"The recording has started": Notes on the sudden move to online teaching

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Abstract

Since Garfinkel's early work (2002) in the 1970s, few researchers have studied university classroom activities to understand what is seen as the performance features of university learning. The purpose of these studies was to explicate what it is that is unique to universities about these activities. Since the start of the coronavirus pandemic, HEIs have moved a lot of their teaching online, thus changing the nature of the classroom. The workplace-specific nature of the classroom has therefore changed to a virtual one, but the discipline-specific nature of activities remains the same. For participants of these virtual classrooms to be acknowledged as vulgarly competent (Garfinkel 2002), there is a need for the activities to remain accountably recognisable to all parties. For the social order to be sustained and recognised, there is a need for this competence, but for many participants, students and lecturers alike, this was the first time of participating in their daily university activity in this virtual way. The participants may be entering the domain with a weak competence (Ikeya 2020) of the context, but with enough unique adequacy to sustain ongoing social order. This hybrid study draws on online lectures carried out in a business school, using ethnomethodological tools to understand the development of vulgar competence.

INTRODUCTION

Eglin (2009, 39) asks the question: what is university-specific about the activities of a university?, and seeks to investigate through ethnomethodology what the participants do in their activities that distinguish them as university members. This is redolent of a question that the media have asked this year regarding the shift in working practices.[1] Given the sudden lockdown in March 2020 and subsequent lockdowns, universities were forced to change their teaching practices very quickly. This paper seeks to contribute to this question by drawing on data from several recorded online classroom activities in the year 2020, which took place due to the need to move online in the global pandemic. The

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[1] See Jim Dickinson, *Wonkhe*, The pandemic has decimated the university experience – how do we put that right? 25th February, 2021 Accessed https://wonkhe.com/blogs/the-pandemic-has-decimated-the-university-experience-how-can-we-put-that-right/

question central to this paper is: how do participants recognisably and observably work interactively and procedurally, to "create" a university classroom when shifted from an actual classroom to a virtual space?

This analysis aims to understand how the hybridisation process of moving online and how the omni-relevant categories of lecturer and student work to maintain the features of what they do in a classroom when going through this process of moving online. This study seeks to build on the work on university lectures to achieve the following aims:

- To investigate how participants produce something recognisable and describable as a university classroom to all parties, to show the ongoing social order of the university in the sudden move from an actual classroom to online teaching.
- To examine the development of competence in this new environment as a social production specific to the perspicuous setting.
- To understand how the omni-relevant categories of student and lecturer work together to continue the work of socially producing a university classroom within the semester, given that the specific nature of how this is achieved, the established social order, has changed.
- To understand how the technology, in this case, Blackboard Collaborate, which is designed for such activities, contributes to this move to online teaching by enabling the accountable online classroom to be achieved and to investigate where asymmetries in members' practices occur. By highlighting the asymmetries researchers and professionals can consider ways to improve the ongoing social order and therefore improve the practice encounters of all parties involved.

These aims will keep in mind the commitments put forward by Lindwall and Lymer (2005) when doing hybrid studies of; becoming vulgarly competent, be indifferent to formal analytic methods, not to member's concerns, focus on action and immanent pedagogies, not learning and do hybrid studies.

This paper also aims to contribute to the understanding of design of technology, in its role of creating a virtual classroom, by its use of ethnomethodology, as outlined by Dourish and Button (1998, 395-432), in their use of the term "technomethodology". It builds the relationship between system design and ethnomethodological enquiry. The ethnomethods used in the virtual classrooms are considered against the ethnomethodological work on practical university classrooms.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

On 23rd March 2020, the UK Prime Minister announced that all members of the public "must" remain at home, unless they were in a category of worker that was considered essential.[2] The public was told that they should work from home if at all possible. Like

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[2] When did lockdown begin in the UK? *Fullfact* 22nd July, 2020 Accessed on 26th June 2021 https://fullfact.org/health/coronavirus-lockdown-hancock-claim/

other educational establishments, universities had to change how they taught their classes, and this change was necessarily very rapid. Schools and universities traditionally carry out their teaching activities on campuses designed for the purpose of education. While online teaching is a phenomenon in its own right, the move to virtual teaching in its entirety was a new one for most education professionals. Almost overnight, work practices for many professions changed dramatically, with limited time to prepare.

This study focuses on how, given this situation, the key participants of classroom interaction in a university, students and lecturers, carried out this move from a physical classroom to a virtual classroom in a recognisable, accountable way (Garfinkel, 1967). The study "sees" how the members, in detail, produce the "grammars of action" (Macbeth, 2012, 199) of the classroom. The reader will notice in them their competence as a recognisable and constitutive feature of their understanding. The data illustrates ethnomethodology's interest in the ongoing co-production of settings, and in particular the participative nature of accomplishing something that all parties present can recognise as a university lecture.

The study draws on fieldnotes created from transcripts of recordings of a number of lectures and some other sources, some from just after lockdown occurring in March 2020 and some in the new semester (September 2020), after a summer of theory-led training in online teaching. These lectures were all recorded in a virtual learning environment (VLE) called Blackboard Collaborate, a tool designed for synchronous learning. These notes on the use of learning Blackboard Collaborate as a group point to aspects of classroom work that may also contribute to the field of computer-supported collaborative work (CSCW) (Grudin, 1994). A focus of these observations is to point to asymmetries that are exposed through the interaction. Asymmetries may be differences of knowledge, experience or access to information in the ways of working (Llewellyn & Hindmarsh, 2010, 37). These may have occurred due to the sudden change in practice or due to the system's design, and how this differs to the previous practice.

A key aspect of the study is understanding the membership categories of student and lecturer in this ongoing accomplishment of producing university instruction. A focus is given to understanding the "omni-relevant" (Sacks 1995a, 313) categories of lecturer and student in accomplishing this recognisable feature of a university teaching space. The data also allow some interesting perspectives on the "shop floor problem".

