-access with her body posture, M1 is passively preventing C1's access to her lap – which affords the complementary action of C1 trying to gain access. Nevertheless, neither M1 nor C1 shows any verbal or gaze-driven orientation towards this tactile negotiation over their intimate space. However, in image 3, as C1 inches her body towards her, M1 slightly pushes C1 with her left arm, an active touch (Gibson 1962). Through this clear detour from her task-related writing trajectories, M1 communicates tactilely to C1 that she does not want C1 to access the front side of her lap. As a response to this active touch, C1 raises the position of her right hand to touch M1's right leg (image 4), and then leans her body towards M1's lap and reaches her right arm fully onto the lap, making M1's hands give in to C1's right (image 5).

As the location of M1's hands thus changes, new space emerges near M1's torso that enables C1 to dive in between her mother's hands (image 6). The movement where C1 slides her back towards her mother is accompanied by the verbal utterance 'ää-ääh', which both manifests effort and re-evokes the previously (Extract 3) established sensation of neediness in light of the caregiver-child relationship. Interestingly, even though C1 is now already sitting on M1's lap, she produces an extra movement where she pushes her back towards her mother, as if marking that she has the right to sit on her mother's lap. This occurs in response to M1's implicit denial of access through her previous crouching posture and active touch (images 1–3). Consequently, the interaction projects of C1 and M1 momentarily conflict, as M1 seems only to communicate that she needs space to write, which is interpreted by C1 as blocking her access to nested homebase.

In the episode analysed in Extract 3, C1 started to approach M1. In Extract 4, from image 1 onwards, the initiation of access to nested homebase does not occur against a 'neutral' substrate as a mere return to resting position. Instead, the immediately previous history – including perhaps C1's somewhat upset emotional state – clearly plays a role in how the access is made sense of as repairing the previous arrangement transition. Accordingly, among other things Extracts 3 and 4 are

examples of how emotional states and daily moods also play a crucial role in ongoing sequential negotiations over the intimacy of tactile arrangements, and of how the other person can be held accountable for suddenly breaking the rhythm of moment-by-moment negotiated intimacy.

To sum up Extracts 3 and 4, the child and mother first (Extract 3) made sense of the child getting into nested homebase as an urgency, evoking the caregiver-child relationship. The case then continued (Extract 4) as a tactile negotiation over intimate space (cf. Katila 2018) where the child and mother first downgraded their relationship's intimacy into a side-by-side tactile arrangement, and then upgraded it again into nested tactile homebase. The movement through which these embodied actions occurred was enkinaesthetically treated as interactionally marked – that is, in terms of the corporeal environment and its affordances, as too effortful to be treated merely as establishing or returning to nested homebase. At the heart of the markedness seemed to be the treated-as-questioned tactile intimacy of the relationship.

Besides orienting to the homebase practice, children accessing their mothers' laps can be made sense of as primarily communicating other types of interaction project. In Section 5.3 I analyse two examples of cases where communication embedded in the tactile practice is treated as primarily being about the initiation of a mutual encounter with the mother (Section 5.3.1) or the communication of an emotional state or stance to the mother (Section 5.3.2).

5.3 Accomplishing communicative projects by getting into mother's lap

When a child and mother have not previously established nested tactile homebase as their resting location in a group session, and the child then suddenly initiates access to nested tactile homebase, this access is vulnerable to being treated as producing an interaction project other than locating oneself in space. In this section I analyse two examples of children accessing their mothers' laps in a manner that is interpreted as producing an interaction project other than direct orientation towards accessing the homebase. In the first example (Extract 5, Section 5.3.1), a child lands on his mother's lap in a manner that is made sense of as initiating a play frame with the mother; in the second example (Extract 6, Section 5.3.2), a child's accessing her mother's body is treated as the child communicating about her emotional state.

5.3.1 Getting into homebase as initiating play

Extract 5 is an example where accessing homebase is very explicitly made sense of as initiating a mutual encounter with the mother. In the extract, the child ‘surprises’ his mother by jumping on her lap, and thereby initiates a playful encounter with her through a tactile huddle. When the episode starts, the group session is approaching its end. The members have just been discussing the personal character cards that each member chose for herself. In the session, there are two mothers (M1 and M2), two children (C1 and C2) and the tutor present (see Figure 27. Extract 5: participant map.).



Figure 27. Extract 5: participant map.

When Extract 5 (Figure 28) starts, the tutor is talking about the personal character card task. Meanwhile C1 starts to approach his mother, M1. Before the extract, M1 and C1 have not been mutually interacting for some time, and C1 has not sat on his mother’s lap during the whole session.

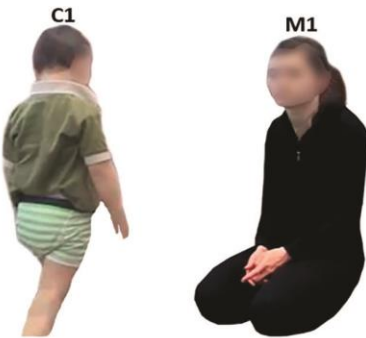



1.  *((C1 approaches M1 with his gaze downwards))*
2.  *((C1 opens his arms all of a sudden and jumps on M1))*
3.  *((C1 collapses into M1's arms))*
4.  *((M1 takes C1 into her arms and plants multiple kisses on him))*

Figure 28. Extract 5.

In image 1, C1 walks slowly towards M1, who is engaged in the group activity. While walking, C1 holds his body posture and gaze downwards until he reaches a tactile distance from his mother, when all of a sudden he opens his arms, turns his gaze towards M1 with a playful smile, and jumps heavily onto her lap (image 2). In surprise, M1 closes her eyes and frowns, at the same time still leaving her body open and starting to adjust her arms around her son (see image 2 of Figure 28, and Figure 29).

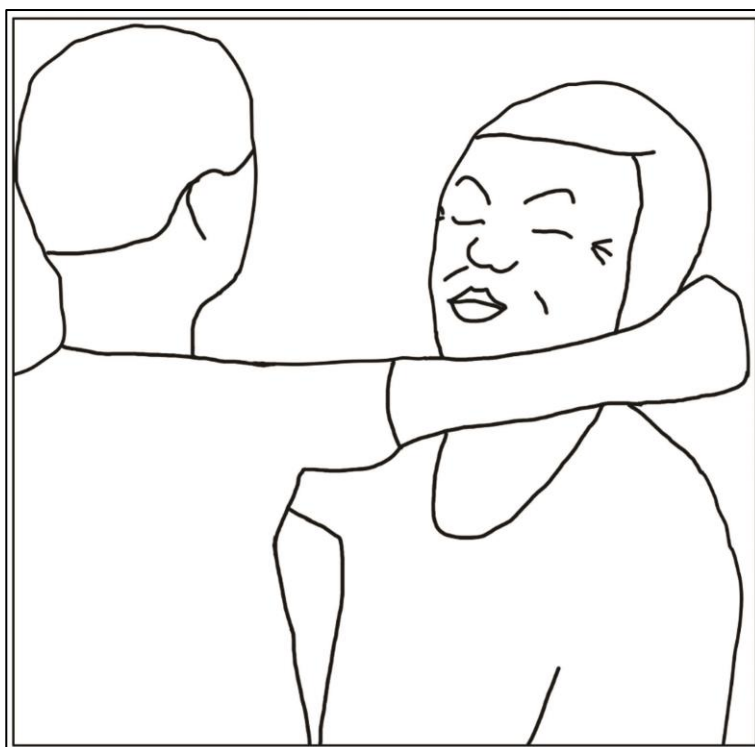


Figure 29. M1's frown and closed eyes.

C1 is breaking the kinaesthetic expectation (Stuart 2012) that M1 (and anyone else in the room) implicitly had about his movement trajectory, by carefully keeping his possible interaction project hidden with his downward gaze and posture while approaching his mother, and then producing a temporally fast change in body posture and movement direction. In addition, the jump causes a strong tactile sensation in M1, expressed in her facial frown. The fact that the jump comes as a surprise is laminated with C1's playful facial expression and strong tactile sensation together enable the encounter to be made sense of in light of a play frame (Bateson

1972), as doing playful ‘scaring’ of the mother in a manner that also affords access to close tactile intimacy with her. C1 surrenders his whole body uncontrollably to M1. By doing this, he is both literally forcing his mother to respond in one way or another and displaying his unlimited corporeal trust (Cekaite and Holm 2017) in her readiness to react to this sudden, playfully flavoured ‘attack’. With her eyes still closed but other parts of her face returning from the frown, M1 takes C1 into her arms (Figure 28, image 3). Moreover, M1 does not show any resistance, such as movement to close her body or verbal disalignment with her son’s action. Instead, as an appropriate response to C1’s sudden tactile blitz, M1 playfully forces him into her arms and torture-tickles him with intensive kissing and cuddling, as if avenging the playful tactile surprise attack (Figure 28, image 4). In response, C1 floods out (Goffman 1961: 50–55) with emotion by laughter-screaming loudly as if resisting and disliking his mother’s kisses, undulating his body fiercely.

In sum, in Extract 5, both the conduct and the receipt of the corporeal action require body effort that is immediately understood by both C1 and M1 as initiating an action other than merely locating oneself in space. After the action sequence – which consists of a) C1’s jump, b) M1’s being surprised by the jump, c) M1’s avenging the jump by playful cuddling and kissing, and d) C1 as-if disliking the kissing and cuddling – is finished, C1 rushes to the other side of the room and thunders back into his mother’s arms, repeating and heightening this jump-revenge-kissing sequence twice more after the episode in Extract 5. Curiously, after the action sequences, M1 says to the other group members: ‘He does not like it when I kiss him.’ However, when we observed C1’s embodied action and his clearly uncontrollable expression of pure joy, it could not have been more obvious that he was enjoying every second of the playful encounter. It might be that the playfulness, and the complementary roles of ‘kissing torturer’ and ‘helpless victim of kissing torture’, momentarily afforded an understandable frame for intimacy – an excuse to be kissed and cuddled. The intimate sequence had a temporal, sequential order of its own, and after reaching the affective peak (Kinnunen and Kolehmainen, submitted) of going through the action sequence for the third time, both C1 and M1 returned from the play frame into the everyday life frame, or in Schütz’s (1962: 230–234) words the finite province of meaning⁷⁶ that existed before the play frame. Accordingly, C1’s approaching his mother’s lap was not treated by the parties as C1

⁷⁶ In an essay on ‘multiple realities’, Schütz (1962: 207–259) suggests that on a daily basis we encounter transitions between different ‘provinces of meaning’, such as when we are ‘relaxing into laughter, if, in listening to a joke, we are for a short time ready to accept the fictitious world of the jest as reality in relation to which the world of our daily lives takes on the character of foolishness’ (Schütz 1962: 231).

accessing a resting location; instead, accessing his mother's lap in this specific manner was harnessed as a platform to engage with the mother and explicitly renew the social relationship through touch (cf. M.H. Goodwin 2017).

Extract 6 is an example of a child approaching her mother in a manner that communicates being bored.

5.3.2 Getting into homebase as doing being bored

In Extract 6, the child approaches her mother's lap in an effortful – slow and cumbersome – manner that is treated as communicating boredom and therefore as an implicit complaint about the duration of the session. The case occurs after C1 has complained to her mother about not having a playmate in the session, since another mother-child dyad that was supposed to have come to the session had not made it after all. In the session, there are two mothers (M1 and M2), M1's child (C1) and the tutor present (see Figure 30. Extract 6: participant map).

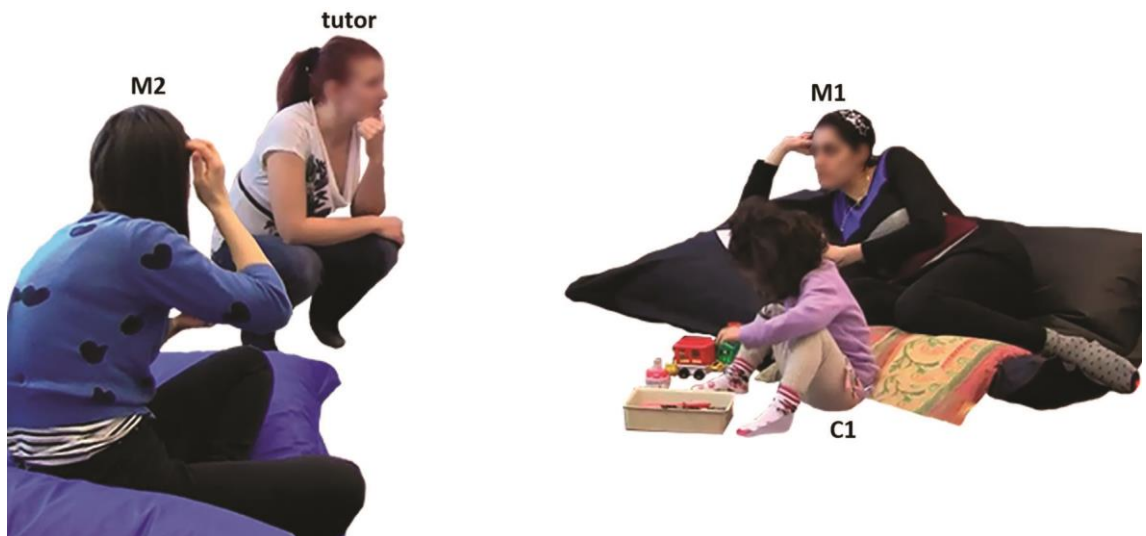


Figure 30. Extract 6: participant map.

Extract 6 occurs at the beginning of the group session. By image 1 of Figure 31, the mothers and tutor have been talking for quite a while about their daily lives and past weeks in an unofficial manner. At the point of interest, the tutor is talking about a reptile display she has visited, and the mothers are orienting towards her talk.

Meanwhile, C1 has been playing with the crayons and doing some colouring until she suddenly gets up and starts approaching her mother (image 1).






1.  *((C1 gets up slowly while M1 orientates to a group discussion))*
2.  *((C1 crawls on M1, while M1 does not move her posture but disorientates her gaze from the group discussion))*
3.  *M1: so many colors ((refers to pencil crayons))*
((C1 adjusts her body on M1))
4.  *M1: did you get tired over there ((gazes at her daughter smilingly, but the gaze is not responded to by C1))*
5.  *C1: no:::*
((C1 sits down on M1 and the two arrange themselves into face formation))

Figure 31. Extract 6.

In image 1, C1 finishes her colouring, puts away the paper she has been colouring on, and starts to get up slowly and clumsily towards her mother. Meanwhile, M1 is lying on a beanbag and orienting her body towards the tutor. C1 then crawls towards M1 and starts to climb on her, placing her hands against M1 for support. Just as C1's hands touch M1, M1 withdraws her gaze from the tutor (image 2). M1, overlapping with the tutor's ongoing talk, turns her gaze towards C1 and evaluates positively the coloured pencils her daughter has been playing with ('So many colours,' image 3). As the mother is engaged in another activity, it seems reasonable to suggest that this assessment is not merely innocently appreciating the multiplicity of the colours, but also implicitly encouraging or motivating her daughter to go back to her colouring. C1 does not respond to this. Instead, C1 adjusts herself on M1 in an awkward-looking body posture, the awkwardness being evident in the obvious amount of effort C1 invests in the posture and her body's observable lack of relaxation while in it (image 3). Accordingly, this effortfulness also implicitly requests her mother to readjust her own body posture, which is rather difficult to sit down on. However, M1 does not move her body, thereby implicitly discouraging her daughter from staying for a long time. Instead, M1, gazing at her daughter, reframes C1's body idiom with light-heartedness by smilingly interpreting C1's action: 'Did you get tired over there?' (image 4). At the same time, C1 withdraws from the mutual gaze, her body posture theatrically applying a miserable emotional stance (M.H. Goodwin et al. 2012) and her facial expression iconizing the difficulty she has encountered in trying to adjust her body to fit M1's body (see image 4 in Figure 31, and Figure 32), while verbally still rejecting her mother's interpretation ('No,' image 5 in Figure 31).



Figure 32. Miserable face.

Through this visual and tactile body gloss (cf. Goffman 1971: 11), C1 is making explicit that she is not sitting on her mother's lap in order to 'just' sit down, but her action – the meaning of which is by no means ready-set or conscious – unfolds in her mother's interpretation. C1 is able to reveal the cues of her interaction project by resonating (Fuchs 2017) her body into an effortfully slow tempo and uneasiness that intercorporeally afford the treatment of her embodied movements as meaningful in this particular manner. Moreover, C1 is not just sitting down; she is crawling/climbing. These are types of action that are already understood as more effortful than walking or sitting down, and thus are interactionally marked in this interactional context. In addition, the activity types chosen – climbing and crawling – also partially 'respond' to M1's body position, which is rather hard to get located on (in comparison with a sitting position, for instance).

It is also noteworthy that C1 has not sat on M1's lap for a while. Thus, as she moves directly towards her mother's body with her front body towards her (and not her back body, as often in sitting), she makes an officially noticeable change in her embodied position. The curious thing is that C1 does not just approach her mother and tell her that she is bored (which is clearly embedded in her body movement); instead, she is 'as-if-approaching-her-mother-for-no-reason' so that her mother can

‘evidence’ the boredom directly in her body idiom (Goffman 1963; Schindler 2017: 444). Moreover, the body idiom is made to seem like ‘just going about my everyday business’.⁷⁷ This is at least observable in M1’s interpretation of C1’s action: she smilingly calls out her daughter’s ‘as-if-I-did-not-approach-you-because-I-want-you-to-notice-I-am-bored’. Instead, M1 explicitly interprets C1’s action as performing being bored. What is more, by approaching her mother with the boredom, C1 also implicitly recruits her assistance (Kendrick and Drew 2016; cf. Chapter 4, Extract 1) with the boredom, at the same time as implicitly displaying a negative stance towards having to be at the session. In many ways, it is clear that C1’s access to M1’s lap is treated by the parties not as doing a return to homebase, but as explicitly initiating a new embodied arrangement whose ‘why that now’ (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 299) is collaboratively made sense of as performing and living being bored.

