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The roles of students' interaction in classroom learning: A case study of a second-grade classroom in Korea

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The Ohio State University, 1994
THE ROLES OF STUDENTS' INTERACTION IN CLASSROOM LEARNING: A CASE STUDY OF A SECOND GRADE CLASSROOM IN KOREA

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University
By
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* * * *

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College of Education
To Two Loving Friends, Songho Lee and Dongha Lee,

My Parents, and My Lord.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Studies in Curriculum

Studies in Early and Middle Childhood Education

Studies in Qualitative Research
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

"Buses and movie theaters may be more crowded than classrooms, but people rarely stay in such densely populated settings for extended periods of time and while, there, they usually are not expected to concentrate on work or to interact with each other. Only in schools do thirty or more people spend several hours each day literally side by side(p.10)."

-Jackson(1968)-

The primary purpose of this study is to explore what students experience through working with or in the presence of other peers as evidenced in the students' interaction in a second grade classroom in Korea. This chapter provides a general introduction to the study.

Statement of the Problem

Schooling is a process of social interaction. In such social interaction, the student-to-teacher interaction that consists of the main part of the classroom process has been focused in educational discourses. There is another important feature of social interaction that we should take into account to understand the classroom process. That is the student(s)-to-student(s) interaction.
Learning with or in the presence of other peers can be seen as a seemingly trivial and fleeting event that forms routines of a classroom. In practice, interaction among or between students is rarely seen as integral to the learning process. Rather, it is often regarded as a constraint that should be controlled in order that a lesson flows smoothly in a pre-planned way. But, recognizing the meaning of peer interaction is inevitable in understanding the process of classroom learning because most things that are done in school are done with, or, at least, in the presence of others.

This study was done to reveal the nature and meaning of the students' interaction in classroom learning, that seemed to be receiving less attention than it deserves. The various events through student(s)-to-student(s) interaction in a school classroom were investigated as windows to reveal what students experience through working with or in the presence of other peers.

Recently, recognition of a student's active role in the learning process has permeated the literature on education (Cazden, 1988; Corsaro, 1985; Dyson, 1990; Fernie et al., 1988; Green & Harker, 1982; Mehan, 1982; Meyer, 1989; Wilkinson, 1982). In research on childhood psychology, how peer relationships or interaction influences cognitive, social and moral
development has been a traditional topic. Especially, research on peer learning and cooperative learning has shown the positive functions of peer interaction in learning (Cooper & Cooper Jr., 1986; Forman & Cazden, 1988; Vygotsky, 1960b). In social and moral development, the function of peer interaction or relationships has been evidenced (Damon, 1988; Kohlberg, 1979; Sprinthall & Mosher, 1978). Many studies indicated that through peer interaction or relationships, children experience justice, cooperation, and autonomous moral judgement and that the peer group plays the important role in children's social development and socialization.

What factors influence the occurrence of such peer interaction and relationships? Research on the occurrence of peer relationships and interactions has revealed individual variables such as sex, gender, ethnicity, social competence, communicational skill, or affinity (Hartup, 1983; Kutnick, 1988) and organizational variables (Bossert, 1979; Jackson, 1968; Kutnick, 1988; Minuchin & Shapiro, 1983; Morine-Dershimer, 1983). Critical theorists have tried to find the cause of peer interaction and relationship in structure of a larger society. While such research regards that the configuration of peer interaction depends on the classroom participation structure,
ethnographic studies on classroom process regard conversely the peer interaction as a determinant of classroom configuration and a learning resource of an individual student (Cazden, 1988; Meyer, 1989). On the whole, the review of literature revealed how complicated the student’s interaction and classroom learning were. A more holistic picture is needed to explain the role of peer interaction in classroom learning.

It is expected that the sociocultural perspective of Corsaro (1985); Fernie et al.’s(1988) and Cazden’s (1988) notion, in which peer culture and school culture co-exist in a classroom; and the notion of implicit curriculum, in which students were regarded as active constructors of implicit curriculum, would make it possible to portray and explain the dynamic inter-relationship of peer interaction and classroom learning.

The Research Questions and the Contribution of Research

In order to portray the holistic picture of what students experience through working with or in the presence of other peers, this research explored the following questions through a naturalistic case study.

(1) What types of students’ interaction occur in both instructional and non-instructional settings of the classroom?
(2) Why do the types of students' interaction occur in the classroom? And how are the students' interaction and classroom learning process related?

(3) How does the students' interaction impact on their learning?

This research would have the following contributions. First, in practical sense, it can improve actual teaching of the Korean teachers by focusing their attention on their own way of teaching. Second, theoretically, this research can inform educators of how the peer interaction is the important mediator in the complex process of teaching and learning in a classroom setting. Third, it would inform the curriculum specialists of the students' collective role as a commonplace of implicit curriculum. Fourth, it will provide an insight of the uniqueness of the Korean educational culture from the comparative education perspective.

The Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore the nature and meaning of one of the taken-for-granted ways in a classroom, that is- students work with or in the presence of other peers. For this purpose, various aspects of qualitative inquiry were utilized (Patton,
This research was a naturalistic case study which was a comprehensive investigation of one setting (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982).

The research proceeded with the following steps:

1) A research proposal was generated which included a review of the literature and guiding research questions.

2) Through a pilot study in four elementary classrooms in Korea, permission was obtained for one year’s observation in one of those classrooms.

3) Data were gathered from April to November in 1992 through mostly participant observation and ethnographic interview. Face-to-face verbal or non-verbal interaction between and among the students in both formal (didactic events) or informal (e.g. recess and lunch) setting was the main focus of observation. However, rather than focusing only on interactive events, I went where the students went and tried to capture the flavor of the students’ school day in its entirety. The routines that consist of daily events between 7:30 a.m. and about 3:00 p.m. were observed.

4) The data were sorted and analyzed using a modified version of the constant-comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1990). In establishing categories and interpreting, the concepts or
categories offered from literature review were initially used and later replaced with new categories which came out of the data.

5) The interpretation was checked with the teacher. The standards of naturalistic research for the trustworthiness were sought and peer debriefing was also pursued. The details of the methods are presented in chapter III.

Clarification of Terms

Several terms contributed to the development of this study. They are introduced and clarified before use of this research.

**Event:** A social situation under study through participant observation (Spradley, 1980, p.40).

**Social interaction:** A situation where the behaviors (including the overt movement and the covert deliberation) of one actor are consciously recognized by and influence the behaviors of another actor, and vice versa (Turner, 1988, p.13-14).

**Peers:** Individuals who have similarity in age and equilaitarianism in interaction style (Cooper &
Peer relationship: Aggregations of interactions between individuals that persist over time and that involve distinctive expectations, affects, and configurations (Hinde, 1976, cited in Meyer, 1989, p.74).

Peer culture: Children’s patterned ways of participating in a child-constructed social world (Corsaro, 1985, p.171).

School culture: The common set of activities or routines, values, concerns and attitudes constructed and communicated about and in a particular school setting (Fernie, Kantor, Klein, Meyer & Elgas, 1988, p.137).

Qualitative study: An inquiry that is far wider than ethnography, infusing the ordinary events of daily life, and pervading our day-to-day judgments and provides a basis for our most important decisions (Eisner, 1991, p.15).
The Limitations of Study

This research has the following limitations.

1) The limitation of translation: Because the research setting was a Korean classroom, and the researcher's mother tongue is also Korean, it was laborious to transcribe the necessary parts of fieldnotes, originally written in Korean, into English. It was impossible to translate some words, which are embedded in Korean classroom culture, like Dang-bun or Zu-bun, so that they were presented in Korean with explanation. Because of the difference between Korean and English, it was difficult to deliver the delicate flavor of the students' life and the setting.

2) The limitation of consultation: Since the fieldwork was conducted in Korea, I could not constantly seek the necessary consultation with experts and colleagues, which may be an important part of qualitative inquiry.

3) The limitation of the researcher's personal experience: As a graduate student of education, I conducted this study as my first fieldwork and as a part of graduate work. Thus, I may not be a good observer and analyst at this stage. Besides, the classroom culture was so familiar to me, as I was an elementary teacher in Korea, that I might possibly miss some important aspects of it.
An Overview of the Study

The basic purpose of Chapter I has been to designate the research questions, to give an overview of the relevant literature, an introduction to the methodology, and the limitations of the research.

The remaining chapters and their general content are as follows: Chapter II reviews the literature on the roles of peer interaction in the social, moral, and cognitive development and socialization; sociocultural perspective to peer interaction and culture; ethnographic research on classroom process; and the students’ role in implicit curriculum and Korean classroom: Chapter III explains the methodology of the study and rationale for its utilization: Chapter IV provides the thick description of the context, and an interpretation of the data to answer to the research questions which are, how and why the students’ interaction in the non-instructional and instructional settings occur and how it related to the classroom learning: Chapter V summarizes the exploration, suggests implications of the research.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature that contributed to this research will be presented in this chapter. A few research studies have focused on both the roles of students’ interaction in natural classroom setting and the implicit curriculum of Korean classroom relating to students’ interaction. This chapter of literature review is divided into four sections. In section one, a sociocultural approach as a theoretical perspective to understanding children’s social interactions is reviewed. Section two contains the research on the roles of peer interaction in cognitive, social, and moral development. In section three, ethnographic research on classroom process is reviewed. In section four, studies on implicit curriculum relating to students and on Korean classrooms are discussed.

In the summary section, the roles of peer interaction in cognitive, social, and moral development, and the factors influencing students’ interaction, which served as the initial coding system for the data analysis, will be highlighted.
The Sociocultural Perspective on Children's Interaction

This study took a sociocultural perspective to understanding and describing students' interaction. This approach is characterized by an emphasis on the active role of the children in the creation of their social world (Corsaro, 1985; Scott, 1992). This perspective is rooted in the constructivist's view, in which cognitive development occurs through abstracting and internalizing certain logical features of interaction with the physical world; and the interactionist's view that, through face-to-face exchange with others (social interaction), children acquire the skills and knowledge which are necessary for developing social competence.

Recognition of the importance of social interaction in learning seems to be attributed to Vygotsky's social origin of cognitive development (Vygotsky, 1960b). According to Vygotsky, mental function first appears as an interpsychological process among people, and then it is transformed into intrapsychological process within an individual. For instance, argumentation with others is transformed into reflection function in intrapsychological process (Wertch, 1981). Social knowledge also originates with others within the context of specific activities and evolves through an on-going negotiation of meaning. Thus, the socialization
process is not the internalization of adults' knowledge and skill, but the on-going negotiation process.

A sociocultural perspective is termed by Corsaro (1985), through extending this Vygoskian notion. He sheds light on the mediating role of peer culture in this socialization process. According to him, through peer culture, in which children have shared knowledge and collective identity, children reflect collectively the adults' culture on their life and produce their unique form or meaning of the adults' culture. Through peer culture, children are socialized to adults' culture.

In sum, Vygotsky's social origin of cognition (social relation itself is transformed into mental function), and Corsaro's peer culture as the mediational phase in the childhood socialization (through peer culture in which peers reproduce their version of adult's culture, children are socialized to adults' culture) suggest the active role of students' interaction in learning.

The sociocultural perspective stresses that culture is created through sustained social contact within group settings, and that culture such as shared common beliefs and patterned ways of knowing (Spradley,1980) frames appropriate interpretations of social interaction.
Research on Peer Interaction

I present the most relevant research in this chapter within a huge body of research on peer interaction and relationships: peer interaction in the cognitive development and classroom learning; and peer interaction in socialization and moral development.

Research on peer learning and cooperative learning has examined the roles of peer interaction in cognitive development. The theoretical background of the research relies on the constructivist's view. Forman and Cazden (1988) explained the roles of peer interaction in the cognitive development from the constructivist's perspective as follows: the peer interaction in learning could serve as a chance to be challenged to a state of equilibrium by causing conflicts and difficulty during the discussion time of cooperative activities; the peer interaction promoted other's learning because children of similar age were likely to operate and model more capable behavior within one another's proximal zones of development; the peer interaction could function as the intermediate transforming context between external adult-child interaction and an individual child's inner speech (Vygotsky, 1960a, 1960b & 1965).

Research on peer learning within a pair studied how children helped one another during play, tutoring, modeling, persuasion, and collaborative interaction.
The role that the children play in peer learning had often been considered in terms of two prototypic patterns (Cooper & Cooper Jr., 1984); cooperative (equivalent amounts of expertise with regard to a shared problem); and didactic (with a less-skilled partner). Among younger children with less developed cognitive skill and discourse skill 'cooperative' type is turn-taking on simple tasks while 'didactic' type is showing and telling their peers or imitating others. To older children, the 'cooperative' type sues their meta-cognitive skill to plan, organize, carry out, revise and evaluate a project extending over days. The 'didactic' type is to orient and guide their partner and change teaching strategies in response to their learning behavior.

Research on cooperative learning has supported its effectiveness in children's social development and academic achievement (Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1986; Slavin, 1990). The research, however, does not show in detail how cooperative learning had positive effects on students' social development and academic achievement. Slavin merely suggested that the benefits of group learning might not be due solely to supportive peer interactions, but also due to effective classroom management, the well-specified routines, and explicit feedback.
Parten (1932, cited in Forman & Cazden, 1988) identified three levels of procedural peer interaction in the group problem-solving session; parallel, associative, and cooperative in terms of difference of sharing idea and division of labor. During the parallel procedural interaction children shared materials and exchanged comments about the task. In the associative level, they tried to inform the rest of the group of their own thoughts and actions. In the cooperative level, children constantly monitored each other’s work and played coordinated roles in performing task procedure. The contradictory findings were found in research on group activities. Some negative effects on academic learning and social development were found in ethnographic studies when they looked at individual children in complex social settings (Cohen, 1984; Bossert, 1988). According to Cohen, various status characteristics - including race, gender, or prior achievement - could depress some students’ involvement in group work. When the status characteristics became salient in a situation, the high status students were more active and influential in a group work than the lower status students. As a result, the high-status students achieved more than others. The status also affected the expectations that the students had of themselves and their peers. Thus, group activities
could foster ethnic or gender stereotyping and undermine the low-status children's learning potential by reinforcing perceptions of ability or status differences.