The paper will be split into a number of topic areas. It will start by considering the issue of hybrid work practices and what these practices mean to a hybrid study of ethnomethodology, it will then consider the relevancies to the setting that are used to create ongoing social order. The study will go on examine the development of competence participatively in the online learning environment through immanent pedagogies to consider how members produce accounts of learning. Some notes on shop floor problems that became apparent in the process of the change, will also be considered. The paper will also look at the human-computer interaction with the design features of Blackboard Collaborate and other tools used, and finally look at how with vulgar competence, the ongoing social order was established. These areas fit with Lindwall & Lymer's (2005)

analytical commitments to the development of educational practice,which are to become vulgarly competent; be indifferent to formal analytic methods, not members concerns;focus on actions and immanent pegagogies, not learning; and, do hybrid studies.

These classroom activities were picked due to the researcher having access to the blackboard sites on which the recordings were stored. They were all students in human resource management, and were a mixture of post-graduate and undergraduate lecture/seminars. All were students with some experience of university-specific education delivered on campus.

These recordings were then observed and analysed and initial notes were made of phenomena that were later amenable to ethnomethodological description. These preliminary notes contribute to the corpus of knowledge on education practice and, specifically university education practice. The researcher also uses their own knowledge of the year to consider a priori understanding. As a participant of the social setting, the researcher will draw on their recognisable understanding of what to expect for all participants in that situation (Sacks,1963). The researcher is a university lecturer, with over ten years of experience of campus teaching, and also went through the experience of the sudden move to online teaching due to the pandemic. To understand the development of competence, the researcher has applied their own vulgar competence and other published studies to show how the competence developed over the year. To do ethnomethodological studies it is important to have a level of competence in the area studied, not just an appreciation of the principles (Macbeth 2012, 199). It is also important to consider what is recognisable to parties in the scenario (Sacks, 1995a,226).

HYBRID WORK PRACTICES AND
HYBRID STUDIES OF ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

Garfinkel (2002, 100-101, 1-17) identifies hybridity as a hybrid of research and professional, but there are other ways of understanding hybridity. These include terms such as hybrid professionals, where a subject expert hybridises their expertise with another role such as educating or managing (Machin 2017, 1-17); or hybrid learning, which is defined as taking students into a world of both face-to-face and online learning, without much differentiation between two domains (University of Edinburgh, accessed 2021). There are multiple hybridities at work in this situation. The lecturers are hybrid professionals and the process of moving online is a hybrid process. The process of hybridisation in action is underexplored, with Ikeya (2020) making some inroads into this. The hybridisation process as an accomplishment is a particular focus of this paper. In 2020, as the pandemic unfolded and the UK went into lockdown, it pushed universities to embark upon hybrid teaching models to carry on the work of university teaching and learning when there were massive constraints on social gatherings and many shifts throughout the year in how teaching could take place.

Through the examination of several virtual lectures that took place throughout the academic year of 2020-2021, this study seeks to understand the "ordinary society, not

occasionally but systematically, but therein ubiquitously" (Garfinkel 2002, 100) created. Observation of data from these online lectures will point to the social order of university classroom teaching as a members' phenomenon (Eglin and Hester 2003, 8-9), and highlight how both lecturers and students interactively achieved the process of hybridisation. Ikeya (2020) emphasises that how the hybridisation is studied for academics will be different than how it is studied for practitioners. This study aims to point to aspects of both. Students who attend a university do so with an understanding of how a lecture should work, especially part way through a semester, and lecturers also arrive at their lectures with competence of how to achieve a recognisable lecture. In the advent of the lockdown, this process changed. The students and lecturers in these studies started from a position of "weak" competence in virtual classroom practice but worked together to achieve something that was recognisable to both of them as a university class space.

In considering the process of hybridisation and the development of competence of the parties, observations of the data highlights how the parties work together to move from embodied action in the classroom setting to understand how to create a recognisable virtual classroom by negotiating the affordances, originally posited by Gibson in 1977, of the technical classroom (Natsoulas 2004, 324). By understanding the action possibilities within the environment, members use their a priori knowledge to create something recognisable to them all (Sacks, 1995a, 226). Computer-mediated communication (CMC), through an EM/CA lens, sees affordance as the actions of the participants reflexively creating the "relevant next' (Arminen, Licoppe & Spagnolli, 2016, 295) to produce the virtual teaching setting.

RELEVANCIES TO THE SETTING

The issue of relevance in EM/CA was first raised in Sacks's lectures (Sacks 1995a), but then developed further by others (Schegloff 1991, Hindmarsh & Llewellyn, 2018, 412). Circumstances provide for an order to the relevance of classes for the members of the parties. An issue of topical relevance (Sacks, 1995a, 101) to members in these recordings is the newness of the situation, and the recent events that had led to the new environment were hearably acknowledged in all these early classes, but not stated explicitly (Garfinkel 1967, 39). In this study, similar to Garfinkel's study (2002, 219-244), performance features of the lecture are shown as =()=. Given that the data explored were recordings, not all of them captured the aspects of =(the lecture has not begun)=; however, two of them did. As these early recordings were just after lockdown, the new surroundings and the start of lockdown were of topical relevance. Interactions such are "how are you?" were answered, taking into account the new situation. One lecturer replied, "I'm all right, are you all at home isolating?"; in another virtual classroom, a student asked, "are you enjoying working from home?"; one student stated they missed the classroom. The interactions in this section were the usual first part pairs of conversational sequences (ten Have 2007, 21). However, it was noticeable that there was a need to account for the recent phenomena of a change of circumstance. Not acknowledging this may be seen as a

breach of understanding of the relevant context (Garfinkel 1963). As Schegloff concludes (1991), for our responses to be deemed as adequately accountable, they will need to demonstrably relate to the context or be conditionally relevant. To overexplain would be incongruent, as much as it would be to ignore it (Garfinkel 1963).

It is also worth noting the operational relevance of the setting (Eglin and Hester 2003, 91). Not only is the virtual world new, it is also different to the physical world. Within the structural environment of a virtual world, the "what" of producing social order is operationally altered. This means the creation of a recognisable classroom will be a members' achievement of that phenomenon, through actions they deem to be relevant to the recognition of the classroom. As highlighted by Button and Sharrock (1995a, 107) designers attempt to simulate the real world in the virtual world, in the terminology used, such as having files and wastebins on your desktop.