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have analysed the tactile practices incorporated when children sit or otherwise land on their mothers’ laps. The analysis suggests that some of the cases of children adjusting on their mothers were treated by the parties as the child returning to or initiating nested tactile homebase (Katila 2018) – a caregiver-child-specific resting location in space such that the child is located on her caregiver’s body. The cases where mother and child oriented to the child accessing nested tactile homebase were interpreted by mothers and children as either interactionally unmarked or marked, depending on the local context and the recent corporeal relationship history of the mother and child in question. In the unmarked cases (Extracts 1–2), children accessed nested tactile homebase in a manner that was treated by mother and child as doing mere establishment of (Extract 1) or return to (Extract 2) a resting position. The unmarkedness showed in the fluent and effortless manner in which the children sat on their mothers’ laps. This was accomplished through subtle embodied communication – tactile and visual body gloss (Goffman 1971: 11; Schindler 2017) that was co-experienced in each other’s body movements

⁷⁷ This is to say neither that C1 was not ‘really’ bored nor that her actions were careful calculations. Rather, this multilayering is part of spontaneous, ever-creative everyday life, and children at a very young age already know surprisingly well how to live through this layering. Humans are living, thinking, intercorporeal beings whose aims are both visible and invisible to each other.

through enkinaesthesia (Stuart 2012, 2017a&b), the ability to co-feel the temporal affordances and amount of corporeal effort invested in one's own and another's body movements. In unmarked cases, neither mothers nor children showed any attention towards the action of sitting down, but the action was experienced as effortless non-attention towards the other (cf. Streeck 2016: 13). Instead, the bodies oriented to each other through direct tactile and enkinaesthetic connection: tactile intercorporeality. Thus, homebase can be understood as one form of tactile intercorporeality: bodies' habitualize co-being in tactile contact to the extent that it is regarded as merely being and locating oneself in space, just as one might locate oneself on a chair (cf. Gibson 1966). In cases of sitting on somebody/being sat on, there occurs a reversibility of bodies' roles that is based on complementary rather than counterpart⁷⁸ body postures. Unmarked, non-attended and fluent sitting down re-establishes the intimate familiarity of bodies and the habitualization of the other in a manner that implicitly evokes the previous relationship history in every new now. Nevertheless, even though these cases of sitting down appeared to be treated as self-evident, the seen but unnoticed (Garfinkel 1963) tactile routines were collaborative accomplishments (Schegloff 1986). Therefore, making a movement that seems like a return to homebase implies acting as if it is not the first time – acting as if there is an intercorporeal history that makes it possible for a movement to be a return, not a novel or initial turn. Doing returning is therefore an intercorporeal negotiation practice or method that gets its rhetorical force from making something seem non-negotiable because it has been negotiated before: doing self-evidence by creating the sensation of a history of past cases. This self-evidence – i.e. unmarkedness – requires both an actual history and an intercorporeal doing as if there is such a history in the moment of action.

Section 5.2 analysed cases where children marked their getting into nested tactile homebase by producing an effortful, urgent need to be in the homebase (cf. Streeck 2017; Guffari and Streeck 2017). The examples in Section 5.2 thus consisted of cases where the markedness was about the tactile intimacy of bodies. In Extract 3 (Section 5.2.1), the child's movements were made sense of as evoking an intercorporeal need to be in her mother's lap/to be cuddled and comforted by her mother. This intercorporeal need was accounted for by evoking asymmetrical caregiver-child roles in which a child is supposed to be 'entitled' to comfort from her or his caregiver.

⁷⁸ Merleau-Ponty (1968: 317), who describes the example of two hands touching, exemplifies their reversibility with 'the finger of the glove that is turned inside out'. The case of the one who sits and the one who is being sat on, however, is different: the body parts are not counterparts in the sense of reversed gloves, but rather are complementary.

Extract 4 (Section 5.2.2) presented an episode where a child approached her mother in a manner that was treated by mother and child as repairing the previously downgraded tactile intimacy.

In contrast to the practice of a child sitting on the mother as a return to or establishment of homebase, in Section 5.3 I analysed cases where the practice of children adjusting themselves on their mothers' bodies was treated by mother and child as primarily producing a communicative project other than locating oneself in space. Extract 5 (Section 5.3.1) studied a case where the type of action (jumping) and recent relationship history (tactile separation) enabled the child's accessing of the nested tactile arrangement to be self-evidently treated as initiating a play frame, and not as returning to a resting position. In Extract 6 (Section 5.3.2), the mother and child made sense of the child's access to a nested tactile arrangement as the child being bored and therefore wanting to attract her mother's attention.

Common to all the cases analysed was that the temporal and environmental affordances of the local context, together with the group session-specific location history, were crucial vehicles through which mothers and children metacommunicated (Bateson 1972) the frame for tactile practice as interactionally either unmarked or marked. I found that sitting down in a nested tactile arrangement as a practical movement in space could be enacted as a full-body gesture (Cuffari and Streeck 2017) produced directly on and against another body. However, given their ambiguity in terms of communicative explicitness, tactile practices such as sitting down on somebody can be understood as what Andrén (2010, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) has called the lower limit of gesture. Andrén (2014a: 158) studied the communicative affordances of young children's handling of objects and suggested that there is no clear distinction between gesture and non-gesture, and that there is nothing that prevents a practical action from being communicative.

Besides making sense of the communicative level of tactile practices through the amount of intercorporeal effort put into them, I have suggested that subtle tactile communication is made sense of through the previous intercorporeal relationship history. Making sense of returns to nested homebase as gestures seems to require a level of intimacy where bodies do not ordinarily need to topicalize the ongoing touch; rather, that touch is a way for the bodies to be 'at home' or 'at rest' with each other. Sometimes this intimacy and ordinariness of the other was evident in the manner in which the other person's body was harnessed as if it were only a platform or piece of furniture to be located on. This level of tactile intimacy, which at times allowed one person to treat another like a chair or other object, required that the

bodies had an intimate tactile relationship history, and that the markedness therefore did not stem from the bodies being unfamiliar with each other's corporealities.

6 HANDING OF AN OBJECT AS AN ENGAGEMENT PRACTICE: CREATING HAPTIC LINKS BETWEEN BODIES

When a person takes a position in a crowded pedestrian walkway, which intentionally disrupts pedestrian flow, and then exploits the social practice of handing including the deep habitus which makes it quite difficult actually to inhibit the handing/receiving practice so as not to receive the handed object, I would argue that we can see how one practice may be used to produce contradictions with another practice and that this contradiction is exploitable for further social purposes. (Scollon 2001: 25–26)

In Scandinavian civilization, and in a good number of others, exchanges and contracts take place in the form of presents; in theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily. (Mauss 1990: 3)

The remarkable fact is that when a man touches something with a stick he feels it at the end of the stick, not in the hand. (Gibson 1966: 100)

This chapter studies child-initiated object-handings: occasions where a child transfers or initiates the transfer of an object to another person, in order to (Schütz 1964: 11) make the other person, at least momentarily, have the object. Object-handings have been called concrete offers – processes of making available to a recipient some concrete referent or material object or artefact (Kärkkäinen and Keisanen 2012: 588). Framed like this, object-handings can be understood as predicting others' needs or wants (cf. Curl 2006: 1258), thereby representing some sort of prosocial action such as helping or pleasing other people. One may, for instance, hand a teabag to a person who is about to drink tea (Kärkkäinen and Keisanen 2012: 603–604). However, object-handings sometimes also occur when there is no clear indicator that the targeted person wants or needs the object. For instance, a person who is handing out leaflets on a pedestrian walkway may apparently be doing prosociality by offering a leaflet, but the person is actually treated as disrupting the pedestrian flow by exploiting the practice of handing (cf. Scollon 2001: 25–26). In cases like this, the practice of object-handing is treated as producing an interaction project other than fulfilment of the targeted person's wants or needs.

This chapter focuses on acts of handing over that do not do offering but are part of obligating the recipient into the ritual of acting as if they have been given a needed object (cf. Mauss 1990). It is for this reason that I call these cases object-handings rather than concrete offers, even though offering is certainly one social action that can be produced by handing an object.⁷⁹ The primary in-order-to of the children's object-handings analysed in this chapter is to interact: to confirm the other person's (tactile) co-presence or to be otherwise in contact with other people. I will focus on how children enact practices of object-handing as practices for interaction and building connections with others (Mauss 1990: 3). I propose that a crucial point in these object-handings is that persons indirectly touch each other while they occur (Gibson 1966: 100; Ratcliffe 2008: 90–91; Scollon 2001: 24). Given that object-handings thus create momentary connections between bodies, they are also haptic practices (cf. Katila, 2018) or vehicles for moment-by-moment unfolding tactile intercorporealities (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Meyer et al. 2017).

The practice of handing and receiving an item can be understood as an example of ritualized supportive interchange (Goffman 1971: 63–64; Mauss 1990) that is expected to lead to an appreciation or counterpresentation, or remedially accounts for 'violations' of the ritual (Bourdieu 1977; Davidson 1984; Garfinkel 1967; Kärkkäinen and Keisanen 2012: 592; Scollon 2001: 19–85). Since object-handings are rituals that support prosociality, failing to respond to them appropriately can contain a face-threatening risk, and the practice is therefore often oriented to with facework (Goffman 1955, 2005). This means that there is a moral obligation to appreciate the handed item. However, as suggested for instance by Hofstetter and Stokoe (2015: 727–728) and Clayman and Heritage (2014: 58), it is often not ready-set as to who is the 'beneficiary' of the object-handing or offer⁸⁰ (Couper-Kuhlen

⁷⁹ *The Oxford English Dictionary* provides the following definition of *offer*: 'an expression of readiness to do or give something if desired' (Hofstetter and Stokoe 2015: 727). Not only does definition imply an expectation of the other person's 'desire', which does not always hold, but it does not fit particularly well with concrete offers, which are not only 'expressions of readiness' but actualizations of it. By contrast with verbal offers – which do not often concretely execute the content of the offer and are usually only 'pre-' some motor action (Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 624) – concrete offers already contain the execution of the offer (and a potential, though expected, acceptance of the offer). As Couper-Kuhlen (2014: 624) describes, verbal offers can be understood as occasions where the 'the speaker is attempting to bring about something in the future.' For these reasons, this study adopts the expression *object-handing* rather than *concrete offer*.

⁸⁰ Couper-Kuhlen (2014: 628) suggests that interactors 'differentiate actions to be undertaken jointly with shared costs and benefits from actions that are undertaken unilaterally with costs accruing to the initiator but benefits accruing to the recipient'. As a consequence, Couper-Kuhlen (2014) argues that the beneficiary of the offer is the one to whom the offer is being made, while the one who makes the offer is the 'agent' of the action and thus the one who has the 'costs'. Developing Couper-Kuhlen's

2014), because sometimes an ‘offer may be concretely inconsistent with the interests of its recipient’ (Maynard 1986: 271). Hence, in contrast to the initial presumption that the target of an offer is its beneficiary (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 2014), the practice may actually be beneficial to the hander, who can exploit the practice for further social purposes (Scollon 2001: 25–26). Accordingly, even if the beneficiary statuses (Clayman and Heritage 2014: 58) of object-handings or offers are sometimes ambiguous, their participants still seem to orient to the apparent prosociality of the initiative action of handing or offering. In this chapter, I will explore object-handings through which a child initiates a mutual interaction with other persons who are often engaged in other activities. The apparent prosociality of handing is thus utilized to ensure that the initiatives are less vulnerable to being treated as ‘distracting’, even when the target person clearly shows that she is not in need or want of the handed object.

The data set for this chapter encompasses a total of 157 cases of children initiating object-handings to another person, indicated in Table 2. I have defined the cases in terms of observable occasions where an object is transferred towards another person with an apparent intent to give that object to the other person. Most of the handings in the data are initiated and actualized solely by non-verbal actions. Sometimes these actions remain mere initiators: for instance, when a child suspends the handing just as she notices that the other person is reaching for it, or when the target person either explicitly refuses or effortfully disattends (cf. Chapter 4) to the handing. I concentrate on the moment-by-moment unfolding embodied interaction projects that are accomplished through the practice of a child reaching towards another person with an object or transferring an object into another person’s possession.

suggestion, Clayman and Heritage (2014) distinguish between ‘benefactive stance’ and ‘benefactive status’: the former refers to the speaker’s action encoded in the linguistic signal, as described by Couper-Kuhlen (2014), while the latter refers to:

a complex of underlying conditions for the action, including such matters as whether a service will be rendered that is of actual benefit to its recipient, whether the performer of the service is able and willing to perform it, whether the cost to the performer is high or low, and whether the service is to be performed immediately. (Clayman and Heritage 2014: 58)

Table 2. Object-handings.

Apparent interaction project of the handing or handing type	Target of the handing			
	Child's own mother	Another child	Tutor	Another mother
Suspended handing	12	14	10	1
Initiating or maintaining interaction	19	14	21	
Doing helping/participating	12		2	1
Asking for help	8			
Confirming the other's availability	19			
Teasing by giving a desired object to somebody else			2	1
Transferring an object into another's possession	13	2	3	
Treated as a gift		3		
Subtotals	83	33	38	3
Total				157

In this chapter, I will ask:

1. What kinds of interaction project do children achieve with the practice of handing objects to other people, and how are these interaction projects collaboratively made sense of?
2. How can the haptic practice of handing and receiving objects become a platform for embodied negotiation over mutual engagement, and how is this negotiation managed by the parties involved in it?

In what follows, I will analyse six naturally occurring examples of different kinds of interaction project conducted with object-handings (Sections 6.1–6.5). While the data set presented in Table 1 covers all object-handings by the four children who were present in the group sessions, in this chapter I will focus on handings by one child, who was around two-and-a-half or three years old at the time of the recording. This child, who was present in all of the group sessions, produced most of the object-handings and enacted the practice with different people in the group. Consequently, I will also be able to compare the child's interactions with different people in terms of her varying relationship histories with her fellow interactors. I will first (Extracts 1 and 2, Sections 6.1–6.2) analyse cases where the child and tutor co-produce an interaction game by enacting the practice of handing and accepting an object as

material for the game. Second (Extracts 3 and 4, Sections 6.3–6.4), I will discuss extracts where the child hands a pair of scissors to her mother. In these extracts, I will explore the temporal affordances (Extract 3) and conditional relevance⁸¹ (Extract 4) of haptic object-handings (cf. Schegloff 1968). Finally, in Section 6.5 I will analyse a case where the child uses object-handing to initiate interaction with another child. In the conclusion to this chapter, I will provide a summary and discussion of the results.

6.1 Handing an object as affording a medium for an interaction game

Extract 1 provides an example where a child (C1) initiates an interaction with the tutor by handing her an item. As a result, handing and accepting different items back and forth becomes a game for the two, the practice thereby providing the medium and content for a mutual encounter. In the extract, there are six participants present: group members M1, M2 and M3, the tutor, M1's child C1, and M2's child C2 (the latter not shown in Figure 1). The participants are sitting in a circular 'face-to-face' arrangement (cf. Scheflen 1972: 27) on the floor or on beanbags (see Figure 33: Extracts 1 and 2: participant map.).

⁸¹ Schegloff (1968) uses the term *conditional relevance* to refer to the socially binding cues that tie social actions together into practices. Conditional relevance means that after certain social actions, it is conditionally relevant to respond in a certain reciprocal manner – for instance, responding to a question after the question. This has to do with the moral, accountable aspect of human actions. As Enfield (2011: 290–291) suggests, 'for all social creatures, a poorly formed or poorly chosen move may be ineffective, but only among humans can such mismatch lead to moral sanction.'

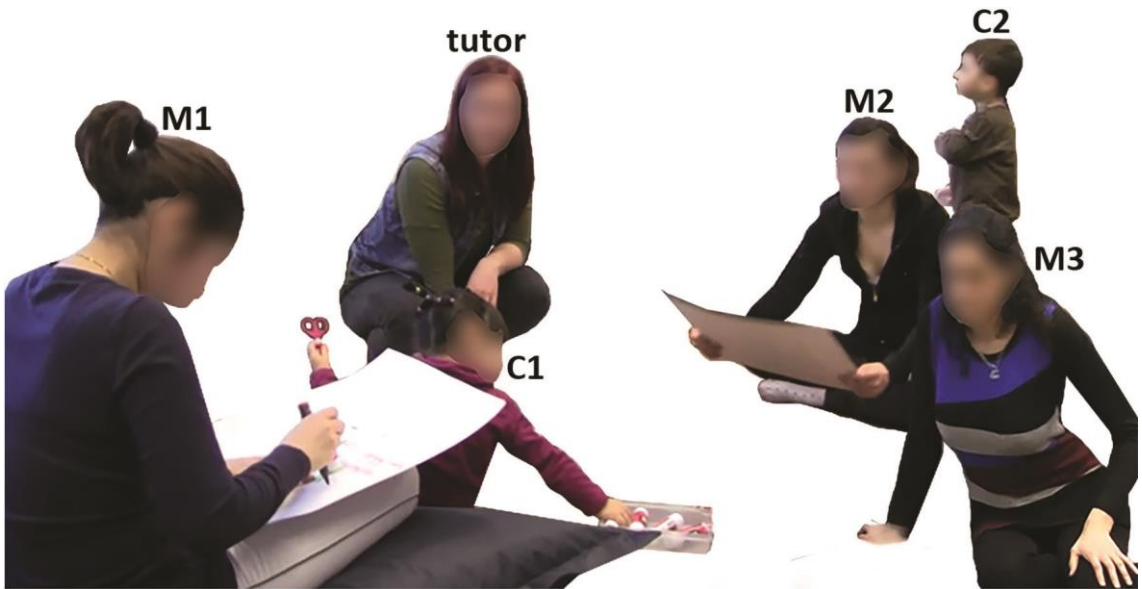


Figure 33. Extracts 1 and 2: participant map.

As Extract 1 starts, the group members are conducting a group task that temporarily requires silent solitary work: they are each drawing their own lifelines on big sheets of cardboard. Therefore, the group members' children and the group tutor are unoccupied for a moment. At the beginning of Extract 1, M2's child C2 is having a nap on the other side of the room. Thus C1 and the tutor are for a moment the only ones present who are not occupied with anything specific. C1 then initiates an interaction with the tutor by getting up and ceremonially handing a magazine to her, laminating the action with a verbal utterance, a proud body posture and a head nod (Figure 34, image 1).