Other research focused on the influence of instructional organization and task structure on classroom status and social relationship in classroom (Bossert, 1979; Jackson, 1968; Kutnick, 1988; Minuchin & Shapiro, 1983; Morine-Dershimer, 1983). Bossert (1979) explored the relationship between classroom social organization and friendship. According to him, in a classroom in which teachers mainly used recitation fostering comparative evaluations of student performance and encouraging the development of an academically based status hierarchy, children segregated themselves into academically homogeneous friendship groups. On the other hand, in a classroom, in which teachers tended to use several different activities simultaneously, success or failure on tasks was less visible so that the achievement level was less influential in determining friendship choice.

The above research indicated that the organizational structure of the classroom could have negative effects on peer relationships. Thus, it can be said that functions of peer interaction or relationships in learning can depend on the context in which children
interact.

Since personal relationship among peers was not the focus of this research, the brief information on peer interaction in socialization and moral development will be presented.

According to Gesell (1940, cited in Kutnick, 1988), school age children's play and friendship behaviors were described as followings: six-year-old children started to develop and speak of friendship with others, but this kind of friendship was usually only momentary and based on objects of mutual enjoyment; eight to nine-year-old children experienced the occurrence of a best friend, who was stable and reciprocates friendship.

Sullivan (1953, cited in Kutnick, 1988) identified the types of peer relationship corresponding to ages: 2-4 year-old children were not ready to engage in peer relations outside of the immediate family environment; 4-9 year-old children had the need for playmates and accommodated their behaviors to initiate and maintain contacts with peers.

Kutnick (1988) noted that social competence was an important prerequisite for the development of a friendship. The individual child's social competence was the capacity to create and maintain mutually regulated relationship with others to achieve effective modes of emotional expression and to engage in social
reality. Besides the social competence, other factors associated with the development of friendship were proximity, affinity, and physical attractiveness. Other aspects hindering the friendship included a name that is out of the ordinary; and difference in social class, ethnic group, sex, intelligence, social assertiveness, values and even birth order. Children found security in their similarity with others and followed the examples of similar others' behaviors to gain certainty. Thus, pro-social skills were quickly transferred to the peer group. The functions of a peer group as a socializing force (Field 1981, cited in Kutnick, 1988) were identified as follows:

1. peers served as models for the behavior of other children.

2. peers served as social reinforcers for others. This reinforcement could be as powerful as or even more powerful than the reinforcement of adults.

3. peers served as tutors in social and intellectual development of learning.

This perspective regarded the socialization process as a linear internalization process of convention or adult-approved norms. Bushmen in the Kalahari desert in south Africa, Russia, and Israel (Kibbutzim) intentionally use peer group as a strong socializing agent through early
exposing to peer group which is controlled by cultural expectation. Meanwhile, Corsaro (1985, 1988a & 1988b) saw the socialization as not an internalization process, but the reproduction process through peer culture. That is, within a peer group, their own peer culture was constructed. Through peer culture, children understood and interpreted the adults' culture, and reproduced their own version of the presented culture. From the critical science perspective, Willis' (1977) study showed how peers served as a counter-school agent. That is, non-academic working class lads attending a working class secondary school formed a counter-school culture in opposition to the dry institutional life, and such a culture contributed to general working class culture and to the maintenance and reproduction of the social order.

In moral development, the major function of peer interaction in moral development was that children learned about justice through conflicts in friendship or peer interaction and moved to the higher level of moral reasoning through discussion about moral issues (Sprinthall & Mosher, 1978; Damon, 1988). Kohlberg also examined whether through having peers who are one stage above in moral developmental stage, children promotes moral reasoning (Kohlberg, 1979 & 1981) and that within a school, a communitarian approach stressing the solidarity of community could effectively enhance
children's moral autonomy (Kohlberg et al, 1989). Kutnick (1988) claimed that children who did not experience mutuality with the peer relationship would not be in a position to weigh elements of constraint and cooperation against one another, and would be less able to make "autonomous judgement". Kutnick concluded that cooperation which was based on trust, security and dependence could be learned through peer relationship.

Ethnographic Research on Classroom Process

There is a growing body of ethnographic research studies on classroom process showing the student's active role in classroom process (Cazden, 1989; Corsaro, 1985; Dyson, 1990; Fernie et al, 1988; Green & Harker, 1982; Mehan, 1982; Meyer, 1989).

Corsaro, Meyer, Fernie et al, and Hatch (1987) conducted their studies in preschool settings. Hatch noted that through classroom interaction kindergartners were involved in a complex process of establishing norms and developing strategies to earn and maintain the status within a hierarchy of group members. Corsaro addressed the function of peer culture in their socialization process into adults' culture through ethnographic study in an Italian preschool; that is, children in a preschool classroom formed their own peer culture through evolving a collective identity of their
world and sharing social knowledge and routines; and through reproducing their own version of adults' culture in the peer culture, children understood and appropriated adults' culture. Meyer (1989) especially focused on the function of peer relationship in participating in a preschool classroom. That is, peers served as a resource for participation in classroom learning through imitating peer models. Fernie et al (1988) indicated that "it is neither children nor institution alone which makes socialization to the preschool distinctive. Rather, it is an interaction of these elements (p. 139)." In other words, the two spheres of peer culture and school culture equally frames the participant structure of classroom.

Research on elementary school classrooms also indicated that the lesson flow of a classroom was mutually constructed by a teacher and students in a classroom. Sociolinguistic research on classroom context (Green & Harker, 1982; Wilkinson, 1982) showed that how students' competence to interpret contextualization cues in a classroom and to participate in socially appropriate ways in social events was related to their academic success, and that individual and cultural differences influenced the development of children's communicative competence in the classroom. This research as a micro approach to classroom process
has, however, overlooked (1) how the classroom structure or instructional format operated on the process of instructional events; and (2) how the interaction among student groups influenced the instructional event.

Mehan (1982) indicated through an ethnographic study of a classroom that an instructional event in a classroom was not uni-dimensional, with activity originating only from the teacher and flowing toward the students, but was multi-dimensional, with students and a teacher who were jointly responsible for the flow, because the students operated on the world, including a teachers, as much as the teacher operated on the students. Mehans (1982) also stated that "this mutually constitutive view of classroom life recommends that future work give the same attention to students' contributions, that has been given to teachers' contributions, by approaching a classroom and other educational environment as reflective, interactional networks instead of one-directional causal system (p.80)." Although her research was not conducted in natural setting, Dyson (1990) provided us an important insight on the complex process of the interplay of academic content of learning, classroom structure and peer culture. In her research on writing lessons, she showed that the children's sense of what could be accomplished through writing evolved as others
responded, both playfully and critically, to their efforts. The study implied that the community of classroom was supported by and supporting of the children’s growth as writers.

Florio-Ruane (1989) also indicated that "the contexts for teaching and learning we undertake are not simply the background against which life plays, but both shaped by and shaping our language and learning (p.7)"

More importantly, Cazden (1988) focused on the peer interaction in classroom discourse. Cazden claimed that any classroom contained two interpenetrating worlds: the official world of the teacher’s agenda, and the unofficial world of the peer culture; all behaviors in classrooms could not be confined to the official world; sometimes the violation, like illegally talking with seatmates, might be useful in enabling the teacher to "get through" the lesson (p.147). In addition, In school lessons, the sidetalk with peers provided the children who non-verbally carried teachers’ directions out with important experience of reversibly giving directions.

The above research suggests that students would play an active role in classroom process collectively, and that a classroom environment or its embedded culture would be not the background context, in which the actors in classroom play, but the context which was constantly
constructed by the both actors, a teacher and students.

The Students' Role in Implicit Curriculum and Korean Classroom

Implicit curriculum means "what a school teaches because of the kind of place it is (Eisner, 1979)." The notion of 'implicit curriculum' indicates that a curriculum exists beneath the surface.

In the 1970s, various sources of implicit curriculum were revealed by both qualitative research, and the studies of the sociology of knowledge. Not only the learning process (e.g. the organizational characteristics of school, the pedagogical rules of classroom, the assumption of teachers, the physical environment of school, the educational materials, and teaching method) but also the learning content itself were recognized as the sources of the implicit curriculum.

The term has come through clarification of the intentionality of teacher and the students' awareness of the intention. Martin (1976) broke the implicit contrast between what students are openly intended to learn and what, although not openly intended, they actually learn by redefining implicit curriculum as "learning states of a setting which are either unintended or intended but not openly acknowledged to
the learners in the setting unless the learners are aware of them". Cornbleth (1984) and Lakomski (1988) nullified the conditions of "unless the learners are aware of them", indicating that learning does not occur in terms of the intention of teaching, but is mediated through the interpretative process of the students. Thus, implicit curriculum meant something to be shared among and be known by the participants in nature, but not something to be hidden from the participants. It implied the active role of students in constructing implicit curriculum.

Thus, it is expected that the research topic of what the students experience through working with or in the presence of others, as one of the taken-for-granted ways of schooling would be answered through interpreting the self-understanding of what students and a teacher are doing as a school presents the explicit curriculum. And, the second research question of why the students interact in that way can be answered by revealing the classroom culture.

Jackson's *Life in Classroom* (1968) and Dreeben's *On What is Learned in School* (1968) revealed the implicit curriculum of American classroom. Jackson said that the crowds, the praise, and the power were the distinctive flavor of classroom life. Dreeben indicated that the four norms of American classroom were independence,
achievement, universalism, and specificity.

What is Korean classroom culture? There is little empirical research on the norms of the Korean classroom. The systematic grouping of students for classroom management like the homeroom system can be regarded as one of the distinguishable feature in the Korean classroom.

The homeroom is a student organization within a classroom in which a homeroom teacher is the homeroom group's leader who plans classroom activities with an elected student committee. The classroom students are divided into small groups with an elected leader. Each small group has to be responsible for the behavior of its members. Each subgroup is collectively in competition with each other for designation by the teacher as the best behaved group of the class. This organization for students embodies Durkheim's theory of effective communitarian moral development that has the following elements: (1) the primacy of the collective over the individual; (2) the stress on group discipline through respect for rules; (3) developing an attachment to the group as a social body greater than the self; (4) cultivating a sense of collective responsibility in the group for the actions of each member of the group and (5) the educator's role of representing the larger society to the group (Kohlberg et al., 1989). The
The homeroom system is used in Soviet and Chinese classrooms. According to Luhmer's (1990) and Lewis's (1988) studies on Japanese moral education, Japan also has a similar student organization stressing solidarity and discipline. Thus, it can be hypothesized that the norms of Korean classrooms would be solidarity and discipline.

Choi (1985), as a Korean researcher, studied the roles of the interaction between and among students in moral socialization of Korean schools. According to him, in the social and moral interaction between students, the conventional and authoritarianistic principle appeared dominant; the self-satisfaction principle operated frequently in the private relations, not in open situations; and justice and autonomous principle of moral conduct was few, although they appeared a little in the close relationship. Since he used three moral principles as the predetermined categories, his study could not explain the students' own interpretation of principles which appeared in their moral interaction.

Summary

The reviewed research and theory offer support for the active role of students in classroom process. But, how they actively participate in classroom process is yet revealed. The roles of peer interaction in
cognitive, social, and moral development are identified. The identified roles of peer interaction will serve as an initial coding system for data analysis: challenging equilibrium, operating in proximal zone, speaking intermediate language, originating social knowledge, negotiating meaning, producing culture collectively, modeling, tutoring, cooperating, fastening stereotypes, establishing norms, developing strategies to earn and maintain the social status, challenging moral reasoning and so on. And the literature review informs the causes of the types of students' interaction such as school culture (solidarity and discipline), academic status, family's SES, attractiveness for friendship, communication skill, and nature of classroom activities.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will describe the methodology and perspective used for this research. This chapter consists of the rationale, design of the study, research procedure (gaining access, data collection, data analysis, and presentation) and the issues of trustworthiness and ethics.

Rationale

Methodology for a study should be selected in terms of the purpose of study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The purpose of this study was to portray the holistic picture of what students experience through working with or in the presence of other peers in a classroom. For this research purpose, the methodology of this research was primarily qualitative because of the following reasons:

First, the epistemological and axiological assumptions of qualitative research are in accord with the perspective which the notion of implicit curriculum stems from (Vallance, 1980).
The perspective which research on the implicit curriculum can take may be generally divided into one which stems from the critical theorist perspective (e.g. Giroux and Anyon) and the other which stems from the interpretivist perspective. I took the interpretivist perspective because of the irrelevant assumptions of the critical theorist perspective for this study. The critical theorists assume that implicit curriculum is due to hegemony or the false consciousness so that it is unknown by addressees, while the interpretivists regard that implicit curriculum occurs due to the way in which the explicit curriculum is presented so that it is shared among and constructed by the participants. Thus, what a researcher does from the critical theory perspective is to uncover the researched’s false consciousness that constrains equity and enlighten the people to change practice toward more equity because what the researched thinks they are doing is collectively distorted and different from what they are actually doing. The critical perspective involves more than somewhat an effort to reexamine the taken-for-granted of schooling. However, their concerns are authenticity, alienation, ownership of knowledge, hierarchical schooling systems, oppressive roles, and emancipatory actions (McCutcheon & Jung, 1990).

On the other hand, what the interpretivists do
through research is to understand what occurs through "the phenomena" and the meanings people make of the phenomena (McCutcheon & Jung, 1990), in order to make the nature of the phenomena more explicit and bring it up to critical scrutiny. Thus, in this study, what revealed by the researcher was ultimately the researchers' interpretation of the self-understanding of what the students and the teacher were doing as the students worked with or in the presence of other peers. This might seem to threaten the trustworthiness by implying that the source of data is not social reality, not the scholar's artifice. Trustworthiness, however, is supported in the light of that research relies on the degree to which a researcher is able to clarify what goes on in a place, not a researcher's ability to capture primitive facts; and that most of what we need to comprehend an event, idea or whatever exists as background information before a researcher enters into the place, and the thing itself is directly examined (Geertz, 1979).

For the research purpose, this research should utilize a qualitative methodology which is based on emic perspective (what subjects think they are doing, rather than a researcher's perspective) (Patton, 1990), holism (thinking within the whole context), contextualization (putting data into the original context and interpreting
it), and non-judgmental orientation (for understanding as it is, not for controlling as to what it should be).

Second, traditional quantitative methodology was not appropriate for the research questions. In order to explore the second question, why the students interaction took place in that way, this study needed to delve in depth into the complexity of the classroom process and to take account of various relevant variables that may mediate in this process that had yet to be identified.