A third area of consideration is that of omni- and contingently relevant categories. If we consider the categories of students and lecturers, and the category-bound nature of their membership, both the lecturer and the students here are aware of their participatory roles. Both students and lecturer are aware "there are some activities that are known to get done in that setting…they have priority," (Sacks, 1995a, 314), so the role of lecturer and student will be inferred and parties are obliged to act out that role. For the most part the role of lecturer and student will be omni-relevant; however there will be situations, such as during the process of hybridisation where other categories may contingently be used. Here we are looking at how the relevancies change within the hybridisation process. They have the unique adequacy (Garfinkel 2002, 175) of their roles of student and lecturer, but are developing their competency in this environment. The following sections investigate how members use their membership roles of lecturer and student, as already established to work collaboratively in their new environment, responding to each other to build competency in this new place of work. To do this they will make available these "enabling practices" (Button and Sharrock 1995b, 237) interactively to exhibit the tutorial problems to the other members. Whilst this is often a gloss, here they are immanent pedagogies (Lynch 1993, 273), which are created from switching through the omni-relevant and contingently relevant categories of their roles. These pedagogies are "elaborated" (Button and Sharrock 1995b, 239) to give the necessary detail for future vulgar competence.

DEVELOPING COMPETENCE PARTICIPATIVELY IN ONLINE LEARNING, IMMANENT PEDAGOGIES AND THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF LEARNING

By studying the collaborative work of both students and lecturers in this sudden process of hybridisation, there is an opportunity to understand how members master their practice. This is an emerging of "immanent pedagogies" (Lynch 1993, 273, Lindwall and Lymer 2005, 5). Here the focus is on the methods the members use to show what is recognisable to all as the methods to "master their practice" (Lynch 1993, 274).

Learning is generally seen as "off-limits" (Zemel and Koschmann, 2014, 163) as an ethnomethodological topic, as it is generally associated with cognitive activity, however, the observable action of how members collaborate to produce their recognisable social structure to show they are learning is worthy of study. The practice of interest in this study is not the practice of human resource management, as all classes that were observed were classes teaching this subject, but the practice of how to recognisably and accountably be part of an online classroom. The study here is of how the members make available to each other instructions to lead to a coherent sense of the space the members are in and create instructed action (Garfinkel 2002, 197-218) in this perspicuous setting. Students have been working most of the semester in a face-to-face environment. There is a built-up familiarity to their setting, which they use to show how the same social order can be achieved; these transcripts show how those same members come together in a different setting, a virtual one to show what they can all adequately recognise as their classroom (Sacks, 1995a, 237). All are new to the virtual environment where this is set, so the learning is observable through their interaction.

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1  L: So ( . ) i:ve sta:rted recording(,) ( . ) in caseyu want to say
2     anything contentious about something going ohhhn in your
3     organisation ( . )just so that you know↑ ( . ) Ime only going to
4     ( . ) record the lecture bit↑ ( . )um  I figure the seminar >we
5     do without< recording ¿ u::m ( . ) >and then < ( . )Julie on
6     Wednesday (0.2) .people can listen to this recording, ( . )and
7     then they can do the seminar bit↓
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Transcript 1

This lecturer is explaining how the classroom activities will be produced for the rest of the semester. This class had been run as an evening class, with a one-hour lecture and then a follow up seminar. The structure of the class had been designed for part-time post-graduate student attendance, and as alluded to in this transcript, the format was seen to be the same as in previous weeks with only minor tweaks. In line four, the lecturer states they are only going to record the lecture; there is an assumption of a priori knowledge that this is recognisable as what has happened in previous weeks. There was a timetabled class on a Monday and another one on a Wednesday by a different tutor for this module. The same lesson plan would be delivered at both. The lecturer is stating here a change to how things will be run. Due to constraints in the timetabling the recorded lecture from the Monday class will be listened to by the Wednesday group who will then have a seminar with the other tutor. This statement is hearable to the Monday group who will not really be affected by this, which raises the question of the topical relevance (Schegloff 1991, 49) of this account to the group. This is because the recording of this announcement will be used by the Wednesday class. As highlighted by Eglin (2009, 41) there is an invocation of various features of university-specific talk. A lecture, a seminar; these put into the context of this class that what is being said is also for the

Wednesday class. It is hearable for the next class. This statement is an invitation to the whole cohort (which makes up both these Monday and Wednesday groups) to show through their follow-up practices a collaboration in the process. The use of the words "I figure" in line five accounts for the newness of the state of play and indicates an invitation to the other members to accept this new way of working. Tyagunova and Greiffenhagen (2017) point to this collaborative work in their study of the ending of seminars and lectures. While it is seen as the role of the lecturer to close classroom work, they highlight that this is a collaborative function, of which the students also have a say. Previous studies point to teacher control inferring the constraint of the student (Mchoul 1978; Hustler and Payne 1980) but Tyagunova and Greiffenhagen (2017, 323) clearly indicate this as a collaborative effort of both lecturers and students.

In transcript 1, the announcement by the lecturer acknowledges this as a cohort issue; a wider university-recognisable feature, and this invites the cohort to accept the change. In the Monday group (in which the announcement took place) the lack of response to indicate any differently acts as consent, taking into account the omni-relevant category of the lecturer as in control. Here it is known that the lecturer holds the floor, therefore unless expressly stated otherwise, this is recognised to be the case. The lecturer invites the opportunity for =(complaints)= (Garfinkel 2002, 243), but these are not taken up. The invitation to complain comes through the use of "I figure"; students can be against the new process, but only if they say so. The recording and the asynchronous communication of it to the Wednesday group allows for the category of student to take up a contingently relevant action of =(complain)= (Whitehead and Baldry, 2018, 137) if the suggestion is not considered to meet the requirements of satisfactory for the cohort. Whilst =(complaints)= are seen as a performance feature, absence of a response indicates that everything is fine. The lecturer carries on with their priority of holding the floor, in line with the role in the classroom. This first transcript is a good example of both lecturer and students carrying out their omni-relevant roles of proposing the class lesson plan and accepting it.

In this second transcript we explore further the omni-relevant and contingently-relevant categories of lecturer and student and how they are used in the building of competence.