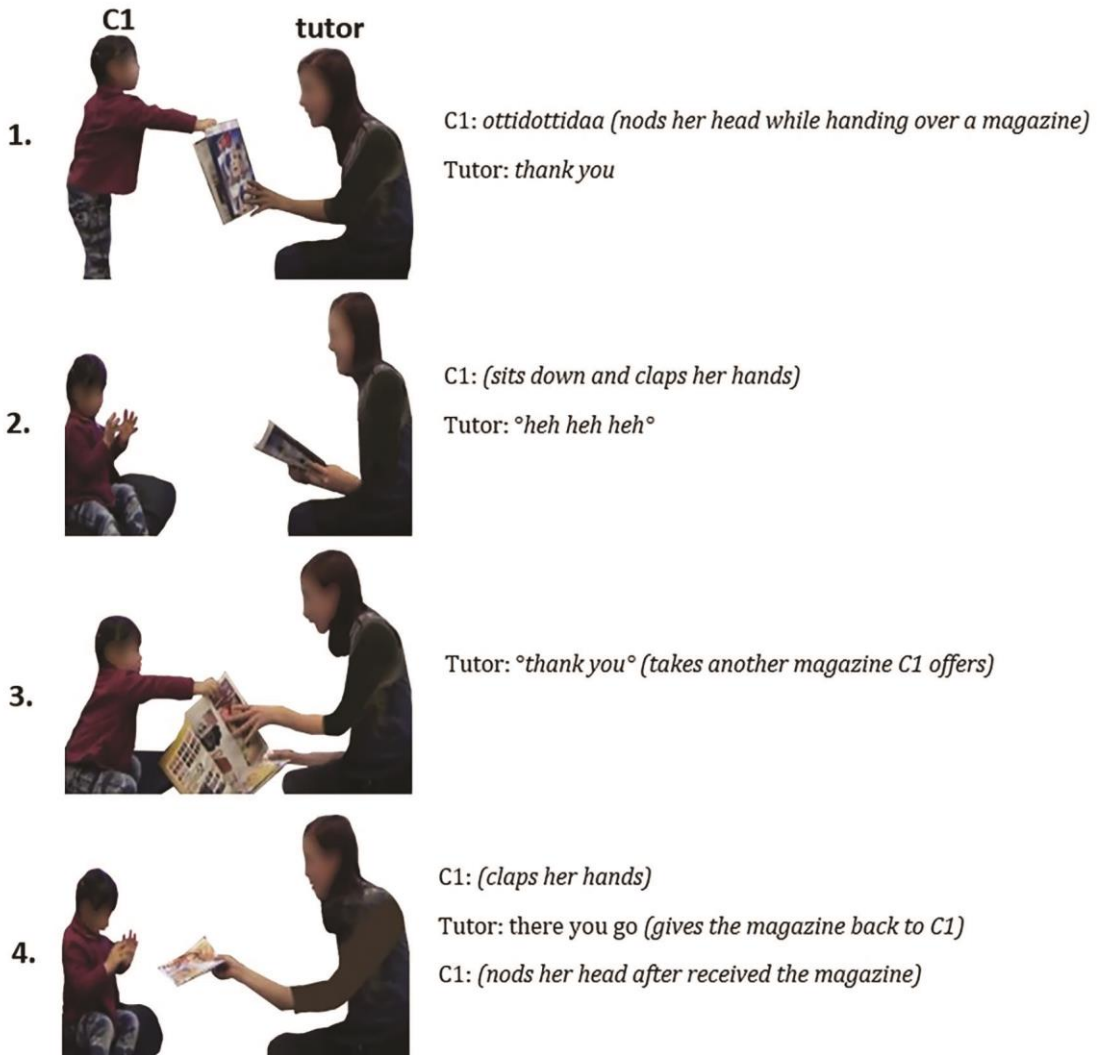


Figure 34. Extract 1: first part.

In image 1, in response to C1's initiation, the tutor accepts the magazine with an acknowledgement ("Thank you"). The moment ends in a mutual embodied appreciation between the interactors (image 2). During this moment, the interactors share an intense mutual gaze while C1 leans back to sit on the beanbag, at the same time waving her whole body and clapping her hands three times to appreciate the encounter, accompanied by the group tutor's smile and mild laughter. Immediately after, in image 3, C1 hands the tutor another object, which the tutor verbally acknowledges by saying less loudly "Thank you". After this, in image 4, the established

pattern is reversed: while C1 is still living the appreciation of the previous encounter with a handclap, the tutor now hands the magazine back to C1, accompanying the handing with the verbalization ‘There you go.’ Even though she perhaps has to stop the handclapping sooner than she would otherwise have done, C1 still accepts and appreciates the magazine with small nods.

Extract 1 continues with C1 putting the magazine dramatically on display with a big smile on her face, reciprocated by the tutor’s facial expression (Figure 35, image 5).









5.		<p>tutor</p> 	<p>C1: <i>(shows the magazine with a playful facial expression)</i></p> <p>Tutor: °heh heh° <i>(responds to C1's facial expression)</i></p>
6.			<p>C1: <i>(hands over the magazine)</i></p>
7.			<p>Tutor: <i>thank you</i></p> <p>C1: <i>(claps her hands)</i></p>
8.			<p>Tutor: <i>well done</i></p>

Figure 35. Extract 1: second part.

By displaying the magazine playfully to the tutor (Figure 35, image 5), C1 noticeably frames her upcoming action as a play (Bateson 1972) and makes available the cues to predict her next action – which is, as expected, handing the magazine back to the tutor (image 6), followed by the tutor’s verbal appreciation and C1’s handclaps (image 7). Next, in image 8, instead of handing the magazine straight back to C1, the tutor evaluates C1’s action positively (‘Well done’) and withdraws her gaze from C1 for a moment. Through these subtle cues, which indicate a change in the pattern, it is possible to sense that the interaction game has reached and passed its affective peak (cf. Katila, 2018; Kinnunen and Kolehmainen, submitted; Knudsen and Stage 2015: 8–9) and that the participants are subtly looking for ways to transit out of the interaction, which has started to repeat itself. However, the tutor decides to hand the magazine to C1 once more (Figure 36, image 9).

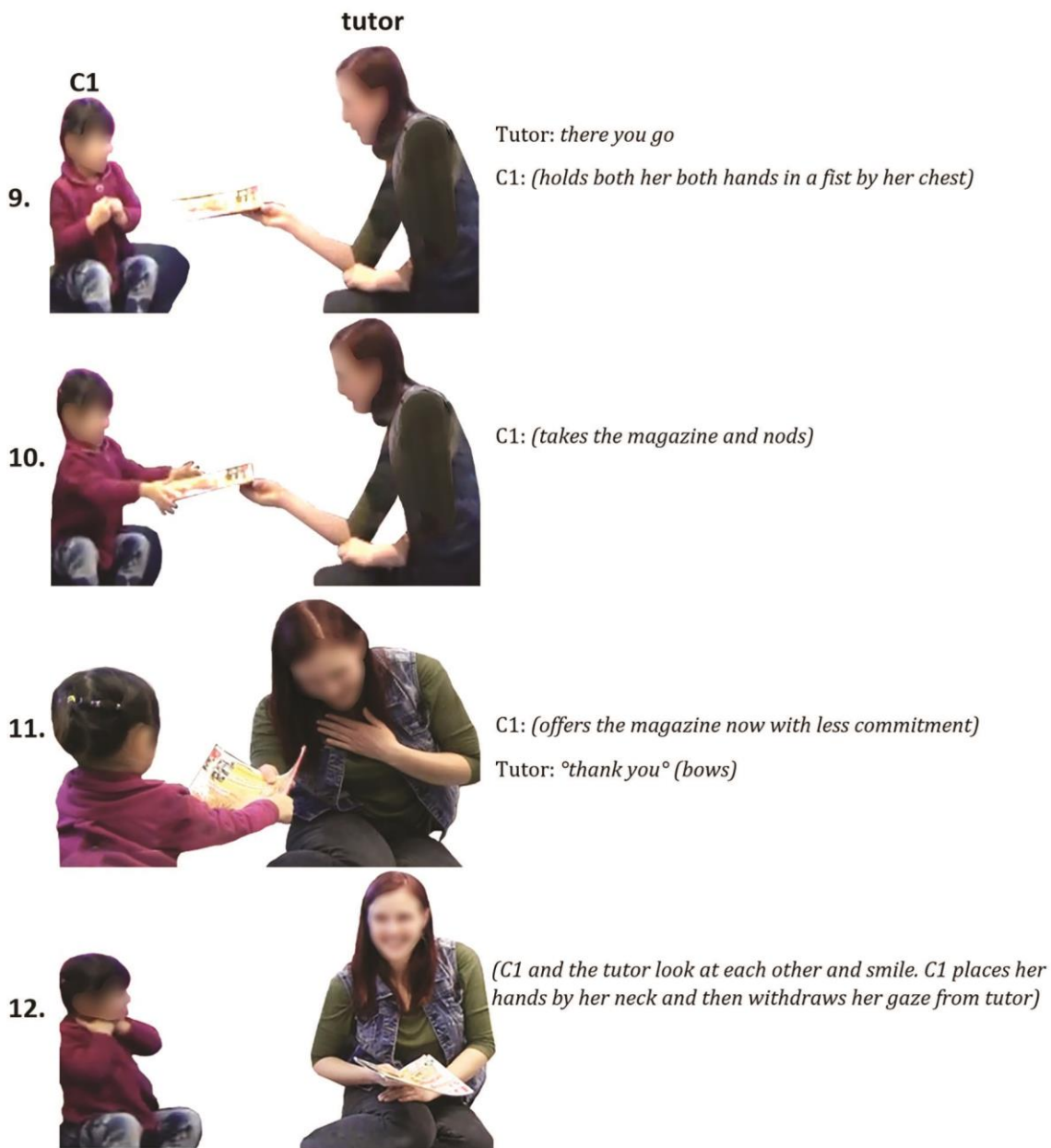


Figure 36. Extract 1: third part.

Interestingly, in image 9, when the tutor hands the magazine back to C1, C1 already has her body slightly ‘closed’ with her hands in a fist by her chest, indicating

that C1 was perhaps already preparing to leave the encounter and is now less committed to receiving the magazine. Nevertheless, C1 still takes the magazine and nods (image 10). Before handing the magazine back, C1 waits for a second or so, but when she hands it over (image 11), the tutor produces a theatrical bowing gesture and places her hand on her chest with her eyes closed, overtly exaggerating the doing appreciating. This leads to an intimate and joyful face-to-face moment where the two smile at each other, followed by C1 placing both her hands on her chest, around her neck, as if mirroring the previous movement by the tutor (image 12). However, unlike the handclapping, C1's placing of her hands around her neck embodies a posture that disaffords being handed an object. Thus, by this body posture C1 also implicitly discourages the tutor from handing over the magazine again, implicitly communicating that she prefers the cycle of handing and receiving to be finished. As a result, immediately after image 12 the tutor withdraws her gaze and puts the magazine away (not shown in Figure 36).

By mutually monitoring each other's gazes and other body movements (cf. Goffman 1971; M.H. Goodwin 1980; M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite 2018; Mondada 2014c: 360–361; Streeck 2013), the tutor and C1 managed to subtly negotiate over withdrawing from the encounter together, without one of the parties having to explicitly account for her withdrawal. There was no external reason that would have afforded an excuse to finish the encounter, which perhaps had just started to become too repetitive, and withdrawing from an encounter for no particular reason can be face-threatening. Therefore, managing a withdrawal by making it seem like a collaborative decision, or just an unplanned, natural way for things go, is an interactional accomplishment that inherently secures interactors' faces.

Extract 1 provided an interesting occurrence of the creation of a playful interaction game that had a predictable pattern of its own. The predictability itself, and the fact that the other responded in a predictable manner, brought joy and excitement that stemmed from the moment of heightened mutuality and sharedness. Furthermore, the encounter was laden with a specific kind of delicacy, a kind of shyness that is at times implied in encounters with fairly new people. This could be empathetically sensed in the subtle manner in which the encounter evolved into play, and in how the participants carefully monitored and reciprocated each other's embodied actions. When the encounter developed into play and mutual positive acknowledgement, the intercorporeally lived joy and excitement was directly observable, especially in C1's embodied movements: the handclaps, the heightened positive expression on her face, and her enthusiastic embodied stance. Consequently, through her embodied actions, C1 was not just representing or communicating inner

excitement to the other; she was actually living and sensing the ongoing moment through her whole body (cf. Cuffari and Streeck 2017; Kinsbourne and Jordan 2009: 108–109), the joyful affect stemming from being intimately with another person. Handing and receiving an item provided a distant haptic link between the bodies, thereby affording a meaningful platform for mutual encounter.

At the end of Extract 1 there certainly occurred some subtlety over how to continue or discontinue the encounter. This negotiation occurred as a delicate and most likely unconscious mutual monitoring (e.g. Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135) of the other person's embodied movements, and by providing embodied cues such as putting slightly less commitment into the action, designing one's body in a less open posture, and changing the pattern. Through these implicit corporeal cues, the participants collaboratively accomplished passage through the sequence cycle with an apparent alignment over the temporal order of the encounter.

6.2 Handing an object as affording the management of multiple interaction frameworks

Extract 2 occurs just few minutes after Extract 1, and the participants are still in the same circular arrangement as in Extract 1 (see Figure 33). In Extract 2, the child re-evokes the interaction game with the tutor of handing and receiving an item, and therefore implicitly uses the previous encounter as a justification to be entitled to initiate a mutual encounter with the tutor again. In other words, the (near past) relationship history between the child and the tutor provides an expectation that the parties will be open for future encounter initiators. However, in contrast to Extract 1, where the tutor was momentarily unoccupied with group work while the members silently worked on their individual lifelines, in Extract 2 the tutor has just started to lead a discussion about the lifelines. Accordingly, she is no longer available for involvements other than group involvements. In spite of this, C1 initiates a mutual encounter with her by handing her an item twice in a row. These handings are disattended to by the tutor. However, even though the tutor thus implicitly communicates to C1 that her handings come at an inappropriate time, C1 initiates yet another, more dramatically performed object-handing that explicitly produces an urgent need for an immediate response (image 1 in Figure 37).

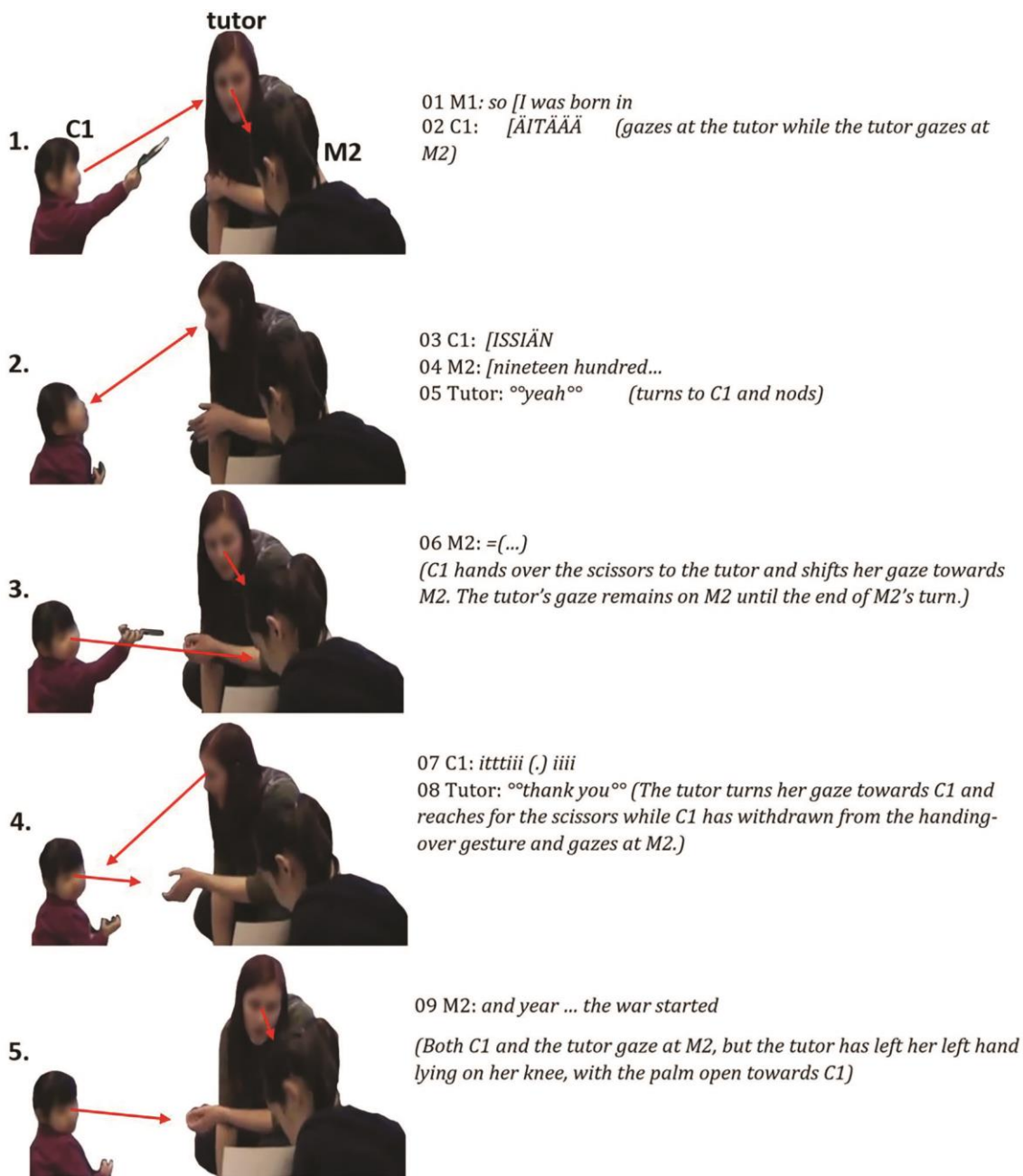
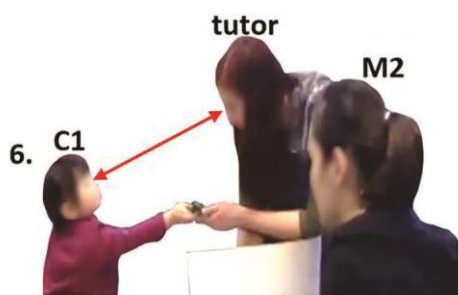


Figure 37. Extract 2: first part.

One of the mothers, M2, has just started the group task, which is to tell her life history as captured in the lifeline ('So I was born...', image 1, line 01), and full embodied attention is being presented by all of the adult group members. Immediately after M2 starts her task, C1 gazes at the tutor and hands her a pair of scissors, coupling the action with an emphasized verbal utterance ('ÄTTÄÄÄ', image 1, line 02) and a facial frown. As a result of this strong expression, the tutor turns her gaze towards C1 and they attain gaze contact (image 2). Meanwhile, C1 continues her verbal command ('ISSIÄN,' image 2, line 03), to which the tutor gives a minimal recognition (a head nod and 'Yeah', line 05). Interestingly, at this point C1 has momentarily suspended the handing, although the tutor shows attention towards C1 and even produces an initial effort to reach her hand towards the scissors (image 2). However, as M2 continues her turn (image 3, line 06), the tutor also returns her gaze towards M2. Nevertheless, interestingly, the tutor leaves her hand somewhat available to C1, indicating that she is mildly but officially committed to accepting the handed object. Furthermore, for this moment, as C1 has already suspended the handing, the tutor can be thought of as actually initiating an interaction by requesting the scissors herself, thereby becoming the initiating party. Consequently, and responding relevantly to this 'scissor request' (image 3), C1 hands the scissors to the tutor again, facing her body towards the tutor but turning her gaze towards M2, who continues her turn at talk with the year she was born (line 06). With this body torque, C1 is presenting a temporary orientation towards M2, while still maintaining a longer-lasting commitment to her interaction with the tutor (cf. Schegloff 1998). The tutor's embodied commitment is clearly more settled towards M2, showing only the most minimal prerequisite for accepting an object being handed – the hand – with her left palm open towards C1. In any case, in image 3 we witness a brief moment when the handing and receipt of an item is happening but both parties to the practice are simultaneously showing primary involvement in some other interaction.

Perhaps because she has been expecting to be handed an object but this has not happened, the tutor in image 4 turns her body towards C1 with a slightly extended hand reach, only to discover that C1 has again momentarily suspended the handing and is producing a verbal utterance presumably addressed to the tutor while still gazing at M2 (image 4, line 07). The moment when the tutor turns her gaze towards C1 coincides with M2 having just concluded her previous turn (line 06), and the consequent small gap in M2's talk affords a split-second timeout for the tutor to check her overlapping interaction with C1. After discovering that C1 has withdrawn her gaze, the tutor orients back to M2 (image 5), who continues her talk with some dramatic content ('the war started,' line 09). The talk is fully oriented to by the tutor,

even though, interestingly, she has left her palm open towards C1, thus passively leaving an option for C1 to hand her the object. Even though it seems inappropriate to hold multiple involvements while somebody is talking about painful things in their life history (cf. Goffman 1963: 45), with this minimal contribution to interaction with C1 the tutor is able to prevent C1 from disrupting M2's talk and hence to secure sensitivity to the delicate atmosphere among the group members during the group task. However, by leaving her hand available to C1, the tutor has officially made a commitment to the pending interaction with C1. It also seems possible that the open palm might even build an expectation for C1 to respond to the tutor's embodied request. In any case, C1 again hands the scissors to the tutor (Figure 38, image 6).