According to my review of research on students’ interaction in a classroom, which was the concrete research target, there were two kinds of different research strategies: interaction analysis from quantitative research perspective, and ethnography from qualitative research perspective. Interaction analysis has been prevalent in the research. The most commonly used interaction analysis system was Flanders’ one where observers code classroom events at regular intervals in terms of predetermined categories. In that system, only two categories out of ten categories were allocated for a student; pupil-talk-response, and pupil-talk-initiation (Heap, 1982). Through the predetermined constrained categories, the variables which have not been identified could not be considered. Besides, the quantified information is not sufficient to offer an in-
depth explanation of the complex process in which various mediating factors interplay together. Thus, interviewing without guidance, and long-term participant observation which characterizes the qualitative methodology should be utilized to take account of various factors in the complex classroom process, and understand the insiders' perspective.

Design of the Study

According to Marshall and Rossman (1989), informational adequacy, efficiency, and ethical consideration are three criteria for judging qualitative research strategies. These criteria served as the guideline for designing the research.

The design of this study was a naturalistic case study in its orientation. Since deep probing of the individual situation was needed for the research purpose, the case study was conducted in a site.

The conceptual framework generated prior to entry into the field should be understood as tentative and the emergence of new questions and foci was anticipated during the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, the initial guiding question, the research site and respondents, the general data sources and techniques, and the initial research schedule were previously designed as follows:
1) the initial guiding question was what impact do the group activities have on the students' academic achievement, peer culture, and classroom culture. After a pilot study, it was recognized that in order to explore the meaning and nature of which students work together in a classroom, broader student(s)-to-student(s) interaction in every setting of the school needed to be investigated. Thus, the initial guiding question was revised into the new guiding questions as presented in Chapter I.

2) the selection of the site and respondents:

The selection of the participants in this study was determined by a purposeful sampling which selects information-rich-cases (Patton, 1990). An information-rich classroom was selected among the Korean elementary classrooms in which the pilot studies would be conducted in the same school building for a month. The reason for choosing elementary school children was that, as explained in the review of literature, at this age, children start to take the peer relationships seriously. The reason for choosing a Korean classroom was that it was expected that because of overcrowdedness of Korean classrooms, children might be attended to collectively rather than individually, so that it may elicit active,
but unknowing interaction among students. In addition, because I was an elementary school teacher for three years in Korea who uses Korean language as a mother tongue, it was easier to read Korean classroom culture and take fieldnotes in Korean than to do it in an American classroom.

3) The general data sources and techniques:

The anticipated fundamental techniques for this study were long-term participant observation, and formal and informal ethnographic interviewing (Spradley, 1980). The anticipated data sources were fieldnotes, transcripts of interviews, students’ academic records and artifacts, and teacher’s logs. Other unobtrusive clues that reveal peer interaction and children’s background were expected to be collected.

4) The anticipated research schedule:

For a systematic approach, the following steps were expected to be followed. Before entering the school, I would gather background information about the community and the school through documents and an informal interviews. After entering the school, pilot studies were expected to be conducted in three classrooms within the same building, adjusting myself to the site and planning the schedule of field work. During this
period, rapport with the staff members in the site was anticipated to be built.

The time schedule of school-related research was influenced by the school cycle. This means that in order to see the emergence of peer relationship, the researcher should enter when the school begins, and should exit with the naturally occurring breaks or the end of the school year. Korean schools begin in March, have summer break for a month in August, restart the second semester in September, and end in February after two months of winter vacation in December and January. This school cycle should be projected on the following time line; 1) before the start of the pilot study, background information must be gathered, 2) immediately after the school begins, the pilot studies should be conducted for the month of March or April, 3) initial observation and informal interviewing for the future investigation were expected to be made for two months (May and June); 4) focused observation of targeted events for another two months needs to be done July, and October); 5) then (although the data analysis and data gathering were expected to proceed together) intensive data analysis and interpretation with consulting with the advisor and members of dissertation committee were anticipated. Member checks and revisiting the site, in case additional data are needed,
were anticipated to be done in November and December.

Research Procedure

Gaining Access:

While no formal contract was required in Korea, getting permission for research was difficult. The permission was a personal favor, so that the study was vulnerable and could be banned anytime. The property of qualitative research, which is long-term study and emerging design without the predetermined plan, made it more difficult. Further, Korean school personnel have been used to the quantitative research paradigm, and tended to regard qualitative research as evaluation. Thus, the best way to begin the study was to get the permission for only a month of observation. After that, I had to go through a painful negotiation process with the teacher month by month about how long and which session would be observed.

The school that allowed me to conduct the research was the experimental school for the university where I had graduated, and the classroom teacher was a friend of mine. The most important criterion for selecting the research site in this study was the teacher’s willingness to cooperate in the research. The respondents for this research, the students, were 35 children in a second grade classroom in the private
school. The characteristics of the students, the teacher and the school will be described in detail in chapter IV, because the context description was an important part of this research.

Data collection:

The fieldwork was conducted from March to November, 1992. I had done the pilot study on March and April in four classrooms in two elementary schools. During the pilot study, I practiced how I had to behave as a researcher and how I should take fieldnote. After that, the originally proposed topics about group activities was revised, as mentioned above.

The main fieldwork was conducted from April 10, 1992 to November 27, 1992 in the second grade classroom. This observation period can be divided into five parts:

(1) For one week of preliminary observation, I had time to get used to the research site and the respondents;

(2) For three weeks of non-selective observation, I attended the classroom all day long. The main purpose of the researcher during this observation was to get a sense of what the classroom life was like to the students. Rather than focusing only on interactive events, I went where the students went and tried to capture the flavor of the students' school day in its
entirety. The property of routines that consist of daily events between 7:30 a.m. and about 3:00 p.m. was given close attention. The interpretation was gleaned from informal ethnographic interviewing I did with students during recess or lunch when events were fresh in their minds. The casual conversations with students helped me construct a student perspective on school and what they told me helped me to interpret my recorded observations.

(3) For two weeks, selective observation was made in the non-instructional session and group activities in which the students' interaction was more visible and active.

(4) For two weeks, more focused observation was done in the formal class session and the non-instructional session.

(5) After summer vacation, I had one week of assured observation to verify and supplement the emerging categories.

At this point I obtained about 650 pages of fieldnotes (including extended and reflective memos, and interview notes) through the above participant observation of about 90 hours (29 times of visiting) and informal and formal ethnographic interview with the teacher and her students. In addition to this, children's artifacts, class logs written by the
children, documents about each individual child's family status, report cards, teacher's record and school brochures were collected. The following Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the frequency of the observed sections, the number of observed day of week, and the number of visited days in each month.

In the data collection, I used two special strategies for participant observation with children respondents. One was the "interactive-reactive" approach suggested by Corsaro (1985). In this approach, the researcher must suspend interpretations of children's behavior from an adult perspective, and also the researcher avoids typical adult roles, such as initiating and guiding conversation or play in the classroom in order to reduce obtrusiveness in the setting, and allow the researcher to gather data from a child's perspective. I utilized this approach, so that over time the children gradually spoke and behaved rudely to me, and some isolated children tried to associate with me as a friend. At first, most of the children called me "teacher" even though I told them I was not a teacher. Later, more children called me "aunt" which meant a less authoritative woman.

The other strategy was suggested by Fine and Sandstrom (1988) for participant observation with children. In this strategy, the researcher must
Table 1.

The Number of observed sessions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Language Arts</th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Social Studies (Moral Education)</th>
<th>Science</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Physical Education</th>
<th>Chapel</th>
<th>Class Day</th>
<th>Library Session</th>
<th>Exam</th>
<th>Morning Free Time</th>
<th>Broadcasting</th>
<th>Recess</th>
<th>Lunch</th>
<th>Cleaning</th>
<th>News Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instructioinal Sections</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.

The Number of Observed Day of a Week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.

The Number of Visited Day per Month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>November</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
identify who the key informants are, and gain the information from them. In this study, several children voluntarily became the key informants, although it seemed that they did not fully open their world to me.

Data analysis:

The data analysis proceeded with the following steps:

1) Preparing data: The descriptive fieldnote including key words and initials was taken in the classroom as I was observing. Extended notes and the notes for informal interviews were also written in the site. I usually wrote them in the dining hall or the library. Although I tried to write in detail all I captured in each day before I left the site, sometimes important descriptive notes with key words had to be extended into full transcripts with complete sentences during review of data. Reflective notes was also added to them and occasionally research diary was written. The fieldnotes and interview transcripts were organized in order in terms of the date, the time and the place. The fieldnotes were marked by different colors according to the five different stages of the observation period. The collected written materials such as handouts, weekly schedules, the copy of children’s artifacts, and the copy of teacher’s record were filed into "written
2) Preliminary Analysis: Through daily or weekly review of data, decisions on a preliminary organizing structure of data and on the selective observation were made. The gathered data were filed in terms of setting. The settings were divided into two sections – instructional and non-instructional – which served as the initial two dimensions for the analysis. As I reviewed the gathered data, I made the data indices like the Table 1, 2, and 3 in order to easily trace what I already gathered and what I need more.

3) Establishing categories: Analysis unit was a social interaction. The social interaction means face-to-face, and verbal and non-verbal actions that influence each other's behavior. It included all social interactions that take place between individual students or among the students group. Initial open codings were done by the types of interaction suggested by reviewed literature and theories which were indicated in chapter II. However, the categories were discarded, and the new categories in each dimension sensitively came out of raw data through the modified constant comparative data analysis method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1990). During this coding phrase, I copied all fieldnotes, cut all the interactive events out of the copied fieldnotes and sorted them into
categories. And the other relevant data were cut out and sorted according to research questions. Date and page number were written on all the cut pieces so that the researcher could trace the passage to its original context easily as analysis proceeded.

4) Drawing meaning: Visual scanning in their categories and synthesizing the information was needed to generate themes. My interpretations were tested in the context through comparing the cases.

For instance, the various interactive events which were initially coded as responding to others’ participation collectively, coaching how to participate in social events and exposing others’ misbehavior as a sanction were synthesized into the category of "making social norms collective". After that, several categories, including this category of "making social norms collective" and other categories of sharing social knowledge, competing with each other, and seeking peers’ sympathy or help were again combined into a core category of "constructing and maintaining the social norms of the classroom".

Data presentation:

The findings were presented in narrative form while being aware that knowledge was not the final product, but the constructing process, and that the
interpretation of the culture needs a thick description of the research situation, than a parsimonious presentation. The figures and tables were also attached in order to make narrative presentation more clear (Miles & Huberman, 1984). All the names of the respondents and the school were changed to protect their privacy. The necessary excerpts from the fieldnotes written in Korean were transcribed into English. The words, which are embedded in Korean classroom culture so that could not be translated into English, were presented in Korean with explanation.

Throughout the reporting of the study, the following symbols will be utilized: FN = Field Notes, IN = Interview Notes, P = Preliminary fieldnotes, S = the fieldnotes which were written in the Second semester for assured observation, */* = Date, and : * - * = Page Number in fieldnotes.

Trustworthiness

There are several suggestions for establishing and evaluating trustworthiness in qualitative research. Lather (1986) suggested triangulation, construct validity, face validity and catalytic validity from the critical theory point of view. Patton (1990) suggested rival explanation, negative cases, triangulation of sources/ researchers/ methods/ perspectives, design
check, report of possible bias and reactivity, establishment of track record, fairness and usefulness. Howe and Eisenhart (1990) suggested method-purpose fitness, correct use of methods, examination of background, usefulness of findings and ethical conduct of research. Guba and Lincoln (1985) suggested credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In sum, trustworthiness for qualitative research seems to focus on (1) usefulness rather than validation, (2) awareness and report of sources of error and bias rather than presumed objectivity and (3) ethical responsibility to the respondents, rather than detachment.

The efforts that I made for establishing trustworthiness were the following:

1. Through justification of the selected method, the method-purpose fitness was maintained.

2. Through about 8 months fieldwork, prolonged engagement and persistent observation were made.

3. For triangulation of data sources, and perspective, I tried to use all the data that I could get, as mentioned in the data collection, and through open coding, I casted all the theories and concepts that I could find through the literature review.

4. To minimize obtrusiveness, I used the "interactive-reactive" approach, and prolonged
engagement.

5. For transferability, I provided the thick description of the context.

6. I reported the possible limitations of the research, and described in detail the process of the research, in order to inform readers of the sources of errors or bias.

7. Although I could not do member checks with all the participant students at the conclusion, I constantly did member checks with the teacher and the students during the observation by informal conversation. The interpretation about the teacher's behavior was checked with the teacher and presented.

Especially, in the interpretation phrase, McCutcheon' (1978) s three criteria for the truthfulness of interpretations, which are (1) sufficiency of evidence in terms of quality and quantity, (2) credibility, and (3) usefulness and importance, served as the guideline. She said that underinterpretation may be guarded against through the criterion of usefulness and importance, and overinterpretation may be guarded against through the criteria of sufficiency of evidence and credibility.
Ethics

The efforts for maintaining an ethical manner in conducting this research were as follows:

1. All permissions for access were negotiated throughout the study and the participants were informed as truly as possible about the nature and progress of the study.

2. The anonymity of the participants and the site were protected.

3. The data were recorded, analyzed and presented as rigorously as possible.

4. I tried to inform the teacher of what could improve her teaching and her students' learning.
"So every time you teach, ask yourself, What do I know-and what do I want these students to know? What do I feel- and what do I want them to feel? What do I do-and what do I want them to do?... Some of us are in a dream world, not really knowing where our students are (p.104)."

- Hendricks (1987)-

The purpose of this study was to portray a holistic picture of what students experience through working with or in the presence of other peers as evidenced in the students' interaction in a second grade classroom in Korea. The investigated interaction was meaningful, and face-to-face verbal and non-verbal actions took place between and among students in both non-instructional and instructional sections. Data were collected and analyzed using a modified version of the constant comparative method of qualitative data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1990).

In this chapter, the presentation and analysis of data is divided into four sections: (a) overview of the site and the respondents; (b) description of the students' classroom life; (c) the types of the students' interactions in non-instructional sessions and
instructional sessions; (d) discussion of the inter-relationship of the students' social interactions and their learning.

Overview of the Site and the Respondents

In this section, I provide pertinent background information that would help readers understand my research report and its transferability. An overview of the school, the classroom, the students, and the teacher was included.