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1   L: And also hello, um (.)  Sophia (.) a:nd Monica who have just
2        joined us↓.[
3   M: some of us were in, um (.) picked the whhhrong link the wrong
4        link (.) we were in the to:p one, (.)not the bottom one
5        ((laughs))[sorry][no]
6   L: [oh okay] sorry (.) fault]
7   M: [nhho] our fault  (.) hhhh]
8   L: [gla::d you:ve joined us then (.) >youve missed the quiz< (.) but
9        thats my fault (.) I thought Ide try the link (.) and actually I
10       thought you could go in just through the (.) er ordinary bit (.)
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11    and then realised that you carnt↓(.) so I should have put↑ a
12    message in there↓ or something shouldn't I? (.) >Anyway< thank
13    you for joining ((inaudible interruption)) us now (.) >is there
14    anyone else still< the::re? (1.0)
15 M: I let evryone kno:w that had joined (.) it was Albert(.)
16    Elisabeth (.) em Martin and Maria (.)I think that the::yve ((cuts
17    out))
18 L: you ha:vent >missed anything because I am still on the learning
19    objectives< (.) > Anyway< (.) um so we:re looking at freedom of
20    association (.) collective bargaining and also  (.) organising
21    industrial disputes
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<div align="right">Transcript 2</div>

In the transcript 2 =(the lecture has begun)= when an =(interruption)= occurs. The lecturer =(stops lecturing)= acknowledging the entrance of some new members. This is an easily ignored issue, as participants enter silently and join with the others. There are many occasions when people coming into the lecture theatre are not acknowledged, and the lecture carries on. However, on this occasion, the lecturer stops and acknowledges their entrance. During an online session, a student can leave and come back multiple times, which often happens. Generally, this happens without comment; however, the entering of these two students is about 20 minutes into the lecture. The lecturer could easily ignore it but chooses to comment (cf. Garfinkel 2002, 230).

The category of lecturer gets priority of the floor, with the result that the lecturer is allowed long stretches of talk without interruption (Francis & Hester 2004, 55). This presumes it would be easy, then, given the silent and unobtrusive nature of which the students enter virtually into the room, for the lecturer to ignore this late entry, but they do not; they =(attend)= to it. The late entry of a student is seen as of topical relevance. Given that the students are arriving noticeably late, and all are still developing competence in online teaching methods, the lecturer is attending to it as an accountable phenomenon. This can be seen as an initiation of a troubles-talk (Jefferson, 1988). By attending to the arrival of the two students, the lecturer is seen to be giving up their "right" to talk, there is an expectation of a response, although this is not always taken up, so the student sees this as an inquiry and gives an announcement as to why. A troubles-talk is an acknowledgment of the newness of the situation, providing for a need to account for it; technology troubles are often discussed in classrooms.

In transcript 2 once the student has announced the problem, the lecturer then attends to the problem by giving an account of their own (mis)understanding, making light of the issue, but also considering how best to avoid the issue again, with the suggestion of putting up a note. The lecturer here states "I should", similar to the use of "I figure" in week one. Such words indicate hesitation or further consideration. In this early time all participants work to show understanding of the methods they use. This opens the floor to the other participants to respond. In Transcript 1, the use of "I figure" in line five does

not get a response, but in Transcript 2 the use of "I should" in line 13 leads to a student response. In transcript 1, no response is seen as consent, as in general, the lecturer has the right to the floor (Francis and Hester, 2004). In Transcript 2, again, although the troubles-telling continues, the suggestion of needing a note is not responded to. The lecturer shows further affiliation by welcoming the student once again and checking to see if others are affected. The response from the student is to account for a repair to the problem by announcing that they have informed the other students how to enter the virtual room correctly.

When the lecturer asks in line 16 (Transcript 2) "is there anyone else still there?" they are offering a correction-invitation device (Sacks, 1995a, 380), to which the student responds with a preferred response, designed for the situation (Sacks, 1995b, 390). This response is, "I let everyone know." Once again, the contingently relevant category of student complaining comes into action but with a quick repair once the initial breach of "competent lecturer" has been acknowledged. The lecturer then reclaims the floor, by declaring that the students have not missed much, thus indicating that the lecture will once again, =(proceed)=

By letting everyone know, the student is also orienting to the group and the purpose of the group. An omni-relevant category of this group is that the students are part of a cohort, and are expected to be in the lecture. By accounting for the action of telling the other students what has happened, the student both acknowledges the lecturer's role of taking the lecture, and of the students as part of a group. Transcript 2 also hearably shows how the virtual classroom is different from an actual classroom. The trouble referred to is how to know where to go for the lecture, as this week there is a specific link set up, but in the previous week the students all joined the "course room" link for the lecture (see below).

Figure 1 shows that there is a "course room" and other links. These lead to different virtual classrooms. The setting up of a new virtual classroom caused confusion about where to go to. Whereas explanations were seen as unnecessary in the first stages of lockdown, here no explanation caused confusion. Button and Sharrock (1995b, 254) note that the role of the designers of technology is to understand its role to enable vulgar competence, but somehow here, there was a confusion of the users. This could be "weak" competence but is also something for designers to consider.

As the weeks progress, the lecturer is gaining familiarity with the tools, but there are still potential pedagogical issues. When to explain and when not to explain are also issues of relevance and a chance to give instructed action (Garfinkel 2002). Both the lecturer and the students are oriented to making available how to use the tools for online learning to make a better experience for all. This will be further explored in the next section.

HUMAN-COMPUTER INTERACTION WITH THE DESIGN FEATURES OF BLACKBOARD COLLABORATE AND OTHER TOOLS USED

Drawing on Garfinkel's (2002) understanding of the situated nature of space in the class-room and Francis and Hester's (2004) understanding of roles due to this phenomenon, it is worth noting the visual cues available to all in the virtual room.
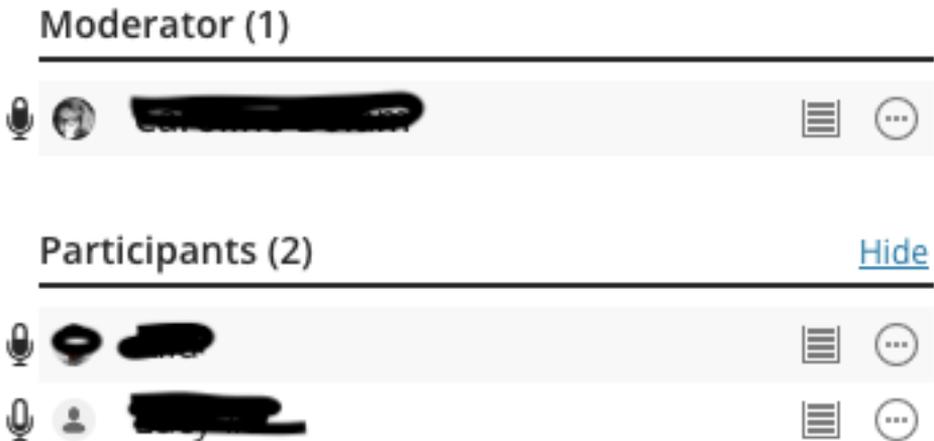