10 C1: [OUTTAAA (.) tem
 11 M2: [we moved then immediately
 12 Tutor: (turns her gaze towards C1)
 13 C1: (nods)
 14 M2: =[away from there
 15 Tutor: [°°thank you°°



16 M2: and that is the last time I have been in my homeland
 (The tutor gazes at M2, with the scissors still in her hand. C1 is reaching for the scissor box.)



17 Tutor: really (.) (gazes at M2 with a sad-looking frown, at the same time letting C1 place another pair of scissors in her hand)
 18 M2: YEAH
 19 Tutor: hm.



20 M2: I have not been there for a long time
 21 Tutor: °hmm° (gazes at M2 while still holding the two pairs of scissors in her hand. At the same time, C1 takes the last pair of scissors from the scissor box)



22 M2: [then-
 23 Tutor: [how old you were at that time (...)
 24 M2: (...) year-old
 (C1 tries to adjust the scissors to the tutor's hand but fails, and the scissors fall on the floor twice)

Figure 38. Extract 2: second part.

In lines 10–15 in image 6, two interaction frameworks (Goffman 1981; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004) – the group task’s framework, and C1 and the tutor’s framework – overlap. Accordingly, C1 responds to the tutor’s pending scissor request by handing her the scissors, accompanying the handing with an emphasized verbal attention-getter (line 10) that orients to the fact that the tutor’s embodied attention– despite her open palm facing C1 – is on M2. Perhaps attending to the loudness of C1’s verbal utterance and trying to make it stop as it is clearly disrupting M2’s talk, the tutor immediately moves her body towards C1 (line 12) while M2 continues her lifeline-telling (lines 11 and 14). Similarly to the interaction game in Extract 1, C1 nods (line 13) as the tutor takes the scissors and – in alignment with the previously established game – accompanies the receipt with a whispered ‘Thank you’ (line 15). After this, in image 7, the tutor returns her attention towards M2’s ongoing talk, which reaches its emotional peak (cf. Katila, 2018; Kinnunen and Kolehmainen, submitted; Knudsen and Stage 2015: 8–9) at line 16, where M2 announces ‘That is the last time I’ve been in my homeland.’ At the same time, C1 reaches for a new pair of scissors from the scissor box.

Subsequently, in image 8, C1 hands another pair of scissors to the tutor, who is still holding the previous scissors. The tutor’s hand is placed so as to be minimally available to C1, in a manner that can be treated as building an expectation of handing something. This time the tutor just lets C1 place the scissors on her hand; the tutor’s embodied orientation remains towards M2, towards whom she is producing an empathetic facial expression and the response ‘Really’ (line 17), which appreciates the newsworthiness of M2’s talk and builds an expectation of M2’s confirmation (which indeed occurs in line 18). M2 goes on to insert an evaluation of her last visit to her homeland – ‘I have not been there for a long time’ (image 9, line 20) – which gets minimal recognition from the tutor (‘Hmm’, line 21). Meanwhile, C1 takes the last pair of scissors from the scissor box (image 9). M2 is about to move on in her talk (image 10, line 22), but the tutor initiates another follow-up question about M2’s age when she last visited her homeland (line 23). At this point C1 hands the last pair of scissors into the tutor’s hand. However, C1 faces difficulties in trying to adjust the scissors there, as there are already two pairs, and as a result the scissors fall onto the floor twice. By letting these difficulties happen and not putting any effort into taking the scissors, the tutor also implicitly communicates to C1 about her inability to commit fully to their interaction. However, by leaving her palm open towards C1, the tutor still communicates to C1 about trying to commit to the handing as much as she is able (which seems to be a crucial criterion for C1 not applying verbal actions to manipulate the tutor’s attention). The tutor’s half-hearted commitment seems to

be enough to keep C1 motivated in trying to adjust the scissors on the tutor's hand (cf. Chapter 4, Extract 2). Finally, C1 gives up adjusting the third pair of scissors, but, curiously, initiates another phase in the interaction game established in Extract 1: C1 initiates the tutor handing the scissors back to her (Figure 39, image 11).

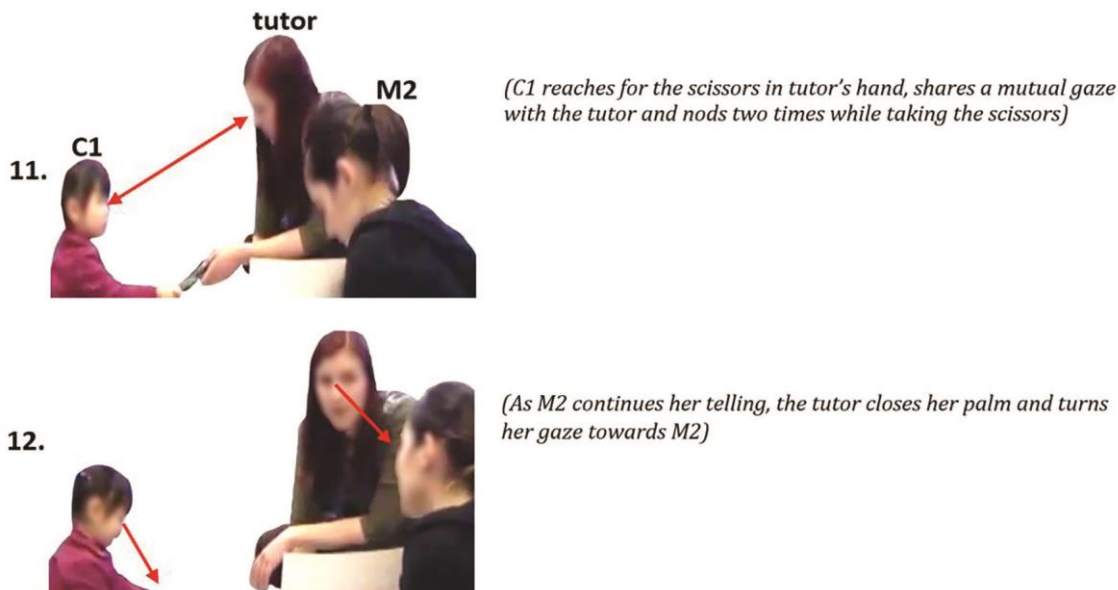


Figure 39. Extract 2: third part.

As C1 reaches for the scissors (image 11), there is a small break in M2's talk sequence, and the tutor turns her gaze towards C1. While C1 is investing more corporeal effort in reaching for the scissors, the tutor, noticing C1's action intentions, also produces a small hand movement to meet C1's reaching hand. Interestingly, as C1 takes the scissors, she nods slightly a couple of times, revisiting the movement cycle that she and the tutor established before (see Extract 1). After C1 has taken the scissors, the tutor turns her gaze back to M2 and closes the palm of her hand, thus implicitly displaying that she has ceased to request the scissors. The encounter is finished for now.

Extract 2 is interesting on many levels. First, it is only understandable in terms of the shared immediate history between C1 and the tutor and how they established a shared interaction game just minutes before Extract 2 started (see Extract 1). The history not only provides C1 and the tutor with resources to interact and interpret each other's actions, but it also constrains and builds expectations that the participants will respond in certain ways. On the one hand, C1 was able to utilize the

history so as to be entitled to interact with the tutor and gain a response from her. On the other hand, as both participants already knew what to expect and how to respond, the habitualization of the pattern provided an opportunity for the tutor to balance between two interaction frames. Therefore, even though the tutor was giving only half-hearted attention to the interaction frame with C1, she was able to fulfil the minimal requirements to keep C1 motivated to continue the interaction. Furthermore, exchanging the objects through haptic means enabled the participants to attend to multiple involvements while still maintaining a distant, object-mediated haptic link between their bodies. Moreover, given that the ongoing group task included emotional talk about each group member's life history, by attending to the interaction game with C1 the group tutor was able to interactionally attend to and thus produce the delicacy (cf. Doehring, forthcoming: 147–181; van Nijnatten and Suoninen 2014; Yu and Wu 2015) of the ongoing, intercorporeally mediated affective atmosphere.

6.3 Tactile object-handing as affording a temporally extended tactile link between bodies

In this section I explore the temporal affordances of tactile object-handings. It has been established that touch can extend the temporality of some actions: for instance, through tactile actions, some interaction frameworks may be put on hold through passive touch (Cekaite 2016; Goffman 1971: 17). In my analysis of Extract 3, I investigate whether handing an object can also be put on hold through passive touch or by leaving the handed object at rest against another body while still holding the object. Moreover, the object-handing can also be reactivated when the other person moves her body, as the movement makes the handed object move as well, making the target person then accountable for having 'moved' the object. Therefore, I will suggest that putting a tactile handing on hold also accounts for a temporally extended tactile link between the bodies. There are seven participants present while Extract 3 occurs: group members M1, M2, M3 and M4; the tutor; and children C1 and C2 (the latter not shown in Figure 40. Extract 3: participant map).

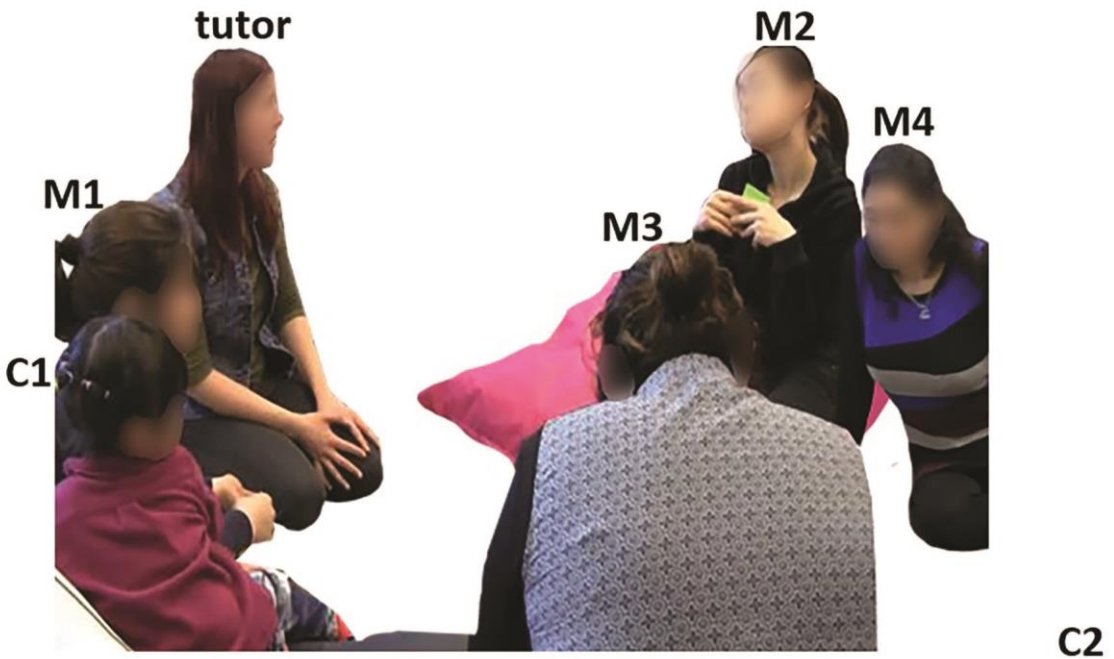


Figure 40. Extract 3: participant map.

When Extract 3 begins, the group members are just about to start a group activity that requires their full embodied attention. They are conducting a mime exercise, where each member in turn mimes an emotion that has been written on a piece of paper. These emotions consist of the group members' own daily emotions, which they wrote on the pieces of paper just before Extract 3 started. At the beginning of Extract 3, M2 has just taken the first piece of paper to start to mime the emotion. M1, who is on the opposite side of the participant circle from M2, is gazing at M2, while C1 is sitting next to M1 in a side-by-side tactile arrangement with her mother. In image 1 of Figure 41, C2 (not visible in the images) is shouting something to his mother, while C1, who is gazing in C2's direction, produces a verbal utterance that is presumably addressed to C2.





- 1.**  **C1** **M1**
 01 C1: OTTTIII (presumably addressed to C2 who is not shown in video)
 (C2 yelling something at M2 and C2 gazes in his direction)
- 2.** 
 02 M1: [SHHHH (turns her gaze towards C1)
 03 Tutor: [is there someone who wants to
- 3.** 
 04 Tutor: start or
 05 M2: I can start
 (M1 gazes first at the tutor, then at M2. C1 hands over a scissors to her mother and gazes at her when turn 04 begins.)
- 4.** 
 06 M2: mix them up somehow a bit hah hah (addressed to the tutor, refers to the emotion papers that are about to be mimed)
 (C1 places the scissors under her mother's hand, still holding them in her hand. M2 pantomimes the emotion on the piece of paper while both C1 and M1 gaze at her.)

Figure 41. Extract 3: first part.

As a response to C1's relatively loud verbal utterance addressed to C2 (image 1), M1 turns her head towards C1 and requests her child to be quiet with a 'SHHHH'

sound and a gesture that iconizes a closed mouth (one finger across her mouth: image 2, line 02). Even though she does not explicitly show an orientation towards her mother's request and continues to gaze at C2, C1 stays quiet for the time being. Meanwhile, the tutor starts the group task (image 2, line 03). While the tutor invites someone to start the group task, which gets M1's and the other group members' full attention, C1 suddenly twists her body towards her mother and hands her a pair of scissors (image 3). By placing the scissors just next to and almost touching her mother's face, C1 ensures that her mother has unlimited access to the handing, even making it difficult to disattend to the handing without an effort. Nevertheless, M1 has turned her orientation towards M2, who has volunteered to be the first to do the group activity ('I can start,' line 05). Furthermore, by facing her body fully towards M2, M1 is also implicitly undoing orientation towards C1's handing, which she must have sensed. M1 is thus tactfully treating her child's object-handing as inappropriate by effortfully not noticing the handing. In image 4 an interesting thing occurs, as C1 now places the scissors next to M1's chest, with her hand resting on M1's hand, as if putting the handing on hold. In addition, the new location embodies a limbo zone in the turn-by-turn-based action sequence, as it is somewhere between the initiating action of handing an object and the responsive action of accepting the item, since the initiating action has become intertwined with the receiver's body. This intercorporeal unity of participating bodies and initiating and responding actions is a literal example of how interactors inhabit each other's actions (C. Goodwin 2013). However (and as actually occurs in Extract 5), C1 could have just left the scissors by her mother's body, thereby 'forcing' her to accept the handed item (cf. Andr en 2017: 130). Thus, choosing to keep hold of the scissors implies a pending expectation that the mother will officially accept the scissors, as well as accounting for the intensified and extended haptic link between bodies that are already in a side-by-side tactile arrangement.

By relocating the handed object next to her mother's tactile space, C1 is able to extend the temporality of the practice, transforming the ordinary object-handing into a pending object-handing – an interval zone that commits the other person to a response at some point. Thus, by putting the action on hold like this, C1 is not necessarily upgrading the urgency of the handing, but is extending the temporal persistence of the action. Hence C1 does not absorb active touch (Gibson 1962) with the scissors to heighten the relevance for an immediate response (cf. Katila, 2018, on a similar case), but simply places the scissors by her mother's chest, where they can stay until she is ready to receive them. Moreover, by twisting her head and gaze towards another group member (towards whom all the other group members,

including her mother, are orienting), C1 herself is also momentarily prioritizing the group activity's interaction framework over the interaction framework with her mother, thus showing her understanding of the temporal order of the group action. However, with this body torque, in which her lower body still faces her mother, C1 is still doing the temporariness of her orientation towards the group activity and showing longer-term commitment to her mother (see Schegloff 1998). Furthermore, as the scissors are within M1's constant tactile availability, constantly touching M1, they act as an ongoing implicit reminder of the pending object-handing.

Next (image 5 in Figure 42.), M2 produces her part in the group task by miming an emotion written on the piece of paper she has taken. All the other group members, including M1 and C1, orient to M2's action.

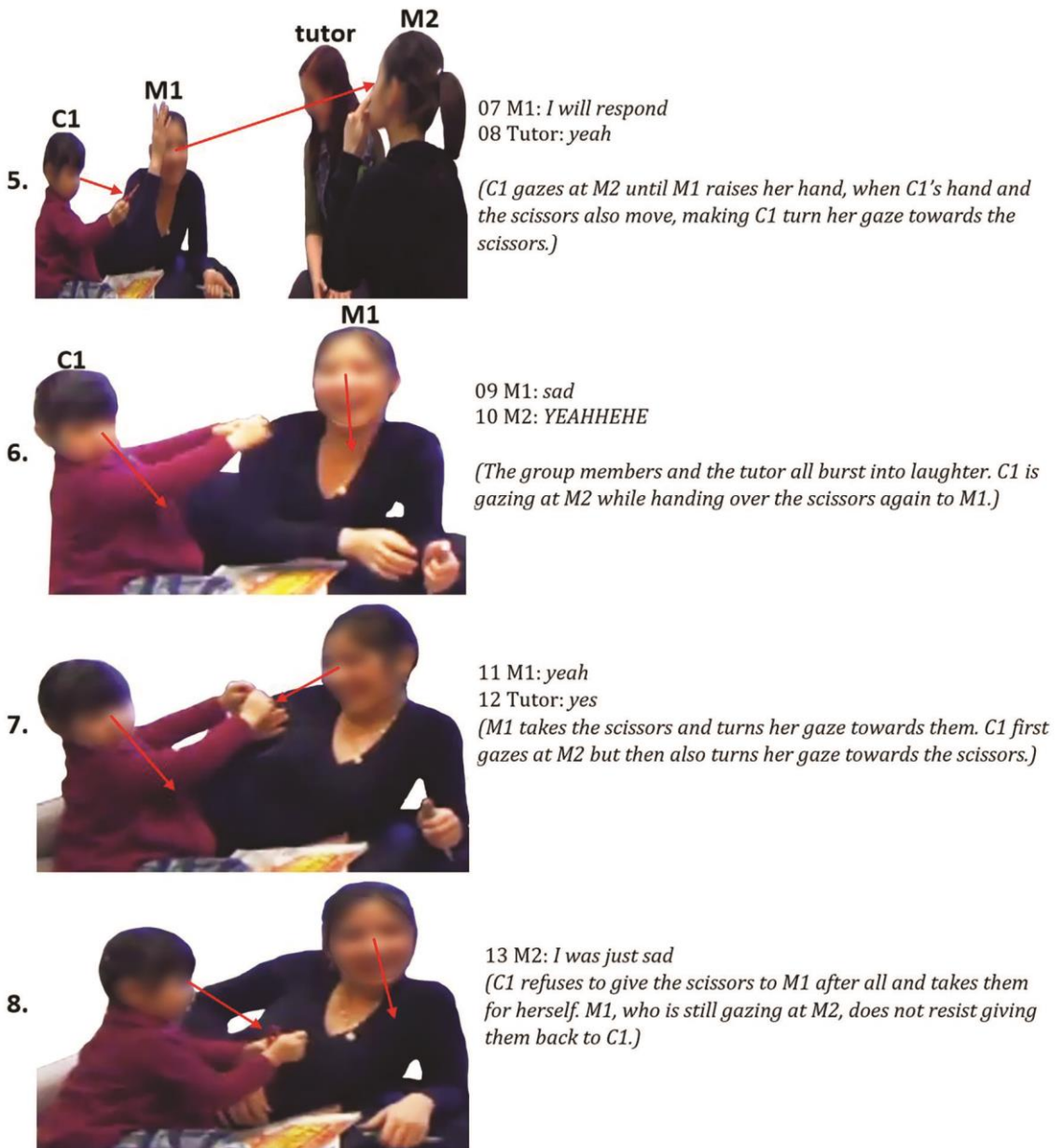


Figure 42. Extract 3: second part.