The School

The elementary school where I conducted this study was a private, Christian school. It belongs to a college of education in one of the major universities in Seoul, Korea. The school has served the college as an experimental place since 1955 when the school was founded. The professors in the college have been appointed as school principals. Most of the teachers in the school were graduates of the college of education, and the student teachers of the college of education have their one month of student teaching here.

Although the fundamental curriculum of the school is subject to the guideline of curriculum by the Ministry of Education, including the hours for the basic subjects, schooldays per year, and textbooks, the
school has considerable autonomy in aspects of the educational philosophy and administration. The school seems to have been faithful to their professed mottos, which were progressive education and Christianity.

While most elementary schools in Korea are free and compulsory, this school as a private school serves one of several school districts of the city of Seoul of approximately 10,000,000 people. The child-centered progressive education, fairly modern physical conditions, small classroom size and Christian education seem to have been attractive factors to the parents who pay tuition. The tuition per quarter is almost 200,000 Won (approximately $250). Since the tuition was very affordable to middle to upper class families, the school screened admissions to accommodate the appropriate number of students out of excessive applicants.

The school building is located at the back of the main campus of the university. Since the university has affiliated schools for each level from kindergarten, elementary through middle and high school, the whole area of the school consists of schools and the attached constructions around the university and large business section with thoroughfares and a few residential area. The large M and Y apartment areas where the school buses run are one of the most expensive residential area in Seoul.
The business section in front of the university comprises the popular shopping streets, so that the sidestreets are always crowded and the thoroughfares were busy like a downtown. However, other streets of the university where most students of the affiliated schools used was relatively quiet.

The school building is a clean, well-equipped, four-story building. The building has a large schoolyard with a playground, two large dining halls, a gymnasium, an auditorium, classrooms, and offices. The building is also well-adjusted to children’s size. The height of windows, square holes, bulletin boards, closets and even radiators is scaled down to the physical size of the children.

According to the school brochure of 1992, the main educational philosophy of the school was as follows:

A. The school aims to build students’ Christian character and to provide education for the whole person by raising creative and scientific thinking, improving activities and programs for physical development, and creating the affective environment to foster concern for others and self-control.

B. For the above aims, as it is recognized that teachers are the fundamental educational environment students meet, the school enhances the teachers’ quality and commitment to quality education by providing the teachers in-service programs and better conditions to unfold their creativity in their teaching.

C. For the above aims, the school enhances the parents education in order for parents to understand the school’s educational policy and to improve their ability of parenting, with
the expectation that the cooperative relationship between the school and the parents will be established through the related programs.

The philosophy statement can, in some degree, serve as a force for social control. However, my observation, which will be discussed deeply in the following sections, revealed that the educational culture of the school was constructed by all the individuals who participate in schooling, including students. The school administrator seemed to have autonomy at the administration level. In the instance of administrators, a former principal who had taught religious and moral education in the College of Education had emphasized Christianity as the philosophy of the school. The present principal who taught curriculum theory in the College of Education seemed to put more emphasis on the implementation of various and creative teaching methods and curriculum. During my fieldwork, "open education" was experimentally adopted in all third grade classes. At the class levels teachers seemed to have more autonomy than the administrators. In the instance of teachers, informal interviews with several teachers of the school revealed that they regarded themselves as major decision-makers of what they teach in the classrooms.

The school was comprised of four classes for each grade from first through sixth. The class size ranged
from 35-40 students per class. According to the brochure of the school, in 1992 the school served 873 students by two administrators (one principal and one vice principal), 28 teachers and 12 staff members.

The lower grade classes met one teacher all day except for music; these classes were self-contained. The upper grade classes also had one homeroom teacher who taught the major subjects such as math, social studies, and language arts. But, the upper grades change rooms and teachers for science, music, physical education, art, and computer education.

The Physical Environment of Classroom

The classroom was located at the end of the first floor of the school building as Figure 1 shows. All the rooms in the school were alike in construction. However the flavor of each classroom was created mostly by the classroom teacher and students. The classroom I studied was neat, and calm rather than amusing and intimate, which were the feelings expected from a typical lower grade classroom.

The arrangement of the classroom and the standard location of the teacher, the students and the researcher throughout this study was illustrated in Figure 2. The following are some excerpts from the fieldnotes to describe the atmosphere of the classroom used for this
Figure 1: The Location of the Classroom in the School Building
Figure 2: The Arrangement of the Classroom and the Standard Location of the Teacher, the Students and the Researcher
In the front of the room, there are a blackboard, a bulletin board, a small table, a teacher's desk, a TV monitor, and a piano. The giant, dark green chalkboard showing the date of the day, and the names of "Dang-bun" (meaning students on duty of serving the class for each day like a teacher helper) gazes on the class. On the bulletin board, on the left side of the chalkboard, a weekly time schedule is permanently posted so that everyone can see at a glance what will happen next. On the bulletin board, a motto for school discipline which is "Good, beautiful, and wise children", an educational plan for this week (including special events of the week, a teaching schedule for each subject, materials for the science class or art class), and a weekly phrase from the Bible, are posted.

There are neatly placed moveable desks and chairs on the bright tile floor. In each student desk, there are textbooks and notebooks put into a red small basket, and on the side of the desk, a tambourine, a case of crayons and skipping rope are hung up.

In the back of the classroom, there are wall-to-wall square holes which contain students' belongings such as bags, books or balls and the large table which is often used for visitors, observers or students who need special instruction. On the square holes, there is a wall-to-wall long bulletin board, which is divided into three sections. The middle one of these three parts is allocated to learning related to social studies. The students' scraps about Korean traditional culture which introduce their ancestry's life style are posted with the teacher's comments. The left side of this corner is set up with news scraps which the students brought for "News time". The students' art projects which are decorated by colored papers folding into the figures such as a ship, a flower, a bird, or a plane are displayed.

The spacious school yard looks out of the large windows on the right side of the classroom. On the lower part under the windows, are small tables and several green plant pots. On the other side, large windows toward the corridor bring soft sunlight. Under these windows, several small closets hold equipments for cleaning such as a broom and a
dustpan, and teaching materials such as charts or models. On these closets, are long bookshelves. The shelved Over 100 books are mostly related to learning such as an encyclopedic series of handbooks for children, an science encyclopedic series, a picture book series of the animate nature. Except for these kinds, biographical literature, a Bible, and modern and traditional fairy tales like Cinderalla and Snow white are also shelved and worn out more than the encyclopedia stuff. All the tables and closets in this room are covered with the clean light green checked linen cloths, which make the room's atmosphere somewhat cozy like a home.

All the components of the classroom and its arrangement are typical except that it is more roomier and cleaner than an classroom of a public elementary school, and for a piano which is too expensive to be installed in each room.(FN, 6/25:169-170).

The Teacher

The classroom teacher was included in my research since how she teaches can influence how the students interact. The classroom teacher’s personal background, theories of education, and other characteristics are now briefly introduced. The classroom teacher was a mother of a 5 month-old boy and in her early thirties. She was also a graduate of the college of education. Before becoming a teacher, she finished her master’s degree in the graduate school of the university with her thesis on science curriculum. She had served for almost 4 years in this school in a self-contained classroom of a lower grade class.

The teacher’s language and utterances had the
following features. Most of the teacher's statements were given not to individuals but to groups. She used to use affirmative sentences with the heading words of "Yearuboon" (meaning you or guys, with a very polite and stiff nuance). For example, when she allowed the children to go to restrooms, she stated that "Yearuboon go to the restroom" instead of "You may go to the restroom", "Go to the restroom", or "Let's go to the restroom." Individual comments were used when she alerted one's misbehavior. Physical punishments which were commonly allowed in other schools were never permitted in this school, so that continued misbehavior caused students slightly sarcastic utterance from the teacher as a means for conformity. Like other teachers, her questions were often demanding rather than asking. "Guys, have you done it?" means that "We do not have time to wait for you, thus you should be in a hurry".

Her movements in the classroom and physical contacts with the children looked very restrictive. She almost always posed herself neatly in the middle of the front of the classroom, rather than walking around the classroom. Except for the physical education classes, she always wore a formal suit like other teachers in the school building.

Her major theory of education was that a school should be a place to teach responsibility and concern
for others in order that they live harmoniously within a community with others, rather than transmit to them a body of knowledge. When the teacher replied to my request to comment on the students' characteristics and was interviewed in a member check, her theories of education were expressed as follows:

...BJ is a clever child who gets almost 100% points in all the tests of every subject. But, he totally ignores his duty for a class, and authority of a teacher. One day, when he was on duty of cleaning a classroom after school, he was deliberately escaping from his duty of the day. His several classmate told him not to do so. But, he did never come back his duty on that day. Like BJ, most of students are egotistic... (IN, 5/19, 1992) ...I think that it is because of their parents' educational belief that a good grade would guarantee success in school and society. Most parents who have an only child or two are willing to do everything for their children's good grade. For instance of lower grades, most children already mastered what they have to learn at the first grade of their school from tutors or private institutes, before entering a school. Thus, discipline is the most important matter in a school because of such egotistic personality of the students which stems from excessive affection of parents for their child. Also, I cannot but admit that in the intellectual aspect there is almost nothing to be left for us to teach them. Students cannot learn how to live with others and what a community life is at home. Thus, especially for lower graders, discipline for living within a school community is the most important thing. For this, I stress to keep the classroom rules and appointment with me (a teacher), and to get together with their classmates harmoniously without discriminating low-achievers or, children from the families of relatively low socio-economic status...(IN, December, 1993)

Such her personal theories of practice were somewhat evident in her actual teaching. It was also clear that her individual personality, experiences and
The teacher participated in the meetings of second grade teachers held on every Monday and attended inservice programs two or three times per month, such as fieldtrips to various exhibitions or a science museum.

The Students

The students who participated in the study were all the students of a second grade classroom of the school. Thirty-five eight year-old students in the classroom were nearly divided between males and females (17 male, 18 female). Due to there being little residential area near the school, 12 students used a school bus, and the rest of them commuted by parents’ rides or public bus, rather than on foot. Most of them lived within 30-60 minute-commute of the school.

While most of their parents were high in economic status and varied in educational background and occupation, the educational backgrounds of the students’ fathers were relatively high (1 middle school graduate, 1 high school graduate, 23 college graduates, 10 master’s and doctor’s degrees). The parents’ occupations ranged from professionals such as doctors, lawyers, or professors to owners of small shops. The family sizes of the students were also varied. Some of
them lived in a large family with their grandparents or other relatives. The others lived as an only child with both parents. All of them had both parents, but several students had working mothers. Such varied family backgrounds of the students implied that the students might bring their different cultures into the classroom.

The Students' Classroom Life

This section describes the students' overall classroom life. The daily routine of the classroom and the characteristics of the classroom organization and management are sketched. The sketch will lead to the discussion of what they actually did in the classroom, and what they concerned for. This information serves as the background information to interpret the roles of the students' interactions.

The children spent more hours at school than the hours that showed in the weekly schedule (Table 4) posted on the bulletin. They began to arrive from 7:30 a.m. Until the formal instructional section begins, they involved themselves in the various things to prepare them for the day's school life, including schoolwide and classwide opening rituals. Two 40-minute formal instructional sections followed from 9:15 a.m. to 10:45 p.m. After the 15 minutes of recess another morning instructional session followed before the lunch
Table 4:

The Weekly Schedule of the Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:05</td>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>Physical Ed.</td>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Physical Ed.</td>
<td>Physical Ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>---Lunch---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td></td>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>Class day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30</td>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td></td>
<td>L.A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:10</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
break from 11:45 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

One or two more afternoon instructional sessions followed after the lunch break. After the instructional session ended, the teacher told the students about the assignment and materials to bring for tomorrow's class. The teacher usually saw the students off to the entrance of the school. Four "dang-bun"s who were on duty of the day and the next day cleaned the classroom. The school bus departed at 2:40 p.m..

The period that the students stayed in the classroom from arrival to leaving could be divided into two distinctive dimensions in terms of the restrictiveness of students' movements, formality, and existence of transmitted body of knowledge; instructional and non-instructional sections.

The instructional sections included the major lessons involving instructions of basic subjects. The major lessons consist of 7 sessions of language arts (including subsections of reading, writing and speaking, and using library), 4 sessions of math, 4 sessions of social studies and moral education (which was an integrated curriculum of social studies and moral education, so called "Ba-reun-sang-whal", meaning "righteous living"), 2 sessions of science education (which was called "Seul-gi-ro-woon-sang-whal", meaning "scientific living"), 7 sessions of music, art and
physical education (which was called "Zeul-geu-woon-sang-whal", meaning "merry living"), as the weekly schedule (Table 4) shows.

The non-instructional sections consisted of about an hour of the morning preparation session before school starts including morning free time, school and class opening rituals and 15 minutes of recess, 50 minutes of lunch break. It was estimated that students spent about 16 hours in instructional settings, and about 11 1/2 hours in non-instructional settings weekly. If the time for the extra activities, fieldtrip, preparation of school music festival, and cleaning were included in the non-instructional sections, the time for the non-instructional sessions was not less than the time for the instructional sessions. It implied that student experiences in the non-instructional settings were worth being examined to explore how the students interacted with the other peers and how the experiences were interrelated with their learning.

Non-Instructional Session

Morning Free Time

Although, according to the posted schedule, the first formal class began at 9:15, many things were going on before the first class. From around 7:30 a.m., the students began to arrive to school. Before the school
opening ritual began at 8:45 a.m., the students freely associated with the classmates, fulfilled the day’s morning assignments written on the chalkboard by the teacher, and voluntarily prepared themselves to participate the day’s social events which were held in the classroom or the school. Morning free time was usually used to prepare school-wide social events. As a Christian school, the entire school attended school chapel on Monday morning. Each class had responsibility to serve as a chorale for the Monday morning school chapel. The morning free time was used for the class to prepare a hymn for the chapel. Thus, collectively for the entire class, and individually for each student, this 30-40 minutes was the period to let them prepare to be able to participate successfully in class-wide or school-wide social events.