Figure 2: How places are held in the virtual classroom

Figure 2 shows how places are =(held)= in the room. The moderator appears at the top of the room, the participants then appear below the moderator. The names of the participants appear in a list. The lecturer is labelled as a moderator, a virtual indication of standing at the lectern and working at the computer; participants are listed below in a similar way; there is a picture (if they have uploaded one into the system) and their name. In the virtual setting it is known that the moderator has more functionality than a participant. The microphone symbol next to the moderator indicates who currently has a "voice" to speak. When the microphone is coloured in, it indicates the person is speaking, so the participants can see who is creating the voice that can be heard. In these early cases, all participants were able to turn on their microphones giving them rights to speak. However, the moderator can mute them if they choose; it is notable that this option of forcible muting did not occur in any of the recordings. There is no ability to mute at the click of a button in an actual classroom, and in general, moderators did not

engage in this task. The visual cues are different, and the social order is much more reliant on human interaction than mechanical engineering.

The mentioning of the recording starting can be seen as is a significant feature of =(the lecture has begun)=. There is often a statement to tell the students that the recording has been started. This can be seen in transcripts 1 and 3. Eglin (2009, 44) and Francis and Hester (2004, 52) highlight the use of a handout and a greeting as the start of the lecture. These studies also consider the situatedness of the lecturer, their place in the room and their activities that indicate their role. The speaking of the moderator and the announcement of the recording indicate the omni-relevance of the lecturer as starting the activity. Garfinkel (2002, 228) points to this notion in his work. In the lecture, he observes the lecturer is placed at the front and writing on a board prior to the start of the lecture, turning to the students who have been =(taking and holding places)= by settling into the room. The students are attuned to look for the signs that the =(lecture will begin)=.

A performance feature missing from a virtual classroom is the grouping of students =(together)=, any decision over who to sit with or engage with cannot happen; however, students can "chat" (using the chat function or by turning on the microphone) to interactively show they are together. Students can also chat with other individuals (but not groups) outside of the public sphere, but unlike when groups mingle in a classroom, this is not an accountable phenomenon of the virtual classroom; it is only available to the two students in their private chat. This reduces some of the =(interruptions)= that would be a social phenomenon in a real class. The social facticity of interruptions is different in the virtual classroom.