In image 5 of Figure 42, M1 raises her hand to initiate trying to guess the emotion M2 has mimed, at the same time gazing and smiling at M2. Interestingly, as M1 raises her hand she inevitably also reactivates the pending haptic object-handing, since raising her hand causes C1's hand to move as well. From C1's perspective it does

not matter why M1 has raised her hand; it only matters that it has also made C1's hand and the scissors move, thereby providing something that can be treated as an embodied sign of having oriented to the handing. Since C1's hands – which are still holding the scissors – end up in the posture of handing the scissors to M1 as a result of M1's movement (image 5), C1 can posit herself as not being responsible for revisiting the handing, as it was M1 who produced the active movement against C1's body (image 6). Given that M1 has thus officially produced a movement that has reactivated C1's handing, it is M1 who is suddenly in a position where she is accountable for responding to the handing, because she has not only provably noticed the handing but has also in a way requested it. As it turns out, M1 finally actually accepts the scissors (image 7) while still showing primary orientation to the group activity. M1 and M2 laugh together in appreciation of the correct answer ('Sad', image 6, line 09) to M2's mime. Thus, the whole action of handing and receiving an object has occurred as a simultaneous but subordinate involvement (Goffman 1963: 44) enabled by managing the action solely through haptic means. However, yet another interesting twist occurs in the unfolding interaction sequence: when M1 finally accepts the scissors (image 7), C1 immediately takes them back (image 8). Thus it seems as if the temporally extended haptic link was the whole point of the practice for C1 – that she only wanted M1 to accept the handing, and did not actually want to give the scissors to her.

To summarize, the analysis of Extract 3 showed that the child enacted the practice of handing an object so as to create a temporally extended tactile connection between her and her mother. The event unfolded in a moment-by-moment collaboration where both parties were equally responsible for transforming the action sequence. In the extract, the child communicated to her mother through tactile communication that she had not suspended the practice of handing, but had merely put it on hold (cf. Cekaite 2016; Goffman 1971: 17). The handing and receiving practice in Extract 3 provided a platform to engage with another person by creating layered tactile intercorporealities for the bodies, and persuaded a response from the other. In Extract 3, the extended temporality of the haptic handing was a key element in persuading the other person to eventually accept the handed object. By contrast, in Extract 4, I analyse the semiotic resources that can be used to make the other person accept the handed object.

6.4 Recruiting the other person to accept the handed object

With Extract 4, I analyse an example where a child first simply places an object in her mother's hand but the mother places the scissors far away, noticeably out of her child's reach. Consequently, the child effortfully crawls through her mother's body to get the scissors – and hands them back to her mother. The practice of handing and receiving an item thus not only becomes a practice to engage and connect with another person, but is also a momentary channel to negotiate over control of the other's body and attention in an intimate relationship (cf. also Katila, 2018). In Extract 4, there are six participants present: group members M1, M2 and M3; children C1 and C2; and the tutor (see Figure 43. Extract 4: participant map).

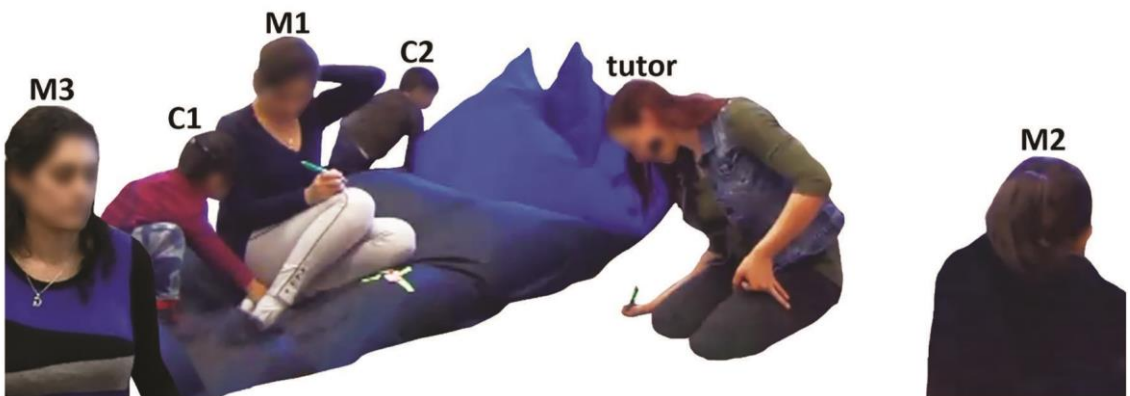
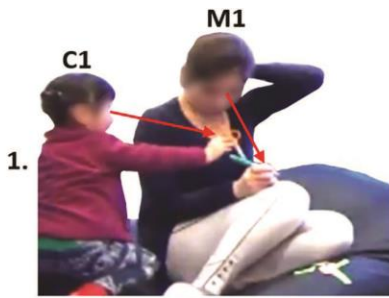


Figure 43. Extract 4: participant map.

When Extract 3 begins, the group members are conducting a group activity that requires silent solitary work in which each member writes her own positive personal characteristics on a piece of paper. M1's child C1 is closing an encounter with child C2, who has just retreated to the other side of the room, where there are beanbags. After withdrawing from mutuality with C2, C1 turns to her mother and takes a pair of scissors that has been on the beanbag next to M1's body. C1 hands the scissors to her mother by placing them on her mother's hand (image 1 of Figure 44).



(C1 adjusts scissors into M1's hand.)



(M1 places the scissors on her left side, on a beanbag, but they slide towards her body.)



(C1 crawls across M1 to search for the scissors.)



(C1 finds the scissors and returns to her mother's right side.)



(C1 hands over the scissors to M1.)

Figure 44. Extract 4.

By not handing the scissors into her mother's hands, but just adjusting them on her mother's hand, C1 initiates helping M1 by handing her the scissors (which M1 perhaps had not noticed, because they were lying underneath her). At the same time, through this special handing C1 avoids the rejection of the object, ensuring that there will be a 'next pair part' for her initiating action by embedding the next action in the initiating one. Perhaps orienting to the fact that M1 is noticeably engaged with the group activity, C1 designs the handing in a manner that already implies an orientation to the possibility of M1 disattending to the handing. Moreover, as C1 places the scissors so that they are directly visually available to M1, even blocking M1's visual access to the object she was previously attending to – the piece of paper she is writing on – C1 ensures that her action gains M1's attention. In image 2, M1 takes the scissors, thus verifying that she has noticed and accepted the object; however, she then places the scissors to her left, on a beanbag and out of C1's reach. Through her embodied actions, M1 is thus responding relevantly to the handing, but treating the social action implied in it – doing helping – as irrelevant. In other words, she is implicitly communicating that she does not need or want the scissors. Furthermore, since M1 is placing the scissors effortfully far away from herself (and not in the most trajectory-economic position), she is markedly placing them out of C1's reach. In this way M1 is also communicating to C1 that future attempts to repeat the handing are dispreferred. However, the scissors fall back towards M1 because the beanbag is sloping towards her body (before image 3 they are right next to M1's body, one the other side from C1).

Perhaps responding to the expectation M1 implied in her previous action (that she might expect future handing attempts to happen), C1 actually crawls through her mother's body to reach the scissors (image 4). While letting this happen, M1 strongly shows a negative emotional stance towards C1's action through her facial expression and embodied orientation. After retrieving the scissors, C1 returns in the same manner to her original location on her mother's right (image 4) and now hands M1 the scissors, which M1 accepts unwillingly (image 5). Thus, C1 is both repairing her mother's action to match her initial action (an appropriate response to the offer of help would be to accept and appreciate that help by using the scissors) and orienting to the challenge of M1 placing the scissors in a position where C1 was not supposed to be able to reach them. Thus, whereas the scissors themselves in this case seem to be of secondary importance, they provide a vehicle for tactile negotiation over attention and compliance with the other participant's interaction project. If C1's initial action had only been about offering help by giving her mother the scissors, it

would not have made sense for her to mind about her mother placing the scissors out of the way.

To sum up, in Extract 4 the mother and child's interactional projects were disaligned: while the mother was actively engaged with the group task and showed that she dispreferred other involvements, the child's interaction project was to initiate interaction with her mother. Interestingly, practices that were seemingly unrelated to these interaction projects – practices for transferring an object into another person's possession and avoiding taking an object into one's own possession – became a platform for haptic negotiation over those projects. Even though M1 displayed effortful disattention to C1's interaction initiators, the scissors as corporeal actualizations were hard not to attend to, including because of the scissors' potentially dangerous sharp shape. Given this ability to control the other person's attention and body, these haptic practices of exchanging objects also momentarily became affective practices for negotiation over mutual intimacy and participation.

6.5 Handing an object as recruiting another into interaction

In Extract 5, a child (C1) leaves crayons in another child's (C2) possessional space to recruit her into interaction. While any direct handing and receiving of an object implies at least a brief moment of cooperated action, when an object is placed in another person's space without permission, there is no reciprocal co-participated intercorporeality. Thus, leaving an object in another person's space somewhat 'forces' that person into a position where he or she is vulnerable to being associated with the object, as the object (in this case, a crayon) has already 'contaminated' (Goffman 1971: 28–61) his or her personal space (cf. Andr n 2017: 130). In Extract 5, C2 at first rejects the crayons, but C1 persistently keeps giving him more, and C2 starts to give in to mutual interaction after the third handed crayon. Thus a negotiation over exchanging objects unfolds as a method for conducting various social actions and interaction projects, such as initiating, maintaining, ignoring and controlling interaction with another person. Furthermore, Extract 5 is a naturally occurring example of how to overcome a practical problem in approaching and initiating interaction with a person who does not necessarily apply similar communication resources (C2 is more verbal, while C1 talks less). In Extract 5, there are five participants present: mothers M1 and M2, children C1 and C2, and the tutor (see Figure 45. Extract 5: participant map).

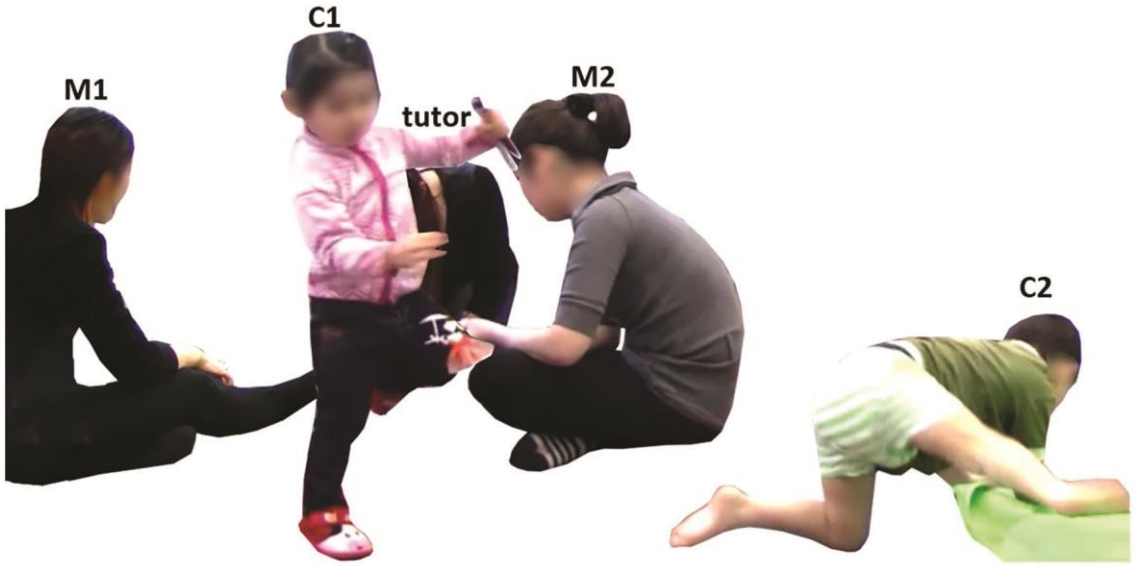


Figure 45. Extract 5: participant map.

Throughout the interaction sequence between the children shown in Extract 5, the adult group members are conducting a group activity in which they relive and re-enact some positive past interactions from their own lives. Hence, although they are located close to the children, they are arranged in a corporeally separate circular arrangement and participation framework (see e.g. C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin 2004). In image 1 of Figure 46, C2 makes the announcement that he will ‘go and draw’ (line 01). Consequently, he thunders into a free space in the room where there is some drawing paper and crayons. Immediately afterwards, C1 rushes to follow him (image 1).



Figure 46. Extract 5: first part.

Having rushed after C2, C1 ends up standing next to and gazing for a few seconds at C2, who is already drawing (images 1–2). Even though this is not explicit, it very much seems as if C1 is trying to figure out how to join in the drawing with C2. The fact that C1 has rushed so eagerly to follow C2 with crayons in her hands already indicates that she is more or less orienting to having been included in C2's announcement. However, C2 only made the announcement about going and drawing for his own part, and he does not make any explicit embodied moves to include C1 in the activity such as gazing at her, opening his body towards her or offering her materials for drawing. C2 marks C1's mere standing and gazing at him by raising his head and asking 'What?' (image 2, line 02). This clearly displays that C2 did not expect C1 to be incorporated into the activity, or at least that he is not openly welcoming C1 to be so. Subsequently, C1 turns her body away from C2 and takes some steps away from him (image 3), thereby responding relevantly to his question (image 2, line 02), which implicitly asked her to stop staring and/or go away. Nonetheless, in image 4, C1 decides not to give in so easily: she turns back towards C2, crouches slightly, and adjusts a crayon on the floor, right in C2's transactional segment (Kendon 1990: 210–211). She does not hand the crayon directly to C2, and by just leaving it in his possession she avoids the handing being vulnerable to rejection. Her leaving the crayon in C2's intercorporeal space means that the crayon has already 'contaminated' (Goffman 1971) C2's body by invading his intercorporeal space, thereby also blurring the line between when the handing ends and the receiving starts. As Andr en (2017: 130) notes in an analysis of young children's communicative handling of objects, 'putting something down in front of a person is another way of achieving transfer of "ownership" of objects, since the space in the immediate front of each person is typically thought of as belonging to that person.'

Furthermore, as crayons are crucially relevant to drawing activity, offering a crayon to a person who is drawing can be treated as doing helping, or at least as trying to produce a prosocial action of some sort. However, by the time C1 gives the crayon to C2, C2 already has some crayons, and he has been drawing intensively for some time, indicating that he is not in any urgent need of more coloured pencils. C2 makes this very explicit with 'I don't WANT a crayon' (image 5, line 04), resulting in C1's quick withdrawal. In spite of C2's clear notification, C1 immediately places another crayon by C2, overlapping with C2's cry for help – 'MUMMY' (image 6, line 05) – which includes his having oriented to C1's action as dispreferred to the extent that it requires his mother's help to make it stop. As a response to the second crayon-handing, C2 clearly bans C1's action ('NO,' image 6, line 06). Interestingly, even

though C2 clearly treats C1's action as unwanted, C1 still leaves the crayon on the floor where it is constantly available to him, and she is thereby able to 'have the crayon accepted' even though C2 has not concretely received the object into his hands. However, in response to C2's negative-stance-laden refusal, C1 withdraws a little, albeit still with her attention on C2 (image 7). The two then stay for a moment motionless and in silence, as if collaboratively figuring out where to go next with the unfolding encounter, C2 gazing at C1 while C1's gaze addressed downwards / to the crayons. C2 rocks his legs from one side to another while lying on the beanbag. As this occurs, C1 crouches down and adjusts a third crayon into C2's possession (image 8 of Figure 47).



(C1 places a third crayon on the floor, next to the previously offered ones, and starts to get up.)



(Just as C2 takes hold of all the crayons, C1 crouches down again.)



(C1 hands over a fourth crayon to C2, but as C2 this time reaches for the crayon, C1 suspends her handing. However, C2 pulls the crayon from C1's hand.)



06 C2: GIVE them here
(C1 tries to reach for the crayons but C2 blocks C1's attempt to do so by hiding the crayons underneath his upper body.)



(C1 retreats, still staying crouched and gazing at C2.)



07 C2: now
(As C1 reaches for the crayons again, C2 then transfers them to C1.)



(C1 takes the crayons and C2 returns to his drawing.)

Figure 47. Extract 5: second part.

In image 8, C1 places a third crayon on the floor and starts to get up. A turning point in the encounter occurs in image 9, when C2 suddenly produces an active movement to reach for the crayons, thus finally officially accepting them. Immediately, as a consequence of C2's different manner of responding, C1 halts her movement of getting up and crouches down again (image 9). Next, C1 hands a fourth crayon to C2 (image 10), and this time C2 reaches for the crayon while it is still in C1's possession. This leads to a backwards movement from C1, as if she is trying to postpone the handing. This backing off comes too late, as C2 uses some force to take the crayon from C1's hand. Next, C1 displays an expectation of getting the crayons back by reaching for them (image 11). Now, however, the tables have turned, and C2 is the one who is in control of the crayons. He therefore commands C1 to 'GIVE them here' (image 11, line 06), laminating the verbal directive with transferal of the crayons out of C1's reach. In response, C1 retreats, remaining crouched next to C2 and gazing at him, as if accepting that he is now able to decide the next move in the interaction (image 12). Subsequently, C2 hands all the coloured pencils back to C1, moving them towards C1 across the floor (image 13). This action is accompanied with an unclear verbal utterance that sounds like he is saying 'now'. If this is the case, the verbal utterance may be there to repair the special timing and manner in which C1 tried to access the items in image 11, thereby indicating that he is in charge of exactly when he hands the crayons back to C1. In any case, after this, from image 14 onwards, both parties treat the encounter as finished for now: C1 by taking the crayons and disengaging her gaze from C2, and C2 by returning to his drawing activity.