The following excerpts from the fieldnotes deliver a picture of how the morning of the classroom opens:

As I turned the corner of the school building, on the street in front of the school building, the school bus was pouring out children cheerfully. As soon as getting off the bus, they rushed to the entrance of the school building giggling, chasing, chattering, and greeting each other. Around at 8:00 a.m. I arrived at the room, and took a glance of the chalkboard, saying "Finish up unit 8 of the writing workbook, and hand in the dictation notebook". Around 10 students including DI and NY as today’s dang-bun already were in the classroom. Before long, about 10 more students came by twos and threes. Several girls were gathering around SH because she brought some chocolates. (They are supposed not to bring any snacks into the school.) She said proudly to friends around her that
yesterday her mother bought some chocolate for her to share with her classmates in reward for her good grade on the last test.

In the space of the back of the classroom, GY with several boys were practicing starting of a run because on the day the class was planning to take a record of how fast each student run 100 meters. At 8:10 a.m. light classic music came out calmly inside and outside of the building as if the entire school building woke up. At the other corner of the classroom, SJ excitedly talked to SY. "Do you know you will run with me? If we would run together you will win over me." The running in a physical education lesson on the day was not for competition, but for the record of each student's physical capacity. But, because they were supposed to run in a pair, they were interested in whom they would run together with, and who would be a "winner" between two. Through the windows, several boys of the class looked playing the soccer, running across the huge schoolyard, though I could noticed when they started playing the soccer.

Around 8:20 a.m., the teacher arrived and the students greeted her with a bow and the apathetic words "How are you, teacher?". The teacher responded to them by giving a look to them without greeting words. About 25 students who remained in the classroom was wandering, chatting with neighbors, or doing the writing assignment written on the board. Also, DI was writing a diary because it was the day he was supposed to hand in his diary; DW was reviewing a workbook saying that she was preparing for today's language arts test; someone was copying a friend's math homework. The teacher, as having her seat, announced what their job was in this period; each group had to finish up the yesterday's group work for social studies; dang-buns had to collect used papers that the students brought from their home for recycling, and set aside them at a corner of the hallway; and each student should hand in their dictation notebook.

Around 8:30 a.m. several girls were clustered around SY to see her picture cards that she got from her aunt living in America. At a corner of the room, some girls chatted about the day's classroom event, saying "If we have rain at the afternoon, we can have the section of the class day, instead of the physical education." and "Did you prepare the language arts test?" And, SY with
**1992. 5.25. Monday (Weather: Rain)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal for this week</th>
<th>Let's Speak in Kind Words.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>(Blank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Students</td>
<td>JH, HW, DW, SA, SH, KJ, NY, KW, JW, SJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Title of lesson &amp; Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Chapel(God's Plate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lang. Arts</td>
<td>Unit 12. Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;Merry Living&quot;</td>
<td>Physical Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;Merry Living&quot;</td>
<td>Music(&quot;Acasia&quot; Hill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Group Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Latecomers | X |
| Absentees  | X |
| Persons leaving school early | X |

- Students who need self-reflection: HJ, HN, SR, DI, MS, WJ, and Group 4
- Today's Dang-bun: DY, Y
- Tomorrow's Dang-bun: SH, JW

*Figure 3: An Example of The Class Log Written by the Students.*
some other girls went out to the gym to prepare the play for the classroom day. The dang-buns were keeping the class' log (Figure 3), sitting the table which was set in front of the class. Around 8:45 a.m. MS who was used to come late ran into the room in haste. Soon, the cheerful music, which signals the school opening ritual, rang out (FN 5/29:90).

The school opening ritual began with gymnastic exercises followed by school-wide TV broadcasting. The broadcasting consisted of a didactic tale, appreciation of classic music, announcements for the deadline of tuition, or savings, a weekly motto for school discipline, the names of students who had not yet returned library books. Then, a Bible phrase for the week was delivered. After the ten minutes of broadcasting ending around at 9:00 a.m., the opening ritual within each classroom began with checking absentees and latecomer by dang-buns. The "News time" followed next. In the news time, 6-7 children in their turn reported the day's major or interesting news by the presidency of the dang-buns. The 10 minutes of class opening ritual closed with an announcement of the names of the dang-buns for tomorrow. Often, the admonition and announcement about major events of the class were added by the teacher after this class opening.

Although the opening ritual was supposed to end at 9:15 a.m., the class opening session was often extended into the first instructional session. The following excerpt from the fieldnotes shows how the classroom
BZ and Y who were the day’s dang-buns were sitting at the table in front of the class. As soon as the teacher turned off the TV monitor, BZ started to check an absentee and a latecomer, calling each group one by one. "Is there an absentee in each group? Group one, group two, ... group eight." Each group responded to it by silence meaning they had no absentee on the day. Also he checked a latecomer. "Please, raise your hand if you came late."

Y opened the news time with comment of "Please, come up if you want to report news." Several students in their turn to report news to the class walked toward the dang-bun’s table. Other students who voluntarily wanted to report news raised their hands up, to get the floor. "SE may report," Y said. SE was only a volunteer for the day. Boys lined up on the right of the front table, and girls gathered on the left side. They reported alternately. Some just read the excerpted part of the newspaper and others reported the news in confident way of talking with their own words. WS reported about surplus onions; the teacher added her to the report. "We have to eat our own produces more than the imported one. But, our mothers want such an imported produce because it is cheap. That makes our economic situation difficult." In MS’s turn, he came out of the line and stood up hardly holding his head for shame. "I am sorry for I didn’t bring the news. I will do better it next time", he said. SJ talked about a piano; SY reported about financial scandals of a university president; SE informed them of the movement of waste reduction.

The rest of students well attended the reports except SE’s report. It was because SE read the piece of a newspaper having difficult words with hardly heard voice. The teacher commented on it; "all of you have to enable to restate the news your own words without the written memo." The students’ questions about the meaning of the difficult words followed, like "What is reduction?" "What is supplement?" and so on. "KJ and WD are tomorrow’s dang-buns." The two replied with raising their hands. The day’s dang-buns went back to their seats. The teachers pointed out that the dang-buns were absorbed in writing the class log so that they couldn’t listen to the reports.
"Straighten yourself, boys and girls", the teacher called attention. "It is rainy today. You have to be careful not to catch cold, and not to be wet. The contaminated rain is harm for our body. The words of contamination inspired the students so that they were excited at talking about their experiences and knowledge relating to the current contamination issue. DI told the teacher that his father said that we had to invent 'smokeless' automobiles. SR questioned the teacher why a car fumes out exhaust gas. The rest of the students also talked about this issue with their neighbors for a few seconds.

Soon, the teacher brought up the matter of consultation with a mother; "Through this consultation, I realized how much each of you is a cherished child to your parents. I hope that at next consultation your mothers can let me know what I can do to help you." "And, as you arrive at the classroom, take your name tag on your shirt, in order not to be disclosed as an offender of the rules by "Zu-bun" (meaning the senior students working for self-governing program, by supervising all the students of the school during morning free time, recess and lunch break(FN 6/10:124-125)."

Such long morning free time before school starts tells where this school is like; a school is the place where social events, which they have to participate in, take place. Especially, the news time section becomes a chance to exert their capacity to participate in social events for some students, while it brings others failing experience in social life.

Recess

After two instructional sessions, the class had 15 minutes of recess from 10:45 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. Sometimes the recess time was gnawed by the former
instructional session so that only a few minutes of restroom break remained. However, normally students had chances to associate with friends free from the restrictiveness of teacher-directed sessions.

As the hallway rang with signal music for recess, Y and several kids came out of the classroom with quick steps for the restroom. The rest of the class seemed to be still working on their reading workbook. As I came to the classroom, the teacher allowed the students to have free time. A student asked the teacher if they could go outside to play. The teacher said that they could go outside after finishing up the workbook.

Soon, the class was in a mess; the students asked each other to help to finish the workbook; some boys who have hastily done their task rush out to play soccer toward the schoolyard; some of girls confirmed how far they have to have done on the workbook to their teacher and let their friends know the information; a group of girls also came out of the room. Within a few second, less than one third of the students remained inside the room. WS and MS were still working on their workbook by themselves. SM asked her neighbors to tell the answer to one of the questions in the workbook. JH as one of her neighbors told the answer, and wrote down the answer on SM’s workbook on behalf of SM. A cluster of girls gathered around SM and saw it. As soon as JH finished helping SM, the girls who were waiting around her shouted "Let’s go outside, girls!".

I also followed the girls going to the entrance toward the schoolyard. Right in front of the entrance, several girls were playing with rubber ropes. They asked the coming girls to play together with them. And some of them began to teach how to play to the rest. Three girls who already were outside started to draw the line of hop scotch with a piece of a wooden stick, giving a look to me at the other corner of the schoolyard.

JH and WD sitting on the steps of the entrance were practicing a new song which they would sing in the Class day of this week. In the middle of the yard around 10 boys were playing the soccer with two or
three boys of the other class. Across the yard, several girls were playing together around the playground equipments such as a jungle gym, lockets, and horizontal iron bars. The students ran into the building as soon as the bell rang. As soon as they came into the classroom, they quietly read a book in the trained manner for the next lesson. (FN, 6/8:116).

Lunch

About 45 minutes of lunch time followed the third period of instructional session. Under the teacher’s strict supervision, the class went to the dining room to have their lunch. From about 12:10 p.m., they enjoyed freely the rest of lunch time. Lunch time ended at 12:30 p.m. They began to prepare the afternoon class, reading a book till about 12:45 p.m.

Although the bell didn’t ring yet, the teacher was wrapping up the class to prepare the students in order to have lunch. "The group which is in the correct posture goes to wash their hands first." the teacher said. Each group was trying to bring their members into the expected attitude by making a sign with their eyes. "Umm, let’s see. The group eight goes to wash your hands, and the group six also goes to do and the group three ..." The children went to wash their hands with quick steps, lining up on the left side of the hallway.

When they returned to the classroom, they lined up again at the door. Boys and girls formed separate lines, and a person who came first stood first. As they started to go to the dining room with the teacher, the lines were merged into one line alternately. They waited in the line along with the hallway, frequently addressing their teacher like "Teacher, ** pushed me." "** is talking." "** took my stuff." playfully.

Finally, in their turn, they picked up a stainless tray, a napkin, a spoon and a fork, and moved along
the food bar. The same kind and amount of food was given to them. The menu changed everyday, but they had no choice in each day. The day's menu was western styled fried chicken with salad, bread, and milk. A small packet of milk was given with the meal each day. After they finished it, they had to wash the empty milk packet, fold it and put it into a recycling trash can.

In the dining room, there were six long tables on which several bowls of seasoning were put. On the walls, several phrases like "Keep the rules.", "Don't overspend our resources.", "Don't have an unbalanced diet." and "Don't waste food." were posted. They began to eat after they silently prayed individually. They ate up their lunch in a hurry to save time for play. The teacher was eating the same kind of food in the center of the table, a little distant from the students. Several boys who usually play soccer finished their lunch first, and roughly wipe their table with their napkin and went to the teacher to show their trays. Since they were supposed to eat up all the given food for balanced diet, their tray should be checked before they left the dining room. Among them, WS had to come back his seat to finish up remaining food. Since they were allowed to talk with neighbors with a soft voice in the dining room, the girls looked like they were enjoying lunch time talking with their friends. Before long, the dining room was empty. The teacher went to the teachers' office to have a rest.

In the classroom, the dang-buns were going around because they were supposed to keep the classroom during lunch time. SJ's group was gathering at the piano playing the theme music of a recent popular TV Drama. WD's group was wandering around the room, mimicking a character in a popular chinese movie. And several girls were doodling on the chalkboard. Y was copying another's homework. In the school yard, as usual, SW's group were playing soccer, mingling with other teams within a soccer field. I could not catch what all the students were doing. Some of them were nowhere to be found, despite my effort to comb the building. After the bell rang at 12:30 p.m. they read their favorite book as they were supposed to do until the teacher came to the classroom, like the end of recess. But, less than a half of them were actually reading, most of them were just putting their book on the desk whispering or wandering
around (FN,5/25:55).

Instructional Sessions

The characteristics of instructional sessions including 7 subject matters are described in terms of the format and the content. What/how the teacher taught and the students learned are presented.

The Instructional Organization

The daily schedule was commonly divided into definite periods during which specific subjects were taught or specific activities engaged in. Each subject matter had common process of introduction, presentation, practice and closing as follows.

1) Language arts: reading aloud (By appointment of the teacher, each member of the appointed group reads a sentence in their turn.); instruction about the read content, words and grammar through questioning; individual drill by doing a workbook.
2) Mathematics: mental calculation and group counting; instruction of principles by lecturing; practice in groups or individually.
3) Social Studies (which was integrated with moral education): introducing a theme as a pre-organizer; understanding the content by bringing their common sense; for summing up, reading a textbook or
writing summarized content; for review, doing ditto sheets in groups.

4) **Science**: preparation of experiment as group/review of the last lesson; instruction of purpose and steps of the experiment; experiment in groups, rarely individually; teacher’s demonstration for confirmation of the result.

5) **Art**: introduction to a project; instruction of how to do; doing a job for a product.

6) **Physical education**: gymnastic exercise or running as a beginning routine; brief instruction about how and what to do; doing it in groups (they were grouped into two teams, for physical education lesson) or in pairs.

7) **Music** (The only subject taught by the specialist): for preparation, singing of learned songs; instruction of music theory such as reading and writing musical scores; learning a new song; appreciating it by discussing their feeling; giving assignments.

The activities which were carried on in subject matter lessons are cyclic and ritualistic. Each distinguishable routine in the starting of language arts, mathematics, physical education and music augments the ritualistic quality of instructional section. The
routines were the social events that each student should recognize and develop one's own strategy to attend. For example, some of them who were not good at the inner calculation routine of mathematics usually sit back into the crowd without any efforts to participate in the routine.

The teacher said that the most used instructional method was lecturing. However, according to my observation, there were a lot of group activities going on, especially both in the review phase of math and social studies and in the main phase of art, physical education, and science. Most group activities were based on the six groups. (The desks in the classroom were grouped into 6 groups which consisted of 6 students. Each group member had a chance to become a group leader in turn.) Table 5 of the analysis of instructional organization of social studies provides readers with a sense of general nature of the instructional organization in the classroom.