Participants must draw on the tools available in creating the ongoing order that "makes a university" (Eglin 2009, 40). Transcript 1 highlights the ongoing nature of the university. By announcing how the lecture will be used for the other group, the lecturer is hearably acknowledging an aspect of what makes this lecture part of a wider phenomenon: a university; it is more than this one virtual classroom. From how this is announced, participants may infer that this is a class that exists within many other classes.

```
1  L: Sta:rt recording> (.8) okay this is very exciting> (2)  oh (.)
2     fo:r gods sake↓ (3) now¿(.)<anyway (.) um (.) are we still↑ (.8)
3     *okay* (.8) >yep oh right yep<(.) right now, where was i? (1.0)
4     okay (.)moving on, >right okay< (.)so:o um right (.) So what is
5     important then (.) in the employee experience?
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Transcript 3

In transcript 3, the utterances that may seem not to state anything (Sacks 1995a, 96) the lecturer makes hearable to the other participants' activity that would usually be visible rather than hearable. If no such utterances occurred, a long silence would be seen with no evidence of anything taking place on the screen. The lecturer, therefore, makes hearable to the participants the preparing for the lecture, to demonstrate themselves as

getting ready for =(doing lecturing work)=. These sounds take the place of what would be visible in the classroom. This is of operational relevance.
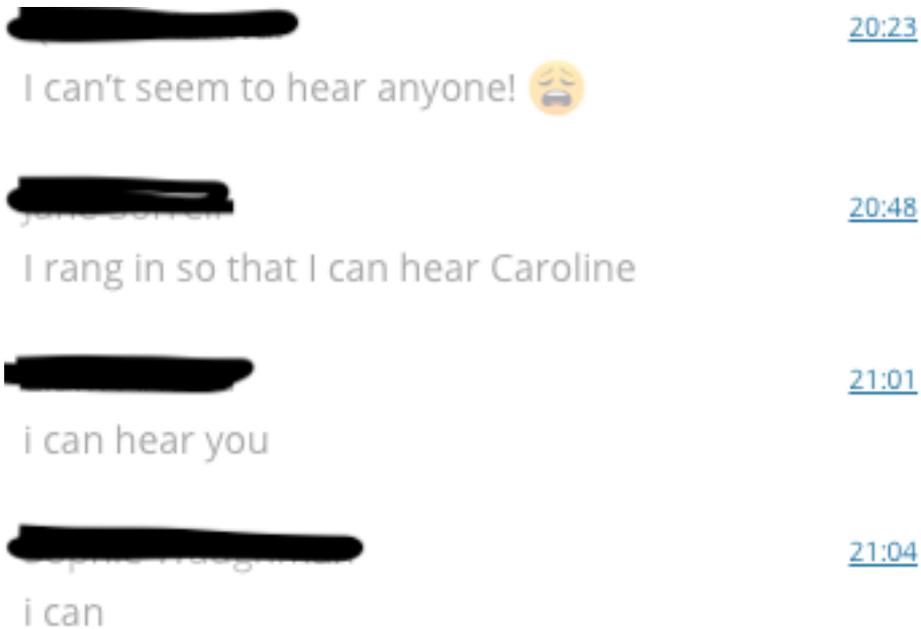

I can't seem to hear anyone! 😩   20:23

I rang in so that I can hear Caroline   20:48

i can hear you   21:01

i can   21:04

Figure 3

Figure 3 shows the conversation in the chatbox around issues of hearing and how to work the technology better. There is more than one way to connect with the online virtual environment, as all members are mastering this new technology together. A chat takes place amongst the participants or students about how best to hear the lecture, and this is happening at the same time as the lecturer is speaking. What is visible in the interaction is fact-finding about the issue of how to hear the lecture. The use of an emoji shows this is not yet serious, but another student can offers a solution. Members are engaged in reflexively making sense of the environment (Garfinkel, 1967, 32). There is ongoing work amongst the students of the group to hear the lecture. The other two responses in the chat also show orientation to the preferred response; they assure all that they can hear and also show they are =(interested parties)=, by hearably helping others. These are =(interruptions)=, but also a way for the students to show they are attending to the lecture. Whilst there is the option for students to have their camera on, and show they are attending visually, this is rarely used. But using the chat function is an indicator of student engagement. This indicates to the lecturer the students are not AFK (away from keyboard), but are engaged in the lecture.

In these transcripts (1 & 2), "immanent pedagogies" (Lynch 1993, 273) are shown. Through the contingently relevant activities, the parties of lecturer and student make available the methods used to create the classroom activities. As Lynch states, the already

understood knowledge is inseparable from the new environment, and by drawing on what is already known, the members make available new ways of working together.

SHOP FLOOR PROBLEMS

The shop floor problem was of interest to Garfinkel (2002, 95) as the detailed action that is attended to by members, but that generic descriptions fail to demonstrate any fundamental understanding of (Maynard 2012, 93).

Maynard describes it by pointing to what people *do* to eliminate issues rather than what are *said* to be the issues. From observations and also from ethnographic data, two shop floor problems came to light from the move to online learning. A performance feature of an attentive student will be their interactions in the chatbox as shown in previous examples. The chat deals with the shop floor problem for students of how to show they are not AFK. At the same time, a shop floor problem for lecturers is how to deal with students being AFK.

Shop floor problem #1: [complaining about "AFK"]

In one of the later lectures I observed this issue of AFK was =(attended)= to by the lecturer, who commented on this phenomenon and offered the solution of allowing students to change when put into virtual groups. This account is made available to the students to show that the lecturer is aware of the problem and is attentive to the issue for students. This issue of being stuck in groups with students who are AFK was also a =(complaint)= raised by =(interested parties)=. Garfinkel (2002, 243) highlights complaints as a performance feature of university work. He is referring to a complaint as a disruption in the lecture, breaking the "island of order" (pg 243). The issue, therefore, needed to be =(attended to)=.

Shop floor problem #2: [complaining about asynchronous learning]

Once the semester finished in May 2020, the university organised a summer programme of learning for all lecturers to be better equipped to deliver online teaching and learning. In line with understanding the application of this theoretical approach to online teaching rather than face-to-face teaching, module leaders were then instructed to consider how they wanted to incorporate asynchronous lectures into their modules. Timetables did not change to reflect this, but each module leader could decide if a portion of the timetabled allocation could be delivered asynchronously through recordings, that the students could access in their own time.

The theoretical approach put forward as better for online teaching was to provide some asynchronous lectures, but this was a new delivery method for the students. This led to the performance feature of =(complaints)= (Garfinkel 2002, 243). The complaint is a way for students to account for student satisfaction or dissatisfaction at the ongoing

order of the formal characteristic of the university, by the telling of that complaint (Weider 1974, 172) Such accounting practices allow for the acceptance or rejection of the change. Here the =(complaint)= is considering the role of the university in a wider context (Eglin, 2009, 42).

Further to the summer learning programme and the choice of delivery being left to module leaders, approximately halfway through the semester, there was an email exchange with the student representatives for a course. The student representative informed the course leader that some students were not happy about the asynchronous format, and some were happy. Raising this issue as a telling of student dissatisfaction (Weider 1974) to the course leader about the changes to the model of delivery and led to a further exchange from the course leader to explain why this change occurred, an email to students to gather their feedback and a further discussion from the module leader to all the students. The change to asynchronous learning remained, but for this to be recognised as university practice, there was a need for a telling of the rationale for the method to bring a group orientation to the issue. It needed to be made available to all parties. The telling of student satisfaction is a "method of moral persuasion and justification" (Weider 1974, 175). Accounting for this change allows for the activities to be "coherently organized and meaningful".

WITH VULGAR COMPETENCE, ESTABLISHING SOCIAL ORDER

The next two transcripts and figures are taken from lectures in the first semester of the academic year after the lecturers had taken part in the online learning programme. By now, the level of competence was more established for all parties.

```
1   L: Right (.) º recordingº (.) right okay↑ (.) um↑ oo::h (.) with the
2      reco:rded sessions (.)  I do:nt think I have done this yet (.)
3      but um (.)Ime going to put them in (.) um (.) ime going to put
4      them in (.) Ime going to conve:rt them to Panopto session so that
5      you can .hh easily skips things if yude like that (.) so will do
6      (.) and um  (.) I hope to have that done by tomorrow n that all
7      the lectures then be on (.) on blackboard under uer um (.) er
8      (.) ºPanopto recordingsº <that's where Ime gonna put all the
9      lectures (.)if that's alright ↑ yeah? (.) Y:h? (.) >right< oka:y.
10     (.) So lets move on ((moves to second slides))
```

Transcript 4

In transcript 4, once again, the lecturer uses the announcement of the recording to state that =(the lecture has begun)=. The lecturer then proceeds to make an announcement of an intention. This intention states to the students about a change in how the technology will be conveyed. This indicates hearably to the student actions that will take place as university work, outside of this virtual classroom. The recording will move to a

different place in their virtual platform. It is presented that this is for the benefit of the students, and it is important that this is accounted for to help with the practical accomplishment of =(doing learning)=. This means there will be a change in how the students interact with the technology. This is also presented as a chance for a recipient to respond, similar to a storytelling (Sacks 1995a, 790), with the use of "if that's a:right" in line 12. However, only small gaps are given showing the intention to carry on, then the slide visible to the students is moved and it is announced through "let's move on". Whilst studies of timings of gaps have been very precise, Heldner & Edlund, (2010) indicate that this is less precise than initially argued, however they also note that the measure of gaps particularly in consideration of "floor" rights can indicate invitations (or not) to speak, as is highlighted here. The moving of the slide is also an indication of setting the =(pace)= (Garfinkel, 2002, 234).

Storytelling goes through particular stages, such as obtaining and retaining the floor. It is evident that the lecturer is not actively inviting a response, but conversing in "fresh talk" (Goffman 1981, 171), demonstrating that they are telling a story, and that they intend to keep doing so. By conveying their actions in such a way and anticipating no response, they show their intention, closing any response with "let's move on". The lecturer is accounting for the fact they have more rights to the floor than the students. The use of "I am going" also puts it forward as a statement; this differs from earlier examples when the lecturers were developing competence and making available their own learning and actively inviting a response. In Transcript 4, "I am going to" does not invite a response in the way that "I figure" or "I should" do, but there is a polite "if that's a:right". This is more of an instruction to students. No response shows an understanding of the nature of this communication. This interaction is an indication of the omni-relevance of action priorities for the lecturer (Schegloff 2005, 241). Hearably, the lecturer highlights the use of many technologies and acknowledges how the student should interact with them, thus indicating more than just this virtual platform, but many platforms. It is also an indicator to the students of the ongoing social order and the need to use the recording for further work, again showing to ongoing nature of university work (Eglin 2009). Each class has such indications to show the relevance of the semester and the wider university to all parties present.