To sum up, in Extract 5 we witnessed a naturally occurring example of how two-to-three-year-old children made sense of an encounter with slightly conflicting interaction projects: one displaying that he wanted to be left to his own solitary activity (drawing), the other showing that she wanted to initiate a mutual engagement. The children communicated these interaction projects through various interaction practices that were to some extent normative: practices to display being engaged in a private involvement, and to respond by giving the other person space for that private involvement; and practices to initiate interaction by giving an object, and to respond in a conditionally relevant manner (Schegloff 1968) and accept the object. At least in theory, successful orientation to one of these practices leads to disruption of the other (cf. Scollon 2001: 25–25). Consequently, in Extract 5 these practices were enacted as methods for negotiation over mutual or separate involvements, implying attempts to control the other's involvement. Although C2's becoming upset at C1 merely transferring crayons into his availability initially seemed

to be an overreaction – after all, the handed crayons were not really doing him any harm – his annoyance seemed to stem from C1’s ability to momentarily control his involvement and violate his private space with unwanted objects. Accordingly, C1 handing crayons that were previously owned and handled by C1 inevitably contaminated C2’s possessional territory with the crayons. Thus, by this action, C1 was able to force a momentary transformation in C2’s embodied space, as objects located closely to a person are often seen as belonging to the person. (cf. Gibson 1966: 100; Goffman 1971; 28–61; Katz 1989: 121). In addition, C1’s action of placing an object into C2’s possessional territory blurred the sequentially and usually collaboratively evolving practice of handing and receiving, making it a single action of one body. This action thus transformed from collaborative into something that “already happened” with or without the contribution, collaboration or permission of C2.

Like presumably every human being (at least at some point in their life), in Extract 5 C1 and C2 needed to figure out how to initiate intercorporeal connection with another person or how to avoid this intercorporeal connection with another person without threatening the participants’ social faces (Goffman 1955). A crucial part of this is figuring out how to make oneself understood while making sense of the other. An especially emotive moment was when C1 ran eagerly after C2, clearly presuming that she was being included in the drawing activity, while it soon became clear that this was not the case. She was then faced with a situation where she could either give up or else actively try to figure out how to be included in a mutual encounter with C2. In contrast, C2 for his part faced a challenge regarding how to prevent another person interacting with him. C1 and C2 negotiated over the haptic intercorporeality by enacting multiple simultaneous and turn-by-turn-based semiotic resources, such as transferring crayons, displaying effortful disattention, gaze, body posture and verbal utterances. Through these intermingling resources, C1 and C2 eventually managed to accomplish a shared understanding of the mutual encounter.

6.6 Conclusions

Among many conditions two seem to be crucial; one is that the receiver must acknowledge that he has received the object (by taking it and usually by speech as well) and the other is that the hander is required to give further instructions. That is, in acknowledging receipt of the object the receiver grants the hander the right to interaction, specifically to say why the object was handed. In saying why the object was handed, the hander reserves the right to introduce a topic. (Scollon 1976: 125)

In this chapter I have analysed cases where a 2.5-year-old child enacted the practice of handing an object to produce various kinds of interaction project in the group sessions, with people with whom she shared different relationships. The analysis showed that handing and accepting a handed item was oriented to as a somewhat normative or conditionally relevant (Schegloff 1968) interaction practice built on mutual trust that the other person would respond in an expected manner (cf. Enfield 2011: 290–291; Garfinkel 1963; Mauss 1990) – preferably by accepting the handed item. Accordingly, in the cases discussed in this chapter, the practical action of handing an object provided a rich substrate (C. Goodwin 2013, 2017) for its adoption as a practice to initiate, secure or even obligate another person into mutual interaction through haptic contact.

The observations in this chapter are parallel with Scollon's (1976, 2001) study of a two-year-old's handings. Scollon (1976: 125) found that the child could enact object-handings as means to gain topic control, as summarized in the quotation above. In my study too, the child enacted the practice of handing objects as a medium to obligate target persons into interactions of some sort. Scollon's (2001) and this study's findings are thus in alignment with the argument made by some interaction analysts that it is not always clear who is the beneficiary of concrete offers (Hofstetter and Stokoe 2015: 727–728; Maynard 1986: 271). In this study it often seemed that the beneficiary of the practice of handing and receiving an item was the child who initiated the handing, even when she was apparently doing a prosocial action (e.g. helping or sharing) that ostensibly placed the target of the offer in the beneficial position. Of course, it must be noted that the types of handing presented in this chapter (a child handing objects to other people to initiate interactions) are clearly different from most concrete offers in everyday adult interactions, which often occur as non-attended anticipations of another's needs (for instance, when a teabag is handed to a person who is about to drink tea, cf. Kärkkäinen and Keisanen 2012). Nevertheless, even though practices may be more conventionalized among adults, examples such as people handing out leaflets on a street (Scollon 2001), handing a camera to another person to commit him or her to watch pictures (Aaltonen et al. 2014) or the analysis of how donating a gift builds the expectation of a counter-gift (Mauss 1990), show that the practice of handing an object can be utilized to control another person's future actions in adult interactions too. Handing practices, like any practice, are thus not dedicated to any one social action, but may be utilized to produce countless different kinds of social actions and interaction projects (cf. Schegloff 1997).

In Extract 1, we witnessed how the child and the tutor enacted the practice of handing and receiving items into a shared interaction game. Subsequently, and drawing on the relationship history established in Extract 1, in Extract 2 the child initiated a similar interaction game with the tutor by handing her an object. However, in Extract 2 the context of the action was different from Extract 1: while in Extract 1 the tutor was momentarily unoccupied because there was a solitary working sequence in the group work, in Extract 2 the tutor was fully occupied with the group activity. Therefore, in Extract 2 the tutor first disattended to the child's handing, and then, after failing to do so, continued the interaction game with the child while maintaining primary orientation towards the group action. This example showed how object-handings managed primarily through haptics and other non-verbal resources could overlap with other involvements, since the body could be divided into different interaction zones. Extracts 3 and 4 provided examples where the child handed objects to her mother. Extract 3 explored how the child could extend the temporality of the haptic connection created by the handing by leaving the object in her mother's lap while still holding onto it. In Extract 4, the child was able to obligate her mother to take the handed object by first picking up the object effortfully from the place where the mother had tried to hide it and then handing it back to the mother. Similarly, in Extracts 3 and 4, the child committed her mother to respond through the practice of handing an object, the practice thereby affording her to secure the mother's embodied availability (cf. Katila 2018). In Extract 5, the child handed crayons to another child with the apparent intention to engage him in interaction with her. Even though the other child clearly displayed that he did not want the crayons, she persistently continued her project of committing him to interaction with her.

The analysis of the extracts showed that the practice of handing an item was enacted as an interaction practice to initiate, secure or maintain interaction or tactile connection, or even to control another person's attention/tactile availability. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the handing practice, when produced primarily through tactile and other non-verbal resources, could be temporally extended and, given its simplicity, could be attended to even with partial commitment. Consequently, the practice appeared to be especially suitable for multi-activity settings.

There were both similarities and differences in the manner in which the child enacted the practice of handing objects with different people in different contexts. In interactions with the mother, the child showed more self-evidently that she expected her mother's tactile availability. This was evident in the way she persistently

obligated her mother to interact with her through the repeated handings, which were primarily produced by touching the mother with the objects. Moreover, the handings were often applied in moments when the mother was clearly attending to something else. Arguably, therefore, the child was enacting the practice of handing her mother objects to secure, confirm and control her mother's tactile availability and attention (cf. Katila 2018). While interacting with the tutor, the child appeared to be less self-evidently expectant of the tutor's responses. For instance, when she was establishing the interaction game with the tutor, the child was not only filled with the excitement/shyness that often occurs during interactions with a less familiar person, but was also orienting to figuring out how to eventually finish the interaction game without threatening the participants' faces (cf. Goffman 2005). Finally, when handing an item to another child, she proceeded much more subtly and slowly with her actions. For instance, she initially respected the other child's ongoing involvement by only leaving the crayons in his possession, and not for instance handing the crayons to him directly or touching him with them. Nevertheless, I found that simply leaving an object in another person's intercorporeal space was already treated by the other person as being 'contaminated' by the object (Goffman 1971) and thereby being implicitly 'forced' to have the object (cf. Andrén 2017).

Even if the types of relationship the child had with different people showed in disparities in interaction styles (the amount of intercorporeal effort, intensity and temporal urgency placed in the interactions), in all the interactions analysed in this chapter the child was eventually able to obligate the other party to accept the handed item. However, even though the child's initiative handing actions were crucial parts of the interaction, each case unfolded in moment-by-moment collaboration with the other party. The addressee of the handed object had multiple resources to show his or her embodied stance towards the action, before, during and after the handing. For instance, even before the handing occurred, addressees often implicitly communicated to the child that they were actively involved in other engagements, and that they therefore did not want/need the handed object and were not able to engage in mutual interaction with the child (Extracts 2–6). Furthermore, sometimes when the child had already initiated the handing, the addressees either showed effortful disattention (Extracts 3–4) to the handing or explicitly demonstrated against accepting the handed item (Extract 5). Finally, even after being 'forced' to receive the item, the addressee could show a negative emotional stance towards what had happened (Extracts 4 and 5; cf. M.H. Goodwin et al. 2012).

The analysis in this chapter proposes that handing objects can be enacted as an engagement practice because it enables, or even obligates, momentary interactions

through haptic connections between bodies. In none of the cases analysed in this chapter was the interaction about the handed items per se, or about actually giving the items to other people. Instead it was, in one way or another, about the interactive moment emerging from the transaction. A crucial part of handing practices' momentary ability to control another person's attention is the fact that an object is a tangible manifestation of the interaction project. As the object handing is accomplished through touch, the interaction project is immediately sensed in the recipient's body, making it hard for the recipient to ignore effortlessly. In other words, its conditional relevance, and the moral implications embedded in it (cf. Garfinkel 1963; Goffman 1963; Schegloff 1968), are not solely mediated turn-by-turn as in spoken interaction. Rather, when the object-mediated touch occurs, its target is already contaminated with conditional relevance and moral implications, because the bodies are momentarily both experiencing and experiencing each other experiencing the shared tactile intercorporeality. Consequently, handed objects are not just embodiments of interaction projects. Instead, given that objects participate in the same intercorporeal being with bodies, handing and receiving material objects is an incarnation of bodies belonging to the same sensorial, intercorporeal materiality (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1968: 137).

7 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION: TACTILE INTERCORPOREALITY AS A MEDIUM FOR INTIMACY AND PARTICIPATION

Bodies linked to each other haptically constitute rich fields of co-presence. In some instances, the primary intent may be to co-experience each other's bodies. (M.H. Goodwin 2017: 77)

This research provided an empirical case study of tactile intercorporeality (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1964, 1968; Meyer and Wedelstaedt 2017; Meyer et al. 2017) in the context of a group of mothers and their two-to-three-year-old children at Tampere House of Girls. The group was established for the mothers to participate in various art-based group tasks, within which the mothers elaborated their life histories, emotions and everyday lives. Therefore, the mothers' main involvement (Goffman 1963: 43) in the group sessions was with these group tasks for most of the time, while the children – who attended the group with their mothers – were expected to either play with each other or participate in the group activities without disturbing the group work. This multi-activity setting (Haddington et al. 2014; Mondada 2011, 2014b) provided a rich substrate (C. Goodwin 2000, 2013, 2017) for the study of the omnipresent tactile and other bodily communications of mothers and children in an ordinary everyday situation where the participants' motions were not constrained by furniture, or the communication between mothers and children was not officially in focus. Rather, mothers and children's embodied communication was treated as a continuous, tacit background presumption (cf. Polanyi 1966). The study thus analysed how mothers and children communicated through tactile body idiom (Goffman 1963; Schindler 2017) while this subtle communication was treated as an apparent side involvement (Goffman 1963: 44) to the group activities.

However, even though it was tacit and seemingly implicit – at least to an outsider observer such as the researcher – this type of continuous background communication appeared to be directly available to those who were participating in it. By means of this continuous communication through tactile co-being, mothers and children were able to negotiate over their moment-by-moment unfolding

intercorporeal involvements and other interaction projects through skinship (Tahhan 2014: 94).

I argue that the subtlety of the tactile communication was enabled by the familiarity of the mothers and children's tactile intercorporeality. The mothers and children's intercorporeal histories especially showed in the manner in which the bodies were at home in each other's tactile co-presence or homebase (cf. Katila 2018). In each moment of action, multiple temporalities intersected, including the timescale of the moment of action and the timescale of the relationship (e.g. Enfield 2008; Streeck, 2018). This study therefore analysed on the one hand how the history of social relationships provided an already existing substrate for tactile practices, and on the other hand how social relationships were also continuously renegotiated through embodied practices in tactile intercorporeality. Furthermore, while previous interaction research has studied how moment-by-moment unfolding actions are recipient-designed for a certain audience (e.g. Sacks 1992a, 1992b), this study showed that some actions' primary in-order-to may be the relationship itself, such as in cases where children sought to be in nested tactile homebase, or where mothers and children organized themselves into various tactile arrangements.

Following the observations made throughout the chapters of this study, I argue that the primary in-order-to social action is often simply to be with another person, tactilely, mutually, intercorporeally. This entails doing face-to-face-requiring social actions primarily in order to be face-to-face, doing jointness-requiring activities in order to be joint, and doing separateness-requiring activities in order to be separate. In other words, accomplishing a certain kind of corporeal assembly – whether it be one that includes corporeal togetherness in intimate contact, or one that includes complete corporeal separateness and distance – may itself be the primary in-order-to of various activities and social actions that provide a medium for social relationships. Social relationships are at the very heart of what and how people do, and as such they are a 'primary locus of social organization' (Enfield 2009: 60). This is in alignment with M.H. Goodwin's observation that sometimes tactile co-presence's 'primary intent may be to co-experience each other's bodies' (M.H. Goodwin 2017: 77). Living bodies are thus always historical bodies (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Scollon and Scollon 2004; Streeck 2013), and this study suggests that each co-body unit (i.e. social relationship) has created and continuously recreates its own intercorporeal reality (cf. Schütz 1962: 207–259).

This final chapter is divided into two sections. In Section 7.1, I will summarize the results from each of this book's empirical chapters and elaborate on the new contribution each chapter has made to the field of interaction microanalysis. In

Section 7.2, I will discuss the study's results in terms of caregiver-child interactions and the inherent sociality of human beings in general. In Section 7.2 I will also reflect on the limitations of this study and provide suggestions for future research.

7.1 Summary and discussion of the results

In Chapter 3, I described the mother-child tactile arrangements and attention formations I found in the data. I propose that tactile arrangements form the basic element through which the mothers and children in the group were able to mutually monitor (Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135) each other's moving bodies (Sheets-Johnstone 2009). Thus, tactile arrangements provided mothers and children with a substrate for ongoing tactile communication through direct sensing of each other's body and involvement idioms (cf. Goffman 1963, 1971; Schindler 2017). Tactile arrangements as practices of tactile intercorporeality enabled the mothers and children to communicate with each other in the multi-activity setting. Through collaboratively experienced tactile intercorporeality, the mothers and children could simultaneously participate in the ecologies of both the whole group and the specific dyadic relationship.

I divide the tactile arrangements between mothers and children into nested, side-by-side and distant tactile arrangements. These different types of tactile intimacy zone afford different opportunities for tactile communication. In nested tactile arrangements, the bodies couple with each other through the asymmetrical division of corporeal effort (carrying and being carried), the tactile communication hence occurring on another body. Side-by-side tactile arrangements, for their part, enable mothers and children to co-experience and tactilely communicate as a side-by-side unit; these arrangements permit a more symmetrical division of corporeal weight, meaning that the tactile connection does not occur on another body. Finally, distant tactile arrangements are the tactile arrangement with the greatest intercorporeal independence, with only individual limbs participating in the tactile communication. In distant tactile arrangements the bodies' co-living can best be described as a companionship between living bodies that affords a sensation of corporeal independence. Intimacy zones also incorporate different manners in which intercorporeal agencies couple between mothers and children. Various intimacies thus not only mediate communication levels differently moment-by-moment, but also afford the embodiment of various kinds of momentarily unfolding intercorporeal relationships.

I found that tactile arrangements between mothers and children in the group were laminated with various types of attention formation: face-to-face formation, joint attention or joint action formation, and separate attention formation. In face-to-face formation or orientation (Schefflen 1972), mothers and children's faces encounter each other, while in joint attention formation they share a focus on a third object (e.g. Tomasello 1999: 62), and in joint activity formation they produce some kind of shared action or activity. I further divided separate attention formation into aligned and disaligned separate attention formations. Aligned separate attention formation refers to cases where the separation of the attentions is agreed upon by both mother and child; disaligned separate attention formation indicates cases where one party orients to mutual interaction while the other either effortfully or effortlessly orients away from mutual attention. Together with nested, side-by-side and distant tactile arrangements, these three main attention formation types thus create nine clusters of mother-child attention tactile intimacies.

Of these nine clusters, side-by-side tactile arrangements coupled with separate attention formations in the group most often (N=121 out of 533), while face-to-face formations in nested and side-by-side tactile arrangements together comprised the least common arrangement-formation coupling types (N=19 out of 533 in both clusters) among mothers and children. While these numbers of occurrences cannot be directly generalized outside of this specific setting, they describe well the mother-child interactions that were most common in this multi-activity group of mothers and children. That is, while visually managed interaction was for the most part reserved for interaction between adult members, the mothers and children usually communicated with each other through side-by-side tactile arrangement. This is in alignment with previous studies that have suggested that touch can co-occur with visually mediated participation frameworks or can even be adopted to manage such multiple participation frameworks (e.g. Cekaite 2016; Doehring, forthcoming; Goffman 1971; Meyer 2017). However, tactile communication through side-by-side tactile arrangements between mothers and children in the group was temporally attached to living and moving bodies, and not to a single active touch to calm or put another body on hold for the duration of a focused interaction. Therefore, side-by-side tactile arrangements allowed mothers and children to constantly mutually monitor (Goffman 1963: 18, 1964: 135) each other's actions through the sense of touch, at the same time also affording the bodies – especially the mothers – independent corporeal space to conduct the group activities, which often required some sort of body movement and visual access to task-relevant items. Generally, the granular couplings of the tactile intimacy arrangements and attention formations

provided bodies with unique co-embodied tactile intercorporealities, through which moment-by-moment participations and relationships were inhabited (Dreyfus 1991: 45) in relation to the constantly changing affordances and requirements of the environment.

To sum up, in Chapter 3 I introduced a new approach to the study of touch in interaction: analysing touch in terms of temporally flowing tactile arrangements and attention formations through which bodies co-live different interactions and activities. This approach is a response to the fact that touch, especially in intimate relationships, often occurs as part of other practices and actions, and is therefore at the centre of focus relatively rarely. Therefore, touch in intimate relationships, such as the mother-child relationships described in this study, usually happens in tactile intercorporeality – that is, coupled with the very feeling of embodied being (Ratcliffe 2008). Related to this, I also empathetically reflected on the experienced side of touch, in terms of how different tactile arrangements enable various moment-by-moment unfolding corporeal agencies. This observation reveals that tactile arrangement-formations may at times be the primary locus for social relationships, and/or at least a platform to negotiate over social relationships. Subsequently, studying how touch is subsumed in tactile arrangements opens up possibilities to approach social relationships and corporeal agencies in terms of how they are ingrained in each moment of action.