The instructional section which is commonly regarded as the main part of school life was often infringed upon and rearranged by the school-wide or grade-wide events such as watching a video-tape, or rehearsal of school music festival.
Table 5:

An Analysis of the instructional organization of social studies in the class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Instructional Organization</th>
<th>Teacher’s Role</th>
<th>Students’ Task</th>
<th>Grouping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4/27</td>
<td>Group Activity</td>
<td>Presider</td>
<td>Performing the role in play</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/30</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Conductor&quot;</td>
<td>Answering to teacher’s questions</td>
<td>Whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/20</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Conductor&quot;</td>
<td>Bringing up their experiences</td>
<td>Whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>Group Activity</td>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>Doing a ditto sheet as a group</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/25</td>
<td>Group Activity</td>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>Doing a ditto sheet as a group</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/3</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Conductor&quot;</td>
<td>Answering</td>
<td>Whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/4</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Conductor&quot;</td>
<td>Answering &amp; discussing</td>
<td>Whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/5</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Conductor&quot;</td>
<td>Bringing up their experiences</td>
<td>Whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/10</td>
<td>Lecture &amp; Group Activity</td>
<td>&quot;Conductor&quot; &amp; Supervisor</td>
<td>Bringing up their experiences</td>
<td>6 groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>Lecture &amp; Practice</td>
<td>Presider &amp; Supervisor</td>
<td>Attending Practice in a pair</td>
<td>Pairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Supervisor: The role that supervises the students so unexpected behaviors do not occur.
* Presider: The role that lets the students go through certain steps in order in child-centered sessions
* Conductor: The role that questions the students and appoints certain students to answer to the questions with a purpose.
The Content of Lessons

Despite the diversity and the rigid distinction of subject matter content, the content which was actually taught in the instructional sessions, was mostly interrelated to and mingled with each other. For example, when they dealt with lyric writing about a village in a seashore in a language arts class, they were also learning about the life in fishing villages in social studies class. What the students discussed through relaxed social discourses in the two subjects was hardly distinguishable. Broad aspects of student knowledge were brought into class discussion, such as students' personal experiences and knowledge from readings. When they learned about the sea, their common knowledge about the king squid which most of them had read from the science encyclopedia placed on the classroom bookshelf made the discussion more exciting. The scientific questions about sea life continually popped up after that (FN 6/10:126).

The content that the teacher taught in the classroom was from the standard textbook, which students could easily express in written tests. The teacher sometimes encouraged students to apply the presented knowledge to their everyday life, or to previous knowledge, or conversely to rearrange their common
sense. The students constantly seemed to apply the presented knowledge in the real sense within the network of their previous knowledge and experiences. For example, when the class were learning "life on the farm", a student suddenly told the teacher that when she has been a country she has seen that a group of soldiers were helping farmers planting rice seeds. When they were learning what fire fighters do in a social studies lesson, a student asked the teacher what they do when there were no fires. The teacher answered the question as follows; "In case of no fires, the fire fighters prepares equipments or fire engines." Soon, another boy asked the teacher "Teacher, don't they have any rest?"

Even though the teacher intended the rigid, efficient, point-by-point transmission of a specific body of knowledge, the students playfully shared their knowledge and experiences with peers.

Class Day.

Besides the above major lessons, library hour, chapel, and "class day" were also part of the instructional sessions. The class day was an important element of the configuration of their classroom life because students themselves always presided over the class day session; their relationship with peers was revealed; and the students' personal life was expressed.
The following excerpt from the fieldnotes sketches how the class day flows.

At the end of lunch time, as usual, the students were reading quietly to prepare the next class under the supervision of the day's dang-buns sitting at the front table. (During reading, the dang-buns were supposed to watch classmates and to make a list of the students' names who were not involved in reading.) As soon as with the utterance of "Now, the dang-buns went back to their seat" the teacher signified that the students would begin the class day section, the neighbors around HW and HN who were the day's presiders urged HW and HN to begin immediately the class day. The neighbors' attitudes showed how much they were eager to do it. The presiders went forward and sat at the front table while the teacher was attaching the sign of "The class day" on the chalkboard. And one of them announced the beginning of the class day with the utterance, "Please, come up if there are persons who want to sing a solo or in chorus." Three students volunteered to sing solos. DI gave a clap enthusiastically to BZ who sang a hymn because he was one of DI's favorite friends.

Subsequently to singing, the class was open to playing musical instruments and reciting a poem, or phrases of the Bible. Several girls including SJ played the piano and SE played the violin. YM recited a poem and WS recited chapter 45 of a book of Psalms. At that time, the teacher commented on the manner of the presiders "The boys and girls should participate equally", because the today's section proceeded exclusively by the female presider by that time. After that, WS, who was the male presider of the day, said "Please, come up if there is a person who wants to dance or do a physical exercise." HN's group and SR's group participated in this section by dancing with ribbons. Two groups of the girls had prepared the dance since the last week. They were so competitive.

Soon, narrating a story began. Seven students attended in this segment; especially JW did it nicely by reciting all of the fairy tale; YS and SE as a team participated in this entry by reading the memo falteringly with a soft voice, which they made by copying from one of the fairy tale books from
the bookshelves of the classroom. Some boys asked them to read loudly again since it was hardly heard. The teachers commented on their participation that they had to be well-prepared and speak out loudly.

The sections of a riddle and a game continued. The students were getting excited about these sections because all of them could participate in the game by solving the presented riddles or involving in the day’s game of naming polyphagous animals, which was prepared by the presiders. Today’s presiders even brought some candies to be given to participants in reward for peers’ participation. But, the teacher prohibited distributing candies to them. The fever about the game did not be easily diminished. However, because of the time limitation, the class day had to be hastily wrapped up with the presiders’ closing comments (FN,6/19:154-156).

For the lower graders, the homeroom was replaced with this class day. While the homeroom for the upper graders gives students a chance to self-govern their community, the class day provides students with a chance to voluntarily participate in classroom-social events and to associate with peers.

Especially, in this event, the extent of parents’ participation was revealed because the students often brought materials which were made by their parents, and they had to have a special lesson to participate in the section for playing musical instruments.

Others

In order to get the whole picture of the students’ classroom life, besides the above routines of
instructional and non-instructional sections, the features of the transition, the sanctions, and the classroom management in the class should be understood.

The Transition

In the transitional time which connects two distinct sections, important things were going on. The teacher made an announcement about social events of the given day or their task to be finished within the day. Dangbuns did their jobs such as cleaning a chalkboard in this period. There was a transition routine like short period of reading after the recess and lunch time.

After the second period of lesson, the teacher said "We can have just restroom break and do finish the worksheet. And prepare the language arts. And you have to do the unit of the math workbook within today for the math test on coming Thursday. So do it after lunch break."(FN 5/19:2)

Rules and Sanctions

The most common infraction of the rules was talking when every student was expected to be quiet. Talking among children and moving around without permission were frequently reprimanded, since many activities required listening and total group attention. These were common rules by a tacit consent, which were often seen in other classrooms somewhere else. Besides, the statements made to children by the teacher were generally regarded as the rules or appointment with the teacher. The
teacher adopted the "Grandma’s Law", which meant "if you don’t, then I won’t."

The sanction strategies that the teacher used were; isolating from the entire class (example of DY) or separating from their near friends (example of YM and HN); depriving them from their favorite section such as recess, or the class day; informing their parents of their misbehavior; and publicly insulting them by calling out one’s name to correct one’s misbehavior or by letting them stand up in the back of room (example of DI, HG, HW; FN 5/20:25). The students did not seem to feel shame or hurt by being insulted publicly. This was confirmed with an ethnographic interview with several kids who had these kinds of sanction.

The Classroom Management

In the classroom a lot of routinization and systemization went on, as showed in the above context description, such as reading before lesson, the system of dang-bun, and routines in the starting of each subject. Besides these routines, the class was grouped into six for group activities or science lesson; the class was divided into two groups for physical education; the students were supposed to hand in their homework note, diary, and dictation notebook in their turn; and the children were supposed to report news, and
to preside the class day section in turn.

These routines and systems were seemed to serve efficiently for management of the crowded classroom from the teacher's perspective. However, many routines and systems sometimes made the students busy spending times meaninglessly. For example, DY and WS had to attend in the math routine, inner calculation by sitting quietly into the crowd without effort to figure out the questions, because they are poor in math. SJ and DI sometimes wrote up their diary in haste in the morning free time section in their turn.

Main Themes of the Classroom Life

This classroom and other elementary classrooms seem to be alike in the configuration of the classroom and the daily schedule. However, what teachers and students in a classroom are concerned for and what they actually do varies according to educational philosophy or values. The above context description revealed the culture of social environment that the children were exposed to in this particular classroom. It appears that the main themes of the classrooms were "learning is a serious job to be done within the time limitation."; "living in the classroom is participating in social events and ritualistic routines.". The learning of the classroom was more than somewhat social and ritualistic. It
seemed to be influenced partially by the traditional confucianism in that formalism is valued, and partially by the educational culture in current Korean society in that school learning is regarded as social achievement leading to social success, rather than as knowing in a generic sense. Thus the students should be trained to have a self-controlled attitude in order to successfully attend the social events and accomplish a serious job. When the teacher calls the students' attention, she often used the words "let's be in Ba-reun-ja-se." The Ba-reun-ja-se (literally meaning a correct posture) meant the self-controlled attitude. According to the context, it implied the straighten-up posture itself, or sometimes meant paying attention well, which was regarded as the inevitable pre-condition for learning by the teacher. For example, when the class returned from the chapel in that unusually lots of noise was going on, the teacher blamed the students for "bad attitude", which might hinder them from attending to the pastor's sermon (FN 5/25:47-49).

I thought that in lower grades the training of good habits would be a necessary part of education because children do not always behave as they thought it was right. However, sometimes, overemphasis on training the self-controlled attitude might hinder learning in a generic sense. For instance, in a science lesson, they
were supposed to bring their own self-made cartoon mask for a shade play. One student did not bring his own character, a rabbit mask. Due to him, his group was banned to participate in the shade play. But, a member of the group asked the teacher to let him participate in the play by making a rabbit’s two long ears with his two hands. Even though I thought it was a fantastic idea, the teacher did not permit that because he did not complete the assignment (FN 4/10: P-14). The students’ efforts to resort to temporary expedients to participate in social events of classroom were not allowed. There was another case. One day, MW was trying to use tissue instead of a handkerchief to dry his hands. It was not also permitted. They were supposed to use their handkerchief when they washed their hands before lunch (FN 5/25:54) (In a member check, the teacher said that she remembered that she permitted it later on).

Sometimes, as in the above instances, excluding students from the social events, which were the their main classroom life, was used as a punishment, or letting them participate in the social events was an reward for the "paying attention well " (e.g. HN and SE were given a chance to present something in a lesson because they paid attention well in the morning exercise section.) These strategies seemed to contradict to the teacher’s original intention of enhancing the students’
self-controlled attitude for participation in the learning process. For the participation in the process itself became the means of controlling. It is because teachers' personal theories of practice are sometimes conflicting or tensioned among each other. As a result of such strong discipline and highly structured classroom life, the students have little room for creative, critical or imaginative thinking. The students were busy to meet social demands within the restrictive and ritualistic classroom life, rather than to enjoy what they are involved in or to have a chance to learn from trial and errors.

The Types of Students' Interaction

What do the students experience by working with or in the presence of other peers? At first glance, it looks as if they just sit side by side in restrictive instructional section. When free time is given, they play with their favorite friends or hang around with their peers to release stress from the restrictiveness of instructional time.

However, when close attention is given to their interaction with peers, it is recognized that there are important and meaningful interaction going on.

As it can be guessed, in the instructional section the interactions among and between students is more
limited than in non-instructional section. But, in light of the fact that the core of school life is teaching-learning, peer interaction in instructional setting was the starting point of this study. In non-instructional section, in that the movement of children is less restrictive, interaction can take place visually and actively. Thus, the interactions in non-instructional section were also examined.

The various types of interaction that will be discussed happened across sections, whether it is instructional section or not. But, the frequency of each type of the interaction was distinguishable in terms of structure differences of each setting. Ecological psychologists have indicated that classroom is composed of numerous sub-settings which elicit different patterns of social interaction from both a teacher and students (Weinstein, 1991). Thus, the various types of interactions and functions could be classified in terms of activity segments into 4 dimensions. At first, the classroom settings were divided into instructional section and non-instructional section. While the non-instructional sections, including morning free time, recess, and lunch time, could easily fit into one dimension, the instructional sections needed to be divided by difference of structure of each segment which
the instructional section was composed. Thus, the instructional section was divided into three dimensions; teacher-led lecture, group activity, and individual seatwork.

The types and functions of students' interaction are presented in terms of the 4 dimensions here.

Students' Interaction in Non-instructional Sections:

The students' interaction that took place in non-instructional sections was classified into the following three types.

1) Engaging in pure play or associating with peers:

The students spent much of time in non-instructional section playing with peers, as we can imagine. Most play going on in the class was extemporaneous such as clapping with a song or hand-play with thread. In general, the play was evolved through the following process. Play was initiated by one or two students. And then, activity was gradually refined and more students were involved in the play. Thus, initiating play constitutes an important role for peer relationship.

The students associated exclusively with the same sex. Interaction across the opposite sex was teasing (an example, ZY (a boy) teased Y (a girl), saying "Her
hip is red." or threatening (In lunch time, two boys were copying each other’s homework. Several girls who saw them threatened that they would tell the teacher.).

Playing soccer was the major play for the boys. They seemed to value masculinity and toughness. DY who was treated as a hyperactive child in the instructional setting became a popular player in the soccer game. The boys who did not like playing outside or could not be engaged in the soccer game because of lack of physical ability (DW said that the soccer team didn’t let him in the game because he could not run fast). There were always several boys in the class when others were playing the soccer game outside. As time went by, they gradually evolved a bond as a group. They created a play culture inside the room by drawing cartoons, talking about electric games, or playing creative games.

On the other hand, for girls, there seemed to be no major play like the soccer for boys. Playing the piano and playing with a rubber rope were play for the girls. To girls, the personal relationship seemed to be more important rather than play itself. Groups of girls were often seen just wandering around the schoolyard, holding hands. The girls seemed to value artistic talent and good outward appearance. In the early stage of observation, it was discovered that an exclusive girl’s
group with ZW in the center evolved. Another group with SJ in the center also evolved gradually. SJ’s group enjoyed playing the piano, gathering at the piano. Like boys, as time went by, more girls’ groups emerged. It was observed in the second semester that they carried a personal telephone book with them, gave and took secret memos to invite group members to their secret place, and shared individual life (FN,11/26:S).