```
1  L: Oka::y (.) bringing you :ll back↑ (.) it all looked very quiet in
2     thehhre (.hh)(laughs)(.)
3  S: Yeah (.) so (.) we:ve got like er (.) four examples like
4     consisten breaks]
5  L: [four examples (.) excellent (.) hang on a minute (.) what we:re
6     going to do (.)Ime sharing the whiteboard ((blank whiteboard
7     appears)(1.0) erm (.)I dont mind doing the wri:ting↑ give me four
8     examples (2.0) go on Ahmed(.) tell me¿
9  S: (.)so do I need to write it down?
10 L: (.)no (.) Iall write it (.) you speak (.)
```

11 S: (.)err (.) consistent breaks (.)
12 L: (.)consistent breaks(.) how often does that mean?(1.0)
13 S: Mmmm (.)<like once every two hou:rs>?
14 L: (.)once (.) every two hours (.)okay?(.)
15   ((Text appears on the online whiteboard it says consistent breaks
16   — once every two hours))
17 S: so making sure er they off
18 L: so (.) making su::re you (.) have a day off↑ (.) okay (.)
19 S: so then er]
20 L: [but you should be timetabled for >no more than three days<]
21   ((Text appears on the online whiteboard saying making sure you
22   have a day off))
23 S: [yh
24 L: (.)okay (.)what else↑ (.)
25 S: so wh:e wh:ere talking about a helpline(.) like to (.) err (.)
26   ssomewhere w:where you can like call (.) to somebody (.8) if you
27   are feeling (.) ba:d (.)
28 L: (.)f you are feeling ba:d? (.)
29 S: so helpli:ne (.)
30 L: okay↑ (.) Ive put helpline> (.) somewhere you can call if you are
31   fee:li:ng bad (.)that should say (.) okay↑(0.8)
32   ((Text appears on the white board — Helpline — somewhere you can
33   call somebody if you are feeling bad))
34 S: And then just (.) making sure for are like treating well↑ (3.0)
35   (Boxes put around the words on the whiteboard, to indicate the
36   different points)
37 L: okay↑ (.) those are fou:r things (.) thank you (.) that was group
38   (.)Ahmedsss group waa::s(.) group two.(.)
39 L: So group two (.) thank you for your contribution↑ (.)any other
40   groups? (.) group one? Karen Laura and Michele↓
41   ((Silence for 4 seconds, and then "Making sure you feel treated
42   well" appears on the whiteboard.
43   Another 4 seconds of nothing))
44   ((Two squares appear on the whiteboard))
45 L: Please stop drawing (.)for me(.) whoever is drawing, Ime making
46   this so that I can take it back to the powers that beee(.) Group
47   1? (.8)or Group 3? You had two examples
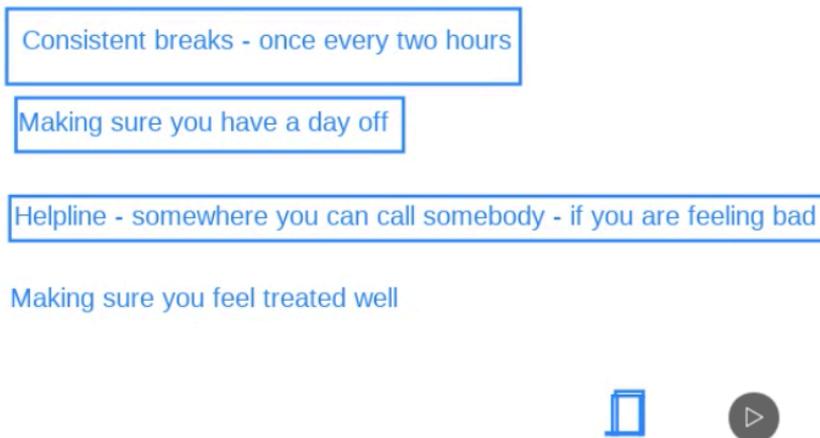48   ((Appears in the chat)

Consistent breaks - once every two hours

Making sure you have a day off

Helpline - somewhere you can call somebody - if you are feeling bad

Making sure you feel treated well

Figure 5

01:41:34

We had two examples. Personally reading my bible, praying and exercising really helps with my mental health. Maybe giving out vouchers or discounts for fitness related equipments Would help motivate them to exercise
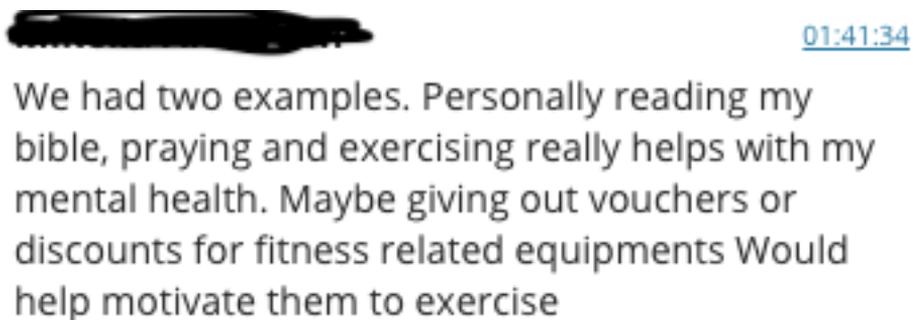
Figure 6

In transcript 5, the students have been sent to break-out groups. Upon returning to the "main room", the lecturer starts by instructing a student that they will write up on the whiteboard what the students want to feedback from their group. One student audibly responds to this and gives feedback, on which the lecturer commentates, at the same time as writing. The commentary of =(typing up)= is accounting for the action that cannot be seen. Garfinkel (2002) highlights the actions of the lecturer writing on the whiteboard to show the role of the lecturer as more than just a person standing at the front of the class. In the virtual classroom, it is not visible who is typing on the whiteboard, so the lecturer says the words with gaps between each word to account for them typing on the whiteboard. The commentary of the lecturer "fills" what is missing visibly (Button & Sharrock, 1995a, 239).

Once the feedback has been given from one group (or one student from one group) via the microphone function, the lecturer then asks for another group to give their

feedback. There are seconds of no response, and at the same time, squares appear on the whiteboard (see figure 5). The lecturer =(attends)= to these drawings; their words indicate it is not the lecturer that is drawing. Again, making accountable this breach (Garfinkel, 1963). They invoke the category of lecturer, stating an intention to share this with more important people and ask the parties involved in the action, to stop the drawing on the whiteboard, and these lines then disappear. The statement in line 61 is an MIR (membership, inference rich, representative) membership categorisation device (Sacks, 1995a 41) to establish that the lecturer is in charge. By pointing out that they have access to people higher in the organisation they infer their priority over the students. Whoever is drawing on the whiteboard is doing so anonymously, but this simple reference to authority stops this action.

With feedback from the first group, the student follows the instruction of the lecturer and offers feedback audibly, and this starts the established order, of the student feeding back and the lecturer writing. After the first feedback is given, the lecturer then invites further feedback, which results in seconds of no response and a further prompt by the lecturer. Again there are further seconds of no response. The lecturer then speaks, "you had two examples', but this is the lecturer reading what has been typed into the chat, not spoken (see figure 6). The second group choose to feedback in the chat, not through the use of the microphone. The instruction of speaking is not followed but adapted by the student.