While Chapter 3 described tactile arrangement-formations at a general level, in Chapter 4 I analysed how these arrangement-formations occurred as a constantly unfolding continuum of co-living and co-moving mothers and children. Specifically, I analysed various examples of how on the one hand mothers and children in the group initiated transitions in tactile arrangements through various practical actions, and on the other hand how they produced different kinds of interaction projects through the practices that initiated those transitions. Hence, the chapter took a step forwards from merely showing how mothers and children co-experience each other through tactile intercorporealities, into analysing in detail how mothers and children manage to inhabit (Dreyfus 1991: 45) these tactile intercorporealities and communicate through them while they attend to other activities. In the cases analysed in Chapter 4, mother-child tactile and other embodied interaction was not the focus of attention but rather something that was often practically managed and negotiated. I suggest that in this type of setting there occurs an intimate tactile communication and co-being that is unlike any other type of communication: direct body-to-body tactile communication through tactile body gloss (Goffman 1971; Schindler 2017). This type of communication, however, is not a separate action in

its own right, but forms part of practical actions in space that are merely conducted next to another person. This type of interaction through co-being is embedded with tactile, haptic, proprioceptive and enkinaesthetic sensations, in a manner that does not fall under any one of those sensations alone.

Co-living in tactile homebase (Katila 2018), where bodies inhabit the same tactile ecology, is multilayered and embedded with multiple temporalities. I argue that tactile homebase afforded the mothers and children in the group to experience a unique combination of living and communication by enkinaesthetically (Stuart 2012, 2017a&b) sensing the amount (or lack) of effort put into tactile movements (Schindler 2017; Cuffari and Streeck 2017). Perhaps the most curious thing was that this occurred more or less at the ‘seen but unnoticed’ (Garfinkel 1963: 217, 1967: 36, 1996: 11) level, which was hard to notice unless one was paying careful attention. What is more, not only did the tactile communication in and through the ongoing arrangement-formation occur as part of tacit background feeling (Polanyi 1966; Ratcliffe 2008), but so did the negotiation over the arrangement-formations, when there at times occurred disalignments over transitions into certain arrangement-formations. This was observable in the manner in which the transitions – or transition initiators – occurred: while some transitions in tactile arrangements occurred rather fluently and effortlessly, others did not, leading to a fine-grained intercorporeal negotiation or spacing dance (cf. Kelly et al. 2018: 207–208; Schefflen 1972: 28; Streeck 2017: 35–44) over the arrangement-formation. During these negotiations, which usually occurred as side involvements in relation to the group activities, asymmetrical attention formations often took place, within which one party (typically the mother) effortfully disattended to the other’s (typically the child’s) interaction bids. Therefore, through effortful disattention – or effortful attention to the group task – mothers were able to (meta)communicate (Bateson 1956, 1972) to their children that mutual interaction was momentarily dispreferred.

The analysis in Chapter 4 suggests that there are ways for bodies to be together in tactile intercorporeality that are qualitatively different from separate bodies touching each other. The intimate coupling of living and being, intimacy and familiarity with another body provided an empirical example of how touch has the ability to intertwine bodily boundaries (e.g. Barad 2012; Cekaite 2015, 2016; Cekaite and Holm 2017; Katila 2018; Linell 2009; Jones and Yarborough 1985; Meyer et al. 2017). This blurring of bodily boundaries could manifest itself to the extent that bodies were interconnected in a shared tactile intercorporeality where the bodies could momentarily co-be through the sense of touch, as the bodies of mothers and children experienced the same tactile ecology. Hence, this type of tactile

communication both builds and is built on an already existing intimate relationship. The familiarity of the bodies was evident in how various practical actions in the other's tactile co-presence were enacted as a resource for tactile negotiation over the interaction projects embedded in the practical actions. Consequently, touching one another's body was treated as a self-evident resource for mothers and children to constantly communicate, make sense of each other's tactile body and involvement idioms (Goffman 1963). The analysis of mother-child tactile negotiation in Chapter 4 also revealed the crucial point that this intimate co-living is not always harmonious, but instead may be laden with negatively affective corporeal negotiation over corporeal agencies. Even though this negotiation is incorporated into fine-tuned and mostly tactilely managed intercorporeality – and not into states of open conflict – it is crucial to mention it as an aspect of everyday intimate co-being that is presumably especially common among caregivers and young children.

In Chapter 5 I focused more specifically on one type of corporeal transition: the practices of children sitting or otherwise adjusting themselves on their mothers' bodies. Sitting down on another body is an example of collaborative body technique (Mauss 1973) that associates enkinaesthetic, haptic, tactile and proprioceptive sensations. Together, these aspects enable a complementary reversibility of roles and the sensing of one's own and the other body's positions in three dimensions (Gibson 1966: 102; Ratcliffe 2008; Stuart 2012). In this chapter, I identified a data set that included a variety of different types of action, from sitting down on to jumping on the mother. I found that some cases of children placing themselves on their mother's bodies were treated by the parties as attending to the relationship-specific practice of returning to or initiating nested tactile homebase (Katila 2018). When sitting or adjusting oneself on the mother is oriented to as accessing homebase, the mother assembles her body as a piece of furniture or a stall to be located on and the child adopts the mother's body as a place to rest and be located on (cf. Goffman 1971: 32–33). The co-embodied flow through which the bodies collaboratively melt into tactile co-being thus represents a transition from full-body active touch, into a state of shared passive tactile sensation (cf. Gibson 1962). Some cases of establishment of or return to nested tactile homebase were treated by the participants as unmarked – effortless homebase access that mothers and children treated as the child merely locating him- or herself in a resting posture – while other cases were oriented to as marked – episodes of homebase access that mothers and children treated as effortful and thus as embedding an interaction project other than a mere return to resting position (cf. Streeck 2017; Cuffari and Streeck 2017: 189). Moreover, I found that the potential markedness was made sense of through tactile communication that

metacommunicated (Bateson 1972) about whether practical tactile movement (in this case, accessing nested homebase) was meant as communicative or as merely practical movement in tactile co-presence.

In this chapter, I developed the understanding of the markedness and unmarkedness of children sitting down on their mothers' bodies by drawing on Streeck's (2017) and Cuffari and Streeck's (2017) analysis of effortful hand-closings. While Cuffari and Streeck (2017) used their case to compare natural and effortful hand-closings (returns to resting posture), I utilized the logic of this understanding to analyse the practice of children returning either effortlessly or effortfully to homebase. In the cases analysed in this study, effortfulness appeared as a context-specific, embodied resource – both for the participants in the interaction and for the researcher – to make sense of tactile actions. I propose that this effortfulness or markedness of movement is a flexible everyday method (cf. Garfinkel 1967) for participants in interaction to make sense of the communicative affordances of tactile body movements. When movements are produced against, next to or on another body, the meaning embedded in those movements can be enkinaesthetically felt in the bodies by sensing the effortfulness or effortlessness of the movement (Streeck 2017: 203; Stuart 2012). The meaning of tactile practices is therefore, to use Heidegger's (1978: 104) term, ready-to-hand: directly experienced and made sense of as the inconspicuously familiar material of the world (Meyer 2017: 144; Streeck 2009: 57, 172). This ready-to-hand experiencing of the meaning of tactile practices is possible because the other's body is itself ready-to-hand, since the other person's bodily alignment is continuously co-experienced in We-relation (Schütz 1964: 24–25).

My analysis of unmarked accesses to homebase showed that even though these cases were produced as effortless and routinized, they were nevertheless intercorporeal accomplishments (Schegloff 1986) of corporeally familiar bodies, managed through visual and tactile body and involvement idioms. Accomplishing the routinization of tactile homebase required not only a history of tactile intercorporeality, but also a renewal of this history by acting relevantly: performing previous tactile history in the moment of action. In contrast to this doing of effortlessness and routine, when children marked their entries into nested haptic homebase, they produced that markedness by making evident that being in tactile co-presence with their mothers was the primary in-order-to of the access. Thus, in these cases the children did not access their mothers' laps just in order to rest or be located in the same way as they might sit anywhere in space, but they were accessing their mothers' laps due to an expressed need or want to be close to the mother or

for the mother's tactile huddle. This was made sense through the extra intercorporeal effort placed in the movement of locating oneself on one's mother – the tactily sensed 'extra' that enabled a communicative act embedded in practical movement.

Besides the practice of sitting on the mother as a return to or establishment of homebase, I also found other cases that were treated by mother and child as producing a communicative project beyond the child simply locating him- or herself in space, such as a project to initiate a focused interaction with the mother. I analysed two examples where the practice of landing on the mother's body produced an interaction project other than accessing homebase: a case where a child initiated playful interaction with his mother by jumping on her, and a case where a child communicated her emotional state by accessing her mother in a certain manner. While these episodes certainly contained relationship-designed interaction practices as well, their primary in-order-to was not to for the child to locate her- or himself in space. In these cases, the intimate practice was enacted as a substrate (C. Goodwin 2013, 2017) to communicate an interaction project through tactile and other embodied movement. The aboutness of the interaction projects embedded in accessing the mother's body was intercorporeally made sense of through the tactile and other embodied communication enacted through the tactile practice.

To summarize, Chapter 5 revealed the multilayering of tactile communication and suggests how it can be studied by a micro video analyst. The chapter revealed how tactile communication is implied in any practical movements and practices in tactile intercorporeality, transferred through the tactily sensed 'extra' implied in tactile body movements, and managed by manipulating the sensorial details of the movement. This observation is parallel with Hillwaert's (2016) research on handshakes. Hillwaert studied how women in coastal Kenya negotiated over the status of relationships through tactily sensed dimensions embedded in handshakes. Similarly, in my study, children sometimes embedded extra tactile force in the full-body practice of sitting down on their mother's laps. Through this tactily sensed muscle effort, the practice become a method to negotiate over the intimacies of relationships. Furthermore, Chapter 5 proposed that not only effort but also effortlessness can mediate a communicative meaning: it can reproduce the familiarity of bodies by iconizing the ordinariness of the other with the ordinariness or fluency of the tactile movement. In other words, the other body is produced and co-lived as familiar by doing the familiarity of the other body.

In addition, Chapter 5 suggests that a relationship's corporeal intimacy can be enacted as a medium for other communicative projects as well, where unique meanings (such as emotional states) are resonated intercorporeally and coupled with

other embodied semiotic resources (such as facial expressions). This level of communication, which resembles what has been called non-officially relevant social actions (C. Goodwin 1986: 45–56), has not received much attention in micro interaction studies, especially in cases where it is enacted through tactile communication. My study provides an opening in this regard, suggesting methods through which non-officially relevant tactile communication can be studied in video recordings. I propose that the meanings implied in tactile movements are not only available to the participating bodies directly through tactile means, but are also to some extent available to video analysts, who with careful analysis can empathetically co-sense the tension and extra effort embedded in tactile movements.

In Chapter 6, I studied cases of a child handing objects to other persons in the group. Unlike the cases of sitting down, this haptic practice often occurred at the level of openly mutual, gaze-driven interactions. The focus was on cases whose primary in-order-to was to interact: to confirm the other person's (tactile) co-presence or otherwise be in contact with other people. The analysis proposed that the cooperative practice of transferring objects from one party to another can be utilized as a practice to create interpersonal haptic links between bodies. I suggested that by handing an object to another person, one can obligate that other person into a moment of touch, as the bodies are able to sense each other with and through the handed object (Gibson 1966: 100; Ratcliffe 2008: 91; Scollon 2001: 24). Consequently, object-handing can act either as a medium to upgrade mere tactile co-presence into a facial formation, or as a vehicle to create tactile intercorporealities (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Meyer et al. 2017) between bodies that were not in tactile co-presence to begin with. Thus, a child in the group sessions enacted object-handing as a conditionally relevant, ritualized supportive interchange or prestation (Goffman 1971; Mauss 1990) that created expectations of the receipt and appreciation of the object (Bourdieu 1977; Davidson 1984; Enfield 2011: 285–291; Garfinkel 1967; Goffman 1971: 63–64; Kärkkäinen and Keisanen 2012: 592; Schegloff 1968; Scollon 2001: 19–85).

Given this potential moral structure of the handing practice, I argued that failure to contribute to the practice according to the expectations evoked contains a face-threatening risk, and accomplishment of the practice is thus at times oriented to with subtle facework practices (Goffman 1955, 2005). These facework practices include effortful disattention to avoid being accountable for responding; acceptance of an item that was clearly unwanted to avoid potential awkwardness for both parties after rejection; and subtle/step-by-step withdrawal from a mutual encounter that has included reciprocal object-handings and receipts to prevent the other person feeling

rejected. Analysing the child's handing episodes in the group in light of facework practices showed clearly that the practice of handing an object did not follow the simple presumption made by Couper-Kuhlen (2014) that the one being offered an item will be treated as the beneficiary of the action (cf. Clayman and Heritage 2014: 58; Hofstetter and Stokoe 2015: 727–728; Maynard 1986: 271): it was often clear that the child who handed or offered the item was more committed to the practice of handing than was the target of the handing. Indeed, the conditional relevance of orientation to an initiative action was exploited to engage the other person in interaction (Scollon 2001: 25–26). Accordingly, in none of the cases studied in Chapter 6 was the interaction about the handed item per se, or about actually giving the item to the other person. Instead it was, in one way or another, about the interactive moment emerging from the transaction, affording a brief moment of tactile intercorporeality – a momentary haptic link – that the practice of handing and receiving the item created. Understood at this level, the child's actions in the group were her way of interacting and connecting with other people and participating in the group's actions in an appropriate manner.

While the existence of a moral order in conditionally relevant social actions has been established by micro sociologists and interaction analysts (e.g. Garfinkel 1967; Goffman 1971; Schegloff 1968), looking at how this moral order is utilized to commit other people to interaction through haptic actions is still a new perspective (although cf. e.g. Scollon 2001). In this regard, a practice that apparently serves other purposes is enacted as a technique to initiate, negotiate and renegotiate social relationships. Chapter 6 made explicit the point that the primary in-order-to of some practices that apparently produce other interaction projects may be to simply interact with others. Furthermore, the analysis in Chapter 6 showed that object-handing provided a particularly affordable method for this, as it inevitably created haptic connections between bodies. In the moment of handing an object, the corporealities of bodies momentarily melt into a single intercorporeality and make the bodies inhabit each other's actions (cf. C. Goodwin 2013, 2017).

To conclude, the chapters in this book have studied how different practices – such as organizing bodies into tactile arrangements, making transitions in those arrangements, producing different group tasks such as reading a magazine or writing/painting on a piece of paper, locating oneself on one's mother's body, and handing and receiving items – can become vehicles to negotiate over moment-by-moment evolving participation statuses and tactile intimacies. The analysis of these tactile practices describes well how practical and social actions in another person's co-presence are inevitably blurred and cannot not be communicative (e.g. Andrén

2010; Goffman 1959, 1963; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2006; Watzlawick et al. 1967). In the group under study, I found that mothers and children engaged in a type of tactile co-being where the bodies inhabited a shared tactile ecology. They produced their body movements, actions and orientations just like anyone in space, but they did so only in each other's tactile co-presence, resulting in the continuous live broadcasting of each other's body idiom. In a tactile intercorporeality like this, practical action is inherently social, as it is tactilely sensed in the body. Following Andr en (2010, 2014a, 2014b, 2017), the tactile practices studied here could be called tactile lower-limit gestures.

The tactile negotiation over body-to-body-experienced meaning was afforded by direct body-to-body communication through which tactile body and involvement idioms, including the in-orders-to of bodies, were made sense of. When these practices, which often serve practical movements and actions in space, were conducted in tactile intercorporeality, they could be harnessed to produce different interaction projects. Alternatively, given that they could also be effortfully treated as non-communicative, one could actively ignore the obvious communicative intentions of these tactile practices by treating them as mere practical movements – and thus one could avoid being accountable for responding. Tactile intercorporeality among mothers and children thus became a silent platform for tactile negotiation over the intimacy and aboutness of main or side involvements (Goffman 1963: 44). In this regard, the habitualization of bodies' tactile intimacies afforded a level of communication that worked at the 'seen but unnoticed' level (Garfinkel 1963: 217, 1967: 36, 1996: 11) but was still very recognizable in direct body-to-body contact. Thus, tactile intercorporeality is a multilayered, multi-temporal and multilevel meaning-making flow that occurs directly from body to body through interkinaesthetic togetherness (Stuart 2012).

7.2 Discussion and future directions for study

The aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity. (One is unable to notice something – because it is always before one's eyes.) The real foundations of his enquiry do not strike a man at all. Unless that fact has at some time struck him. – And this means: we fail to be struck by what, once seen, is most striking and most powerful. (Wittgenstein cited in Enfield 2007: 97)

One important aim of this study has been to foreground the mothers and children's corporeally manifested perspective, by placing their orientations in the group session at the centre of focus. This has included showing the effort, difficulty

and negative emotions embedded in tactile intercorporeality when mothers' and children's interaction projects conflict. On the other hand, I have also shown the effortlessness, caressing and positive emotions that stem from mothers and children's co-experiencing of each other's bodies in tactile intercorporeality when it occurs harmoniously. I therefore suggest that there is an important sense in which bodily experience of and capability for being and acting together is ingrained in everyday routines, and that this routinized everyday experience is different in each relationship's intercorporeality. The intimacy of this shared ecology is not always harmonious, but as this research has suggested, there occurs a continuous embodied negotiation over bodies' corporeal boundaries that can be highly affective in nature (cf. Katila 2018).

Caregivers such as the mothers in the group go through their everyday lives, participate in social activities outside their homes, and fill the requirements set by each social occasion while environmentally coupled with their children. My analysis of the cases in this book clearly reveals the silent emotional and intercorporeal labour that is embedded in managing a child as if the child were part of one's intercorporeality. Given that not every social occasion recognizes this emotional and intercorporeal labour, it is often faded from one's official main involvement (Goffman 1963). Even though the group in this study allowed the presence of children, and the children's presence was taken into account, the group still provided an example of a social occasion where the implicit expectation was that children would not 'disturb' the adult members' activities. Thus the setting unintentionally provided a front-row seat to study a phenomenon that is presumably very common in various types of social setting: caregivers managing their children in an adult-driven environment, while still trying to participate fully in the occasion. However, the children's presence also enabled highly joyful and positively affective encounters to happen, as well as letting the mothers and children co-experience each other and participate in group sessions together.

Finally, I highlighted one child's orientations in the group sessions, and the intercorporeal moments of challenge and joy the child encountered in the sessions. I approached this by analysing cases of the child handing objects to other people with a clear intent to initiate interaction with those others. Through this haptic practice, the child was able to initiate interaction with other people in the group and commit them to a haptic link with her. The chapter therefore considered perhaps one of the most fundamental questions humans as inherently social beings must face: how to engage another person in focused social interaction. The manner in which the child was able to obligate other people into haptic and other embodied

encounters with her is telling of the creativity of human beings to come up with ways to connect with others, and their inherent tendency to seek togetherness.