The soccer team with SW and the girls’ group with ZW as "core groups" were very exclusive. On the other hand, other groups, which can be called "peripheral group" were permissive. They tried to let more peers in their play. Boys and girls who could belong neither to a core group, nor to a peripheral group, like MS and BR, suffered pressure from group members in group work.

Through playing, the students evolved peer groups. The bond within a peer group seemed to make their classroom life secure and make it easy to participate in doing group work in the instructional section.

2) Voluntarily preparing in a group for participation in social events:

In the morning free time and lunch, the students prepared to participate in the class day and other class projects, by rehearsing a play or practicing singing a chorale in groups. Girls especially showed more concern for participation in this kind of social event than
boys. The preparation process was similar to the process of evolving pure play; initiating a theme, evolving a group, refining activity and practicing it.

It can be said that, through such voluntary preparation, classroom social events in the instructional section mediated evolving relationship among peers. SR, who had initiated this kind of preparation several times, soon gained peers' recognition. Girls who did not belong to ZW's core group took advantage from this kind of group preparation in associating with peers (FN,6/30:183).

3) Helping:

Doing an assignment on behalf of friends, letting other peers copy homework, or telling answers were combined under the code "helping". For their purpose to do so was to help other peers to participate in classroom learning. For example, in a science lesson the students were supposed to observe periodically the number of leaves of a plant(bins) and the height of it in order to make a scientific record. One day, GH asked SM to do it on her behalf in morning free time. SM looked to be willing to do a favor for her friend (FN 6/25:133). Through the year, they were supposed to make their personal writing collection. The collections were checked by the teacher sometimes. It was often seen in
morning free time that they helped their friend with making a personal collection (FN, 11/27: S).

The students did not seem to consider this help unethical because they behaved according to their version of what the school learning norms were. As mentioned above, for them, learning was a job to be done in the time limitation, or classroom life consisted of social events in which they were participated. Thus, in order to help peers, those types of interaction could not but take place among them.

**Students' Interaction in Teacher-led Lecture and Recitation:**

In general, in this lecturing format, in which the teacher asked questions and the students answered, or the teacher talked and the students listened, the teacher was the conductor with the 35-piece orchestra following perfectly. It looked as if the teacher gave a chance to answer to her questions to each student evenly in order to distribute equal opportunity. But, when she wanted to check individual mastering the presented task, she asked the low achievers, like DY and WZ, to answer the question. When she wanted the students to solve difficult problems needing higher order mental ability such as creativity, she called on the high performers, like ZW and SH, to do them. Through such conducting,
the teacher let the flow of lesson run in a pre-planned
direction. What the teacher was primarily concerned
about was delivering what the teacher had planned to
deliver to the students. In lecture, what the students
actually did was answering the teacher's questions;
oberving and listening to the teacher or other peers'
answering; and participating in routines. In this
format, it looked as if the interactions between/among
students were extremely limited. But, what they
experienced by working together with or in the presence
of other peers differed from what the teacher actually
wanted to deliver to them because of their illegitimate
talking. The students' interaction which occurred in
the lecture and recitation was classified into the
following three categories.

1) making social norms collective:

   This was the most saturated category. The students
created social norms by responding to others'
participation collectively, coaching how to participate
in particular events, or exposing others' misbehavior as
a sanction. The following excerpts from the fieldnotes
exemplify making social norms collectively.

   In a language arts lesson, the class was reading
the unit for the day, as usual, in the beginning
period. WZ falteringingly read and DY spelled out in
their turns. The rest of the students were
snieking at and teasing them. Especially, JW
said loudly, "Teacher, I can't hear it." (as an
example of responding to others’ participation ;FN 5/25:60).

In the same language arts lesson, after reading, the teacher had the students summarize the reading unit in terms of when, who, what, where, how, in their inner thoughts. As HG who didn’t give attention to the teacher’s words loudly verbalized a sentence, JH and several neighbors told him "The teacher told us that we had to do it in our mind." (as an example of coaching how to participate;FN 5/25:60)

In most lectures, the teacher attached charts to summarize the presented content on the board, and had the students copy them on their notes while finishing up a lesson. The students were supposed to wait until the teacher told to do so. However, there were always some students who tried to write it right away. Their neighbors addressed the unexpected behavior to the teacher, saying "Teacher, ** is writing it." This seems to bring peers’ behavior into line in accordance with social norms of the classroom, rather than actually to ask the teacher’s sanction on the unexpected behavior.

However, all social norms which the students were constructing were not the teacher or adults-approved norms. One day, the teacher, who had returned from the unusually noisy chapel, seemed to be angry. She decided to implement unexpectedly a drop quiz about the chapel as a warning. As could be expected, the students’ sighs and anxious appearance during the quiz were enough to tell that they had a hard time taking the quiz.
However, when the quiz was over and leaders of each group started to collect the answer sheets, they asked the answers or talked about the quiz with each other. Soon, they were giggling and laughing at each other. It appeared that at the moment the students constructed a norm which lessened their anxiety about the quiz; everybody is not good at the quiz; they don’t have to take the quiz seriously; and so on.

2) Inspiring each other:

The students often stimulated their thinking by observing peers participation in social discourse in learning. One day, the class was discussing their plans for the summer vacation along with the guidelines presented by the teacher. In discussing where they wanted to go, several girls said that they wanted to go to a science museum or a grand children’s park in the suburbs of Seoul. YM said that she was planning to visit their relatives in America with her family. After YM’s response, all the class excitedly talked about going abroad or their relatives living in foreign countries (FN 6/10:126).

There were many cases in which a student’s initiation impinged on the flow of lessons because his/her initiation inspired other peers so that their discussion drastically turned into an unexpected
3) Making the presented knowledge meaningful by talking with others:

As mentioned above, talking was the most common infraction of the classroom rules. According to my observation, two kinds of conversation occurred among the students: 1) to counter boredom from the dull lecture, and 2) to make the presented content into meaningful, life-related knowledge. In many cases when they were making noises, they were actively involved in the context-related conversation.

In a social studies lesson, they were learning what a fire department does. When the class discussed their experiences about fire and the cause of a fire, DW was telling the phone number of the fire department in her grandparents' district to her neighbors. When the teacher started to talk about a fire movie "Towering", BZ, who had tried unsuccessfully to get a floor until then, enthusiastically talked about the fire in the movie to his neighbors. Soon, a warning from the teacher was given to him because he was making noises (FN 5/19:19).

Especially, MW was a boy who often spoke out words or ideas playfully which could link the presented knowledge with meaningful life-related knowledge. For example, when the teacher explained the origin of the nation's name of "Korea", MW spoke out to his neighbors, "Miss Korea!", which were familiar words to them (FN 7/2:193). One day, when the teacher told them what a poster is, he shouted "Poster color!". It
occurred that, as usual, the associated, familiar words struck MW at the moment (FN 5/19:19).

**Students’ Interaction in Group-activity:**

In group activities, the students’ interaction and talking were legitimate and there was little interference from the teacher. Thus, the peer relationship of the class was projected into the students’ interactions in group work. In turn, the group activities were also to change the peer relationships by giving them a chance to associate with unfamiliar peers.

How the students interacted in the group activities depended on what was valued in group activities. The teacher said that in the group activities she wanted to stress cooperation. From the teacher’s perspective, the term cooperation meant that the students should equally participate in group activities by not urging one’s own opinion; helping others by letting them know how to solve problems, not the answers; and enduring uncomfortable things, in order that the task has to be done within the given time. In most group activities going on in the classroom, there was no job specification, predetermining who does what. The group tasks were simple and individualistic, rather than challenging ones that needed the collaborative efforts
of group members. The group activities were evaluated by the product, not by the process. In general, the group activities were product-oriented. The above characteristics of the group activities influenced the interaction among the students in group activities.

1) Struggling for power:

Because the group activities were product-oriented, and especially since the given time was never enough to complete the task, strong leadership was valued. In the starting of group activities, the students involved themselves in struggling about who had power to decide important things and recommend what to do to the rest of members. The matter of who had leadership and who was forced to experience conformity depended on the relationship of group members. Thus, it can be said that the types of students' interactions within a group were determined by the characteristics of group activities and the peer relationship within a group.

The following art lesson is an example of group activities.

They were supposed to do group work on the day. The group project was collaboratively drawing a scene of summer with a pastel crayon. The teacher inspired the class by letting them think the words related with summer scenery. After that, she explained the steps of drawing with a chart, which said 1) fold the large paper into the number of group members, 2) make a rough sketch with a light color, 3) cut the paper along the folded line, 4) each member colors their portion of a rough sketch,
5) put together cut pieces.

As soon as the large sheets were given to each group, they were excited about the occasional group art work. Each group first had to put their desks together in order to put the large sheet on the desks (This work was not easy for them, because the height of desks was not identical). And then they had to discuss what they would draw and made a rough sketch. Although the main task was drawing a scene of summer, the actual matters for them were whose idea was taken; who started to draw; and who colored which part.

Group 3 and 6 first started to make a rough sketch because these groups had ones who always claimed to be a leader. ZW in group 6 and GH in group 3 were tacitly approved as the ones who could handle the project by their members. ZW especially had excellent language skill with which she has impressed in the news time and the class day section. In these groups, the leadership was already established.

Group 1, 4, and 5 were still suffering from struggle for leadership. In group 4, WD who had a distinguishable talent in drawing conflicted with HN who was one of the popular girls in the class because of her occupation. She was an active child CF model. WD addressed HN, "HN, you are doing what you want to do, aren't you?" Finally, HN got the leadership because the other members wanted to follow her. In group 1, Y and HS were in conflict, and in group 5, SJ, YM, and SH were well matched in power. Thus, group 5 had a toss up at every times they had to decide something. And group 2, most of members seemed to have no concern for group work itself and none of them claimed to be leader.

After each student had one piece of a sketch, the main job was merely coloring. In coloring, they had to decide again which color they had to use in which part. Someone, who couldn't color it fast enough, asked the other members who had finished their portion. WD in group 4 added up something to his portion on his own. GH who took the leadership in group 4 had to color most parts of the picture because the rest of group members passively participated. In wrapping up the lesson, Group 2 couldn't finish their work while Group 6 successfully and harmoniously has done it within the time limitation (FN 6/11:146-148).
2) Sharing social knowledge:

Through the interaction with peers, the students shared not only procedural knowledge of how to participate in group work but also their social knowledge and experiences from a real life. The following is an example of it.

In a science lesson, they dealt with the unit of "Our growth". For review, they were doing a ditto sheet as a group. Group 6 was excitedly involving in the discussion to get the answer to a question of how we will change in the future, if we grow further. Finally, they wrote answers like the following; 1) We become adults (going to work), 2) We will be a mother and a father (raising our children). However, in their actual discussion, a lot of real life-related social knowledge were tossed about playfully.

DI, HJ, and JH, boys in the group, began to playfully toss their experiences related to the question as follows; DI said giggling "When we are adults, we will drink a beer"; HJ also said playfully, "We will also drink coffee"; and JH said, "We will die." DI continuously said, "After we die, we will disappear from this world." At first, girls in the group rebuked their jokes. But, soon the girls also involved themselves in their joking. As DI continuously said, "We will smoke a cigarette", HJ asked him, "Do women also smoke a cigarette?". To this question, SY, one of the girls in the group, said, "I have had a few puffs of cigarette before." A girl, sitting next her, said "Me too." Such a discussion had to stop, because the teacher said that they had to do it in a hurry in order to finish it on time. (FN 4/20:P 4-5)

As shown above, through interactions with peers in a group activity, they were trying collectively and playfully to understand and have social knowledge and
adults' culture, which they experienced individually in their real life, relating to the presented school knowledge. This can be an instance of a function of Corsaro's (1985) peer culture.

3) Reformulating peers' social image:

The social status or image of each student in the classroom seems to be constructed by the teacher and the students, mostly, in a format in which the class did the same task as a whole under the teacher's supervision, such as a lecture. But, they were reconstructed through direct interactions among the students in group activities or non-instructional sections.

For example, ZW, who had excellent verbal skill and perfect ideas of how to participate in social events of the classroom, was often given a chance to exert her merits by the teacher in lecture, who was mainly concerned about the smooth flow of lesson. But, through involving in various tasks in group activities, they reconstructed the social image about ZW. In most group activities, each group had to elect a writer who takes responsibility for writing an answer sheet. In group 6, ZW always took the role of a writer. But, when ZW wrote answer sheets, her incorrect spelling was sometimes corrected by other members. DI who was excellent in math often made her feel diffidence in math group
activities. In a game, like calling other groups’ name with clapping, HG and the rest of the boys who were confident at the game even put her down because of the characteristic of the game task which was drastically changed from the academic task (FN 5/25:54). The social image about ZW was constantly reformulated through their interactions in group activities.

It was evident that instructional organization or the teacher’s expectation alone could not play the decisive role in constructing the roles of students or social status of students.

4) Learning by observing:

In doing ditto sheets of math as a group, the students often used to get an idea of how to solve math problems by having a glimpse of other group members’ notes. For example, NY in Group 1 had a hard time with picture problems of a fraction. NY got a hint of how to solve the fraction problem by catching a glimpse of grouped small circles on the notebook of a boy sitting opposite to her.

Students’ Interaction in Individual Seatwork:

The amount of time allocated to individual seat work was not as much as the counterpart of the above two formats. The interactions among students in this
format were limited, like in lecture. They were busier in this format, than in lecture. In lecture, the students spent most of their time observing, responding to teachers' initiation, listening to the teacher, or falling into personal thinking or daydreaming. In individual seatwork segment, they rushed their assignment. A case study of American classroom (De Voss, 1979) describes the student behavior of passing time in seatwork segment as follows:

moving a desk into exactly the right position over and over; daydreaming; taking books out of the desk and putting them back in; sharpening a pencil over and over; looking at other students; walking to the paper supply then back to seat; erasing the entire page then starting over on the assignment; walking to the teacher; talking to oneself; putting finished papers into the reading bin; conversing with a friend; writing on a wooden desk; picking one’s nose; exchanging silent looks and hand signals with a friend across the room; persevering in a body movement such as rocking back and forth; putting head on the desk; reading a library book behind a textbook; combing one’s hair; doodling on a piece of paper (p.15).