In a physical classroom, feedback is given through the use of students presenting work, often with a whiteboard or flipchart and then spoken work. The whiteboard is an interactive device that is used for the creation of symmetry (Llewellyn and Hindmarsh 2010, 33) in the learning process (Mondada and Svinhufvud, 2016, 2). The visual aspect of the production of the writing is not visible in the virtual classroom through the embodied act of writing, so the visual is made hearable. The use of speaking is also adapted to writing, as the second group to feed back choose to type their response into the chat and then the lecturer makes it hearable to all parties. These asymmetries of interaction are then the problem of the lecturer who creates symmetry by then turning them into something audible, by reading out what is written or by writing what is spoken. As well as it being recognised that the lecturer has the floor, these also show to all present that the lecturer must make congruent the delivery for all, and make it recognisable as a classroom activity.

CONCLUSION

At a time of mass disruption on an international level, many aspects of ordinary life such as work, education and social functions have been brought into question. Over the time of the pandemic there have been many articles questioning the value of the university experience (see Hall, 2021, Jeffreys 2021), There are also headlines indicating that hybrid teaching is likely to remain (Gentile 2020, THE accessed 2021), so understanding how it fits with the expectations of those participants engaged in the process is important for

ongoing satisfaction of those parties involved. By drawing on data from a number of recorded lectures that all took place since the first lockdown of the global pandemic on 23rd March 2020, it helps to uncover the taken for granted in the classroom. By considering the data against previous works done on university classrooms and considering differences this papers seeks to highlight the "underlying normative regularities" (Hindmarsh and Llewellyn 2010, 427). The paper set out with four specific research aims, each of which will be considered in turn.

The first aim of the paper was to consider how participants create a recognisable university classroom in a virtual environment, when they have been working in an actual classroom environment. All participants in the data were used to working on campus and teaching in actual classrooms and the observations drawn from the data show how they draw on the recognisable features of a classroom in this new and unfamiliar environment to carry on the social order, through their interaction. In line with the research on human computer interaction, the design features of the system, blackboard collaborate are set up to replicate a classroom, and the data observes how individuals use those recognisable names to carry on the creation of the semester. In uncovering the details of this sudden move to online learning and the use of the technology, this research shows how the use of the technology is designed to recreate the classroom, and also uncovers aspects that may create incongruities in the interaction, as the computer abstractions and the human interaction are not accounted for in the same way. By looking at this sudden move to online teaching, the examination of the interactions of the parties involved is an interesting study as all parties have not yet reached a level of vulgar competence. As highlighted by Randall and Hughes (1995), training of the incorporation of computers into the workplace is often overlooked. A lot of work has been done since Randall and Hughes' research, to improve manuals and access to systems, however with the sudden lockdown this data was an opportunity to see how, given the speed of the change, individuals made sense of the environment in situ, rather than through preparation, and therefore the design features of the system used, Blackboard Collaborate can be seen as enabling devices (Rooke and Seymour 2005). This is outlined in the fourth aim, of considering how the technology design contributes to the social order. By looking at the interactions, asymmetries in vulgar competence become apparent and this can contribute to the systems design to highlight to both designers and practitioners how to better design and use the technology. The example of feedback through multiple ways in transcript 5 and figures 5 and 6 and the anonymity of writing, is a good example of how practices are altered by members to create incongruities of flow in the practice. This is useful to both designers in consideration of their online classroom and also for practitioners learning how to use the functions of the system.

Another particular area of interest within the paper is the area of hybrid studies, and in particular how the parties use "immanent pedagogies" (Lynch 1993) to develop their vulgar competence. This is an area that is under-developed in the research (Ikeya 2020). By observing the use of omni relevant and contingently relevant categories of membership in the data, this paper shows how these are used to develop competence in this

sudden hybridisation process. All members started with a weak level of competence of the online teaching process, and looking at how they developed their competence contributes to this area of hybrid studies research. The use of categories is used to enable the social order to carry on and be recognisable to the parties whilst allowing them to demonstrate their learning of new skills in the process.

As universities enter another year affected by the pandemic, this article shows the relevancies of the university classroom and how the wider aspects are incorporated into that classroom. This paper indicates the ongoing work of the university in its bid to create ongoing social order in how work is achieved to show value of the educational process to its members.

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