

In Figure VII, we offer a linear schematic of the problem solving activities of the children in the group. In form, it is much like the kind of analysis Simon could offer of problem solving, in that it breaks the task down into various steps and shows how the solution of the problem at one step, one subgoal, leads the subject logically to the next step in the solution process. For example, when the social order is disrupted by the adult-imposed pairings the members create a state of anarchy by openly complaining, offering alternatives, and threatening not to do anything. These activities have the consequence of Mike backing off, of allowing members of two pairs to switch (D, E and F). At this point, the context of anarchy has ceased, but B, who had temporarily assented to being with G and stopped complaining, suddenly and loudly says "I wanna be with A!" However, Mike will not allow any more complaints and so what worked for E and F will not work for B. The complaints of E and F, Mike's letting them be together, B's subsequent complaint, and Mike's put-down of it all have consequences for the ongoing changes in contexts and behaviors. From this point on, complaints are not part of the task environment; they have helped to create a new environment, with the members' activities respondent to and reinforcing this change.

But there is an important difference in how we understand the problem that is before the children and the understanding represented in our make-shift flow diagram. We do not assume

a well-defined task, and we have no limits on acceptable solutions to the problems the children face. More importantly, the children themselves have little idea of what the completed problems will look like until they get there. (This is not all that different for subjects in the Simon, Reed and Siegler experiments, of course, but this fact remains hidden by the methodology that insists on clearly defined tasks which measure the responses of the awaiting organisms). The solution can be, as it is on other days, that Mike insists on certain working pairs; another solution is that some get into the dyad they want and others do not; a third solution is that they all achieve the dyad they prefer (with the exception of G). Only ongoing events can make clear just what the solution of the day will be. The children will be involved in these events of course, and the specifics of their behavior will determine the specifics of the solutions they achieve.

At this point, it is important to remember our first criterion for an adequate analysis of relation between the task and the behavior of the children. Figure VII does not do this job adequately, for it simply lays out the new stimulus conditions for people to respond to across time. A finer analysis would only locate more stimuli, and, as interesting as that would be, we would still have no idea how the stimuli came to be organized and attended to in the way that they are. While the task environment-behavior relations can be seen as continually being formulated, such an analysis is still static and does not take

into account the criteria of reflexivity and the locatability of activities in hierarchies of contexts.

In Figure VIII (a,b,c), we offer an alternative schematic for understanding problem solving in the getting organized portion of the cooking club. This is a taxonomy of behavioral contexts used by the group members in organizing concerted activity with each other. We take it that the essential task before all people in everyday life is to achieve sufficient answers to the question of "what's going on here?" which they continually put to each other and each to him/herself. This taxonomy of contexts constitute possible answers to these questions.

We read the chart as follows. The cooking club is the largest context available on our tapes, although references to many other contexts, to school, to homes, to life in the larger community, to sexist and racist mores, etc., are sometimes made available. The context of the cooking club is apparently quite informative and constraining, as none of the nine participants leave the cooking room for long (and they make elaborate and culturally prescribed excuses when they do; e.g., Can we go to the bathroom?). The cooking context appears broken up into a few parts which figure prominently in the members dealings with each other. Getting organized seems to be the first major division of the day, and it appears crucial to us. It is followed by the actual making of the cakes, the baking of the

cakes, and finally by the eating of the cakes. We have not examined these as closely. The getting organized part of the session can be further organized into two foci for the children's attention, the first being the settling down and exploring that the children do as they first enter the room and the presentation of the proposed order for cooking the cakes by Nelda and Mike. Their second focus of attention is the alteration of that proposed order.

In the course of altering the proposed order, there are two further subdivisions, namely, getting into pairs and keeping G out of any of the established pairs and working instead with Mike. Our breakdown of these contexts is quite elaborate (Figure VIII b,c), and a reading of the bottom boxes in the two charts gives the reader something of a narrative of activities by the group members during the getting organized portion of the cooking club. We are not making any claims yet for the reality of these contexts in the interpersonal dealings of the members, although we suspect that most of them are adequate glosses on how the children and adults understand their situation and come to act upon it from one moment to the next. When we can make claims for the adequacy of our description of the lived environments of the members, we will have a much firmer grasp on the possibility of describing the members' mental activities which occur in terms of these environments. For the present purposes, we ask the reader to assume an adequate description of the contexts members use in their dealings with each other, so that we can illustrate what a description of their mental activities might look like.

Recall that our first criterion demands that we document, on the one hand, how the task environment grasps a person, holds their attention, leads them from step to step along a solution line