But, the above passing time behaviors were not often seen in seatwork segments of this class. I think that it is not only because of the overloaded materials to be covered within a given time, but also because of one of the main themes of classroom life, which is "Learning is a job to be done within the time limitation."

Thus, the following interactions happened in seatwork segments: 1) competing with each other to
finish their assignment fast; and 2) seeking peers’ sympathy or help.

In seatwork, the students who had difficulty with assignments often sought help from their peers, rather than from the teacher. Low achievers especially tended to do so. The following segment of the fieldnote exemplifies the above interactions among students.

In a language arts class, they were practicing to make two simple sentences into one complex sentence, and reverse it into original form. In wrapping up the lesson, a seatwork assignment was given. The teacher said, "Do page 44 of your writing workbook. Please, ask me if you have problems with it." All the students were attentive and concentrated on the assignment all together. The teacher was walking around, talking to several students personally with a soft voice. From group 6, which is the nearest group to me, I could hear the following noises; "Ouch! I have a pain with my hand because this is too much. How about you?"; "Me too!"; "How do you know to spell ‘Nack’ in ‘Nack-si(meaning fishing)’?"; " ‘Na’ with double ‘Giyeok (F-I-S-H-I-N-G)’." Before long, I could hear that they said "I have finished!" "I have finished it first" and "Teacher! what do we do next?"

The above various types of interaction which were classified according to the structural difference of settings actually happened across settings, whether the setting was instructional sections or non-instructional sections. But, the frequency of each type of the interaction was distinguishable in terms of structure differences of each setting as the ecological psychologists’ claims in that different sub-settings of
a classroom elicit different patterns of social interaction from both a teacher and students (Weinstein, 1991). A chart (Figure 4) is provided which reviews the discussed types of students' interaction of the classroom. This figure may be useful to grasp the nature of the students' interaction of the classroom through evolving a pattern from the scattered interactions happened across various settings.

The Students' Interaction and Learning

In this section, I will discuss the research questions, which are how and why the students' interaction takes place and what the results are, through summarizing, synthesizing and interpreting the above analyzed data.

1. How do the students interact with each other? In other words, what types of interaction take place among/between students in instructional and non-instructional settings?

As shown in Figure 4, the kinds of the students' interaction in non-instructional section were 1) engaging in pure play or associating with peers, 2) voluntarily preparing themselves in a group to participate in social events, and 3) helping peers with doing others' task on
### Interaction in Non-instructional Section

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction in Non-instructional Section</th>
<th>Interaction in Instructional Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Engaging in pure play or associating with peers</td>
<td>Lecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Voluntarily preparing in a group for participating in social events</td>
<td>Group Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Helping through doing others' work on behalf of friends, letting other peers copy homework, or telling answers</td>
<td>Individual Seatwork</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Seeking social bonds(1)
- Helping each other attend the social life of classroom (2,3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture</th>
<th>Group Activity</th>
<th>Individual Seatwork</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Making social norms collectively</td>
<td>4. Struggling for power</td>
<td>8. Competing with each other to complete their task faster than others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Inspiring each other</td>
<td>5. Sharing social knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Making the presented knowledge meaningful</td>
<td>6. Reformulating peers' social image</td>
<td>9. Seeking peers' sympathy or help</td>
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- Constructing and maintaining social norms in classroom (1, 4, 5, 8, 9)
- Participating in learning the content of knowledge (2, 3, 5, 7)
- Influencing evolution of peer relationships (4, 6)

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**Figure 4.** The types of students' interaction of the class.
behalf of friends, letting other peers copy homework, or telling answers to them.

In the instructional section, the students' interaction included 1) making social norms collectively, 2) inspiring each other, 3) making the presented knowledge meaningful, 4) struggling for power, 5) sharing social knowledge, 6) reforming peers' social image, 7) learning from each other by observing, 8) competing with each other to finish a task faster than others, 9) seeking peers' sympathy or help.

A few other categories could be indirectly related to learning. Among them, the negative interaction such as conflicting with other peers physically or verbally, excluding other peers, or threatening them was low in frequency.

In general, through interaction with each other in non-instructional sections, the students sought to develop a social bond with their peer group and tried to help each other to participate in the social life of the classroom, in a group, or individually.

On the other hand, the interaction with peers in instructional section could be synthesized into the following three:

First, the students actively participated in constructing and maintaining social life of the classroom through making social norms with peers
collectively; struggling with peers for power; sharing social knowledge of how to participate in social events with peers; competing with each other to have done their job fast; and seeking peers' sympathy and help.

Second, the students vitally participated in learning the content of knowledge through inspiring each other; making the presented knowledge meaningful through talking with peers; sharing social knowledge from their personal experience; and learning by observing each other.

Third, the peer interaction in instructional section had influence on evolving peer relationships through struggling for power and reformulating peers' social image in group activities.

2. Why do the kinds of students' interaction take place? That is, how are the students' interaction and classroom process related?

Research on the variables which influence peer interaction or relationships has identified factors which differ from the organizational level to the individual level. As discussed in chapter II, Bossert(1983) and Jackson(1968) claimed that the instructional structure such as recitation or lecture,
in which everybody has the same task and can compare each one’s performance publically, contributed to stratification of students’ social status in the classroom. They regarded organizational structure as a decisive role in evolving students’ relationship in a classroom. Also, research on individual factors indicated that parent’s SES, prior achievement, communicational skill and social competence, expectation of others, proximity, affinity and so on could be significant variables for establishing peer relationship.

The micro research of this study contributes to our understanding of children’s interaction and relationship in a school setting. However, the above data presentation needs more macro explanation about why the students’ interaction took place not only because the configuration of students’ interaction does not seem to depend on a single variable, whether it is individualistic or organizational, but also because the relationship between the types of interaction and learning does not seem to be unilateral.

As we have seen, the peer relationship evolving in the non-instructional section was vitally used to participate in the classroom events such as group activities and other sections of the class day (For example, DY and HN). Conversely, the organizational
structure in the instructional sections influenced evolving peer relationships. For instance, the group activities gave a chance to associate with peers to "unpopular" students, like WZ. SR's effort to participate in the class day made her have high social status in the peer world.

In order to understand the complicated interrelationship of the students' interaction and classroom learning, we need to know the culture to which the students were exposed. Greetz (1973) said "Culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, as processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly-described". From the sociocultural perspective, the students in the classroom created their own peer culture through having shared norms and social knowledge and establishing collective identity. Through their peer culture, they understood and appropriated the school culture. In other words, the main theme of classroom life (that is, "learning is a serious job to be done within the time limitation."); "living in the classroom is participating in social events and routines."); thus the students were trained to have self-controlled attitude for successful participation in the learning and the social events) was converted into the students' version of the school
culture through their peer culture. Their version of classroom culture explains why the students' interaction occurred in that way. They concern the maintenance of the social norms of the classroom as a group; their peers' participation in social events individually; and the establishment of social bonds with peers for emotional security in classroom social life. The peer culture does not totally comply with the classroom culture, but co-exists with it as shown in Figure 5 (Cazden, 1988; Fernie et al, 1988). The types of students' interactions take place in the interpenetrating area of the peer culture and the school culture. Thus, it can be said that the students participate in negotiating classroom process through their peer culture.

3. How does the students' interaction impact on their learning?

The types of students' interaction have a positive influence on the kind of learning which takes place in the classroom. Functionally, the students serve as facilitators of the classroom learning through their willingness to participate in classroom life and to maintain classroom norms and their desire for social bonds with peers for security. Thus, it can be said
Figure 5. Diagram of peer culture and school culture as the cause of the types of students' interaction in the classroom.
that the students collectively play a supportive role for the learning.

On the other hand, it should be questioned seriously whether "helping" and "struggling for power" among the students are desirable morally and pedagogically. The kinds of students' interaction contradict the teacher-approved norms in that individual accountability and cooperation are valued. It tells that, although the teacher intended to foster cooperation for her students' social living and to assure individual accountability for their academic learning, the implicit curriculum, which is taught through the ways in which the explicit curriculum is presented, may hinder her original intention.
"If we must use a metaphor or model in seeking to understand the process of schooling, we should look to agriculture rather than to the factory. In agriculture we do not start from scratch, and we do not direct our efforts to inert and passive materials. We start, on the contrary, with a complex and ancient process, and we organize our efforts around what seeds, plants and insects are likely to do anyway (p.20)."

- Stephens(1979)-

Summary

The purpose of this case study was to portray the holistic picture of what the students experienced through working with or in the presence of other peers. Three research questions were generated: (1) What types of students' interaction occur in both instructional and non-instructional settings of the classroom; (2) Why do the types of students' interaction occur in the classroom? And how are the students' interaction and classroom learning process related; (3) How does the students' interaction impact on their learning?

Through a naturalistic case study at a second grade classroom in Korea, these research questions were explored and answered.

Through interaction among students in non-
instructional sections, the students developed social bonds with peers and helped each other to participate in the social life of the classroom, in groups, or individually. On the other hand, through the students' interaction in instructional sections the students (1) actively participated in constructing and maintaining the social norms of classroom collectively, (2) vitally participated in learning the academic content of the curriculum, and (3) also had a chance to evolve peer relationships.

The reason why the kinds of students' interaction occurred was attributed to their culture which penetrated the classroom culture. Their concerns were the maintenance of social norms of the classroom as a group, individual peers' participation in social events, and establishment of social bonds with peers for emotional security in the classroom life.

The affects of the students interaction on their learning were as follows: 1) Functionally, the students' interaction bolstered the classroom process by maintaining the social norms of the classroom as a group, and willingly helping others to participate in the classroom process individually; 2) Morally, some aspects of the interaction hindered the students fostering the values intended by the teacher. It is because "helping" (through doing others' work on behalf
of peers, or letting peers copy their own homework) and "struggling for power" were not in accord with the norms which the teacher explicitly presented, which were individual accountability for their academic learning and cooperation for their social life. This implies that it should be questioned whether the kinds of students' interaction are positive or negative for education in a generic sense even though the students' interaction was functionally supportive the kind of learning which is somewhat social and ritualistic; 3) Academically, through making the presented content life-related meaningful knowledge, the students' interaction supported their learning; and 4) In personal relationships with peers, the students' interaction in the non-instructional section, and in group activities, prevented the students' group from being stratified by the academic achievements and instructional structure or the teacher's expectation.

Conclusions

This research has explored the nature and meaning of that the students work with or in the presence of other peers. No attempt was made to generalize the findings due to the differences in contexts and the assumptions of the qualitative research methodology.

The major findings of this study were: that 1) the
students evolved their own world and culture developing a collective identity as a group; and that 2) learning and living in the classroom were mediated through the peer culture. The following conclusions were made from the above findings.

1) The students' interactions served as an important mediator in the classroom learning process.

Sociolinguistic ethnographic research on classroom context (Green & Harker, 1982; Wilkinson, 1982) often overlooked (1) how the classroom structure or instructional format operated on the process of instructional events; and (2) how the interactions among students group influenced the instructional event. And most ethnographic studies on schooling focused on one single setting. However, this research included the various students' interactions in the various settings of the classroom setting. Thus, this study could portray the holistic picture of how the students' interaction and their learning was interrelated.

The configuration of group learning was influenced by the peer relationships. In turn, personal relationships with peers were evolved through their social interaction in the non-instructional section, and in group activities. This mechanism prevented the students' group from being stratified by a single variable such as academic achievement instructional
structure, teacher's expectation or family background.

2) In academic learning, Forman and Cazden (1988) reported that the peer interaction could serve as a challenge to a state of equilibrium by causing conflicts and difficulties in discussing with peers; and could function as intermediate transforming context between external adult-child interaction and an individual child's inner speech. However, these kinds of interaction were hardly observed in this classroom. Other studies indicated that peer interaction promotes children's learning through modeling behavior within one another's proximal zones of development, showing and telling their peers or imitating others (Vygotsky, 1960b; Cooper & Cooper Jr., 1984). These kinds of interaction were observed in this classroom.

However, more meaningful interaction that was more often observed was making the presented knowledge meaningful life-related knowledge through inspiring each other, and bringing up and sharing in their personal experiences and knowledge. It means that through working with other students the academic learning becomes more meaningful life-related learning experience to them.

3) In this classroom, peer culture evolving through the students' social interaction were supportive for the learning. Thus, the students' willingness to
participate in social events and learning became the catalyzers for the classroom process. This is not the case of all classrooms. There can exist classrooms in which two culture may be antithetical to one another, presenting largely separate domains within classroom life. King (1979) reported in his study that the play among the kindergartners was a form of resistance, implying a school culture at odds with peer culture. Willis (1977) also reported through his study which was conducted in a working class high school that the students formed a counter-school culture in opposition to the dry institutional life. Thus, the reason that the peer culture was supportive can be partially because of the characteristics of their age, and partially because of the educational culture of the larger society in which school learning is regarded as social achievement leading to social success.

4) Learning and life in the classroom were mediated socially through peer world, they could not but experience failure or success in this social world. In order to successfully participate in social life in the classroom, students needed social bonds with peers. Thus, establishing peer relationships was as much seriously taken by the students as academic learning.
Implications

The research on the roles of students' interaction in their classroom learning has the following implications for the moral education, research on classroom, curriculum development, and the practitioners.

1) For moral education: As shown in this study, students' behaviors are influenced by the culture that they live in. It gives an important implication for moral education: moral education is mostly achieved through the school culture rather than through a formal moral education curriculum. Especially, in light of the fact that the school culture is reinterpreted in the peer world, the impact of peer culture should be considered in moral education.

2) For research on classroom learning: In much research on classroom, students have been attended to individually so the collective role of students has been ignored. However, in light of the fact that classroom learning is not a sum of individual learning, as shown in this study, research on classroom process should take account of the collective role of students as the important factor which mediates the classroom process.

3) For curriculum development: In developing curriculum, the students' collective roles should be
regarded as a commonplace to be considered. Although we cannot confine all the factors intervening learning process within the explicit curriculum, we need to organize our efforts to enhance what occurs naturally in the learning process for better education, rather than solely control the learning process in a predetermined way.

4) For elementary classroom teachers: The teachers should recognize that their students are not rebels against their teaching, but conspirers who are willing to participate in learning, and maintain the social norms of a classroom. Thus, when they promote their students' interaction and lead their culture in a the positive direction for learning, the classroom learning would be bolstered.
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