To conclude, this study proposes that one crucial locus for human beings' amazingly multilayered ability to communicate with each other is habitualized, tactilely experienced social relationships. This habitualization of tactile intercorporealities is a basic building block for creativity that does not stem from the actions of a single body but is inherently intercorporeal in nature, building on the habitualized and familiar structures of social relationships. The focus of this study was on habitualized practices between mothers and children in tactile intercorporeality – a manner of co-being that is perhaps the most fundamental but at the same time most hidden aspect of human life (Wittgenstein 1953: §1.129). I propose that these tactile practices were vehicles for the bodies to connect with each other in a tactile intercorporeality that enabled the bodies to co-experience, communicate and make sense of each other's tactile bodies. Cutting through multiple temporalities, tactile practices were practices to negotiate over the intimacy of relationships and moment-by-moment unfolding participations. This was enabled by the fact that in tactile intercorporeality, the mothers and children inevitably communicated the significances ascribed to their bodily features and their moment-by-moment unfolding action or movement intentions, mediated through the sense of touch and *enkinaesthesia* (Goffman 1963: 33, 1971: 11; Schindler 2017: 444; Streeck 2017; Stuart 2012). It was this omnipresence of communication – communication's inseparability from living human bodies – that made it seem as if the mothers and children in the group were not communicating but being with each other.

While this study has provided a novel approach to a phenomenon – fine-grained world of body-to-body tactile communication – the study has based the analysis on somewhat unique cases and it thus has its limitations in terms of generalizability. Moreover, because it focused on uncovering corporeal practices that often did not coincide with talk, this study did not place much emphasis on the co-occurrence of talk and other corporeal resources. However, following the lead of previous micro interaction studies (e.g. Streeck 2017), this study has aimed at establishing the existence of and exploring some specific interaction practices and the multi-grained dynamics involved in them, thereby making them available for future research. Furthermore, the interaction practices discovered are not only simply interesting by the virtue of existing, but also telling of human tactile sociality more generally. Consequently, the practices revealed in this study have shown a whole new level of subtleness and inevitableness of tactile interaction. Thus, the adequacy of the

phenomenon is thus not dependent on the frequency of the occurrence of some phenomena or on the number of participants as such (cf. Raudaskoski 2009: 177–178). However, in future it would be interesting to study how the specific embodied practices and tactile interactions uncovered in this study laminate with various spoken interactions while multiple simultaneous participation frameworks take place and corporeal arrangements co-occur.

In this study I have suggested that only by watching the video recordings empathetically, and by relying on one's own body in analysis (De Jaegher et al. 2016; Dennett 2003: 19; Stuart 2012: 179), is it possible for a researcher to make informed observations of how the participant orient to the tactile phenomena. However, given that capturing the experiential features of tactile communication from an outsider observer's perspective is never fully possible, in the future more studies combining different methods are needed to deepen our understanding especially on the experiential aspects of tactile phenomenon. For instance, video analysis could be combined with ethnographic observations or introspection with video analysis (cf. Hillwaert 2016; Schindler 2017). Another option is to conduct experimental measurements while touch occurs and analyse the data from these measurements with video-analysis (cf. Stevanovic et al. 2017). Moreover, as this study has shown that the communicative affordances of bodies' practical movements in space are incredibly rich and omnipresent, more studies that consider these non-officially relevant social actions are called for, given how fundamentally communication is ingrained in the practices of our everyday co-being with others. In future, multidisciplinary collaboration and combining different methods is crucial to provide a multisided approach into extremely diverse phenomenon such as tactile practices and tactile intercorporeality.

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APPENDIX A. TYPES OF TOUCH IN DIFFERENT TACTILE ARRANGEMENTS

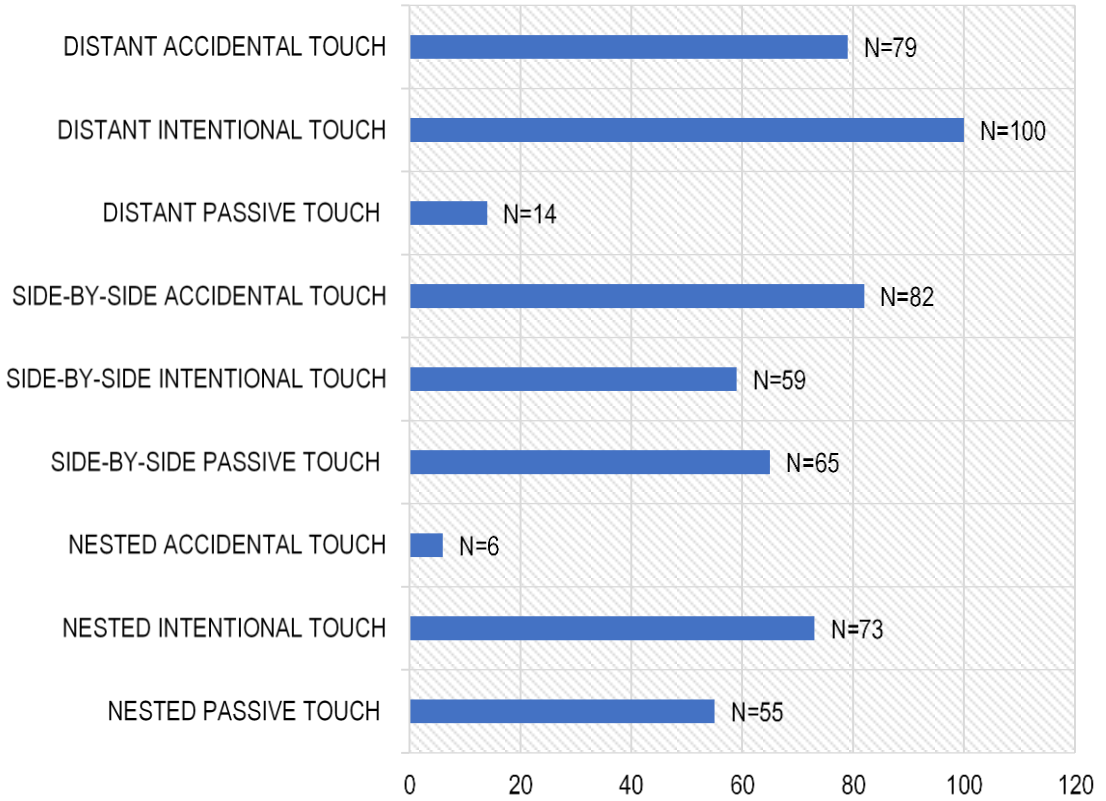


Figure 48. Appendix A. Types of Touch in different tactile arrangements

APPENDIX B. DIVISION BETWEEN TACTILE ARRANGEMENTS AND ATTENTION FORMATIONS

TACTILE ARRANGEMENTS

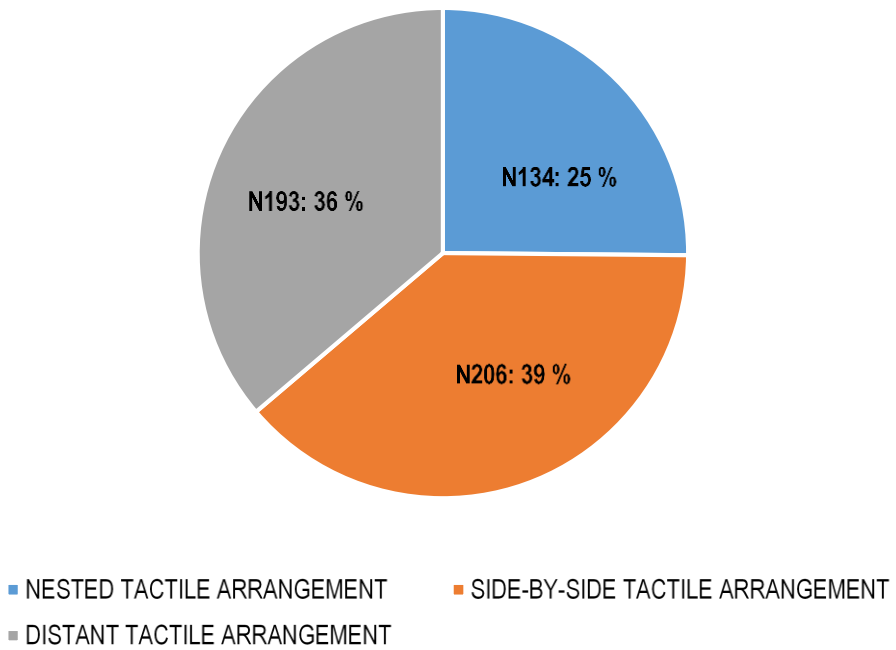


Figure 49. Appendix B, Division between tactile arrangements and attention formations 1

ATTENTION FORMATIONS

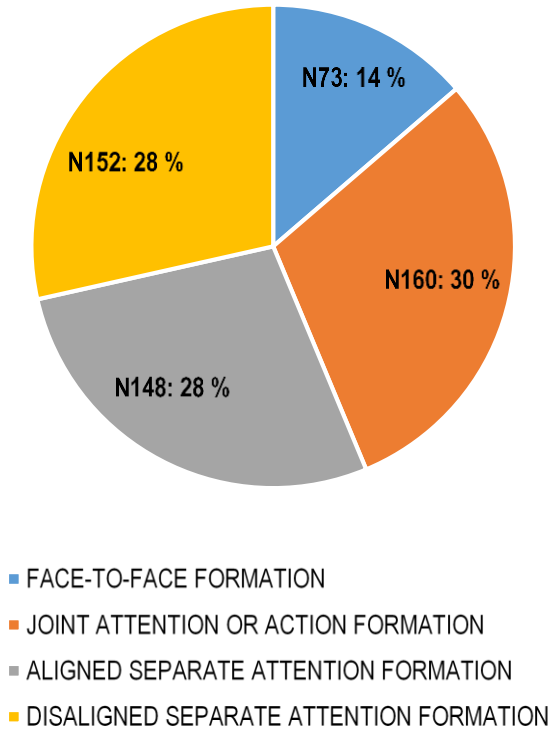


Figure 50. Appendix B, Division between tactile arrangements and attention formations 2

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Mamma Mia! – Monikulttuurinen Ryhmä **Nuorille Äideille**



Sinä olet **tärkeä**, sinä olet **erityinen**! Mamma Mia! **Monikulttuurinen** ryhmä on suunnattu nuorille **äideille**, jotka haluavat pysähtyä pohtimaan omaa **naiseuttaan** muuttuneen elämäntilanteen myötä. Tule kohtaamaan oma kasvutarinasi muiden **samassa elämäntilanteessa** olevien kanssa!

Pidätkö **kuvaamisesta**, piirtämisestä, kirjoittamisesta, askartelemisesta tai vain elämän isojen ja pienten kysymysten pohtimisesta **hyvässä seurassa**? Ryhmä tarjoaa **avartavaa** itseensä ja toisiin tutustumista erilaisia taiteen menetelmiä hyödyntäen. Tule kokemaan **tutkimusretki** omannäköiseesi naiseuteen ja **jakamaan** se samassa elämäntilanteessa olevien kanssa!

Ryhmä alkaa 5.3 ja kokoontuu **TIISTAISIN** klo 16–17.30 Tyttöjen Talolla. Lisätietoa ja ilmoittautumiset henkilökunnalle!

Figure 51. Information leaflet 1

Mamma Mia! – Monikulttuurinen Ryhmä Nuorille Äideille

Hei,

Nimeni on Julia Katila ja toimin Mamma Mia! -ryhmän vetäjänä. Olen sosiaalipsykologi koulutukseltani ja tällä hetkellä toimin Turun Tyttöjen Talolla ohjaajana monikulttuurisessa tyttötyö -hankkeessa. Minut olet saattanut tavata myös Tampereen Tyttöjen Talolla, sillä olen ollut siellä viime syksystä asti vapaaehtoisena tiistai iltais.

Mamma Mia -ryhmä on luova hyvänolon ryhmä, jossa kivan tekemisen myötä keskustellaan itselleen tärkeistä elämään ja naiseuteen liittyvistä asioista turvallisessa ryhmässä. Ryhmässä on tarkoitus esimerkiksi tehdä ryhmätyö, valokuvata ja videokuvata, maalata, kirjoittaa, piirtää, kuunnella musiikkia ja tanssia sekä rentoutua. Pääset myös itse toimimaan tutkijana ja haastattelemaan itsellesi tärkeitä läheisiä ihmisiä. Ryhmän lopussa saatamme tehdä myös tehdä lyhyen retken luontoon.

Kehittelemäni Mamma Mia -ryhmä toimii myös aineistona tohtorin tutkielmalleni, jonka teen Tampereen yliopiston Kulttuuri- ja Yhteiskuntatieteiden yksikölle. Tutkimukseni aiheena on tutkia ryhmässä tapahtuvaa äitien ja lasten vuorovaikutusta ja miten monikulttuurisen taustan omaavat nuoret äidit rakentavat ryhmässä identiteettejä, omakuvia sekä elämäkertoja. Ajatuksena ei ole tutkia kenenkään yksittäisen ihmisen elämää, vaan tarkoituksena on, että ryhmässä kerätty aineisto voi kertoa jotain tämänhetkisestä yhteiskunnasta ja sosiaalisista suhteista yleensä.

Aineiston kerääminen tarkoittaa, että käytän tutkimukseeni ryhmässä tehtyjä tuotoksia sekä videokuvamateriaalia. Tutkimus on luottamuksellinen ja kenenkään henkilöllisyys ei tule siinä ilmi. Ryhmän alussa kerään kaikilta suostumuksen tutkimukseen osallistumisesta.

Olet lämpimästi tervetullut! Jos sinulle tulee jotain kysyttävää, ota rohkeasti yhteyttä Julia Katila 045-8440480 tai 044-0220139, julia.katila@mimmi.fi

Figure 52. Information leaflet 2

TIEDOTE TUTKIMUKSEEN OSALLISTUVILLE

Pyydän Sinua osallistumaan tutkimukseen, jossa hyödynnetään Tampereen Tyttöjen Talon avoimessa monikulttuurisessa nuorten äitien ja lasten ryhmässä tehtyjä tuotoksia ja videotallennetta niin, että ryhmäläisten henkilöllisyys ei ole tutkimusjulkaisussa tunnistettavissa.

Tutkimuksen aiheena on tutkia ryhmässä tapahtuvaa vuorovaikutusta, ja miten monikulttuurisen taustan omaavat nuoret äidit rakentavat identiteettejä, omakuvia sekä elämänkertoja ja minkälaisena he näkevät ideaalisen naiseuden. Ajatuksena on, että heidän kertomansa tarina voi kertoa jotain tämänhetkisestä yhteiskunnasta ja sosiaalisista suhteista yleensä. Tutkimus on Julia Katilan Tampereen yliopiston yhteiskunta- ja kulttuuritieteiden yksikölle tekemä sosiaalipsykologian väitöskirja.

Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu Tampereen Tyttöjen Talon monikulttuurisen nuorten äitien ryhmän tuotoksista, kuten ryhmäläisten ottamista valokuvista, maalauksista, kirjoituksista, piirroksista, ryhmätöistä sekä videokuvamateriaalista. Ryhmässä esille tulleet asiat raportoidaan tutkimusjulkaisuissa tavalla, jossa tutkittavia tai muita ryhmässä mainittuja yksittäisiä henkilöitä ei voida tunnistaa. Luottamuksellisuus turvataan niin, että videotallennetta käsittelevät tutkimusapulaiset ja tutkijat allekirjoittavat vaitiolositoumuksen. Aineistoa käsitellään niin, että tutkimukseen osallistuvien ja muiden ryhmässä esille tulevien henkilöiden, organisaatioiden ja paikkakuntien nimet eivät ole tunnistettavissa. Tutkimukseen osallistuminen on täysin vapaaehtoista.

Lopullisista tutkimustuloksista kerrotaan tutkimuksen osallistujille. Tulokset raportoidaan Julia Katilan väitöskirjassa.

Lisätietoa tutkimuksesta voit koska tahansa kysyä tutkijalta ja ryhmän ohjaajalta Julia Katilalta.

Julia 044-0220139, julia.katila@uta.fi

TUTKIMUSSUOSTUMUS

Tutkimukseen osallistuvan yhteystiedot:

Nimi: _____ Syntymävuosi: _____

Puhelinnumero: _____ Sähköpostiosoite: _____

Tutkimussuostumus:

Anna luvan, että Tampereen Tyttöjen Talon avoimessa monikulttuurisessa nuorten äitien ryhmässä tekemiäni tuotoksia ja videotallennetta hyödynnetään edellä kuvattuun tutkimukseen niin, että oma henkilöllisyyteni ei ole tutkimusjulkaisusta tunnistettavissa.

Aika ja paikka

Allekirjoitus ja nimenselvennys

Figure 53. Informed consent

RYHMÄN OHJELMARUNKO

Mamma Mia! – Monikulttuurinen Ryhmä Nuorille Äideille

1. **5.3.2013 Aloitus:** esittely, tutkimusluvut, tutustuminen ja ensi kerran kameratehtävänanto

2. **12.3 Naiseuden mallit:** erilaisiin naiskuviin liittyvä ryhmätyö

- Ota saamallasi kameralla kuvia omasta arjesta. Mitkä isot ja pienet asiat sinulle on tärkeitä arjessa? Tuo kamera mukaan tälle kerralle.

3. **19.3 Arjen kuvakollaasi:** oman kuvakollaasin rakentaminen otetuista kuvista sekä videokameran käyttöönotto

- Tämän kerran alussa harjoitellaan videokameran käyttöä ja ryhmäkerrat aletaan videokuvaamaan.

4. **26.3 Mini-elämäkkaari:** oman sekä ryhmän yhteisen elämäkkaaren piirtäminen

5. **2.4 Kirje:** Tärkeän esineen esittely sekä kirjeen kirjoittaminen

- Ota mukaan itsellesi jostain syystä tärkeä esine

6. **9.4 Tutkimusmatka tunteisiin:** Erilaisten tunnetilojen tarkastelua draamallisia menetelmiä apuna käyttäen ja haastattelutehtävänanto

7. **16.4 Tärkeät naisesikuvat:** oman elämän tärkeiden naisesikuvien pohtiminen ja haastattelutehtävän purkaminen

- Haastattele itsellesi tärkeää naista tai naisia ja kerää vastaukset tutkimusvihkoon. Tuo vihko mukaasi ryhmäkerralle

8. **23.4 Musiikin voima:** Jokainen saa mahdollisuuden esittää muille itselleen tärkeää musiikkia

- pohdi valmiiksi joku itsellesi tärkeä kappale, jonka haluat kuunnella muiden kanssa

9. **7.5 Maalaamisen riemu:** jokainen saa maalata itsestään omakuvan tai vaihtoehtoisesti jonkun itselleen tärkeän ihmisen tai asian

- Voit miettiä jo hieman valmiiksi, mitä ja miten haluat maalata

10. **14.5 Viimeinen kerta:** nyyttärijuhlat tai vaihtoehtoisesti retki luontoon. Loppukeskustelu ja arviointi.

- Voit pohtia valmiiksi, mitä tunteita ryhmä sinussa on herättänyt. Mikä on ollut hyvää ja mikä huonoa.

Jos ilmenee mitä tahansa kysyttävää, Juliaan voi ottaa yhteyttä: 044-0220139

Figure 54. The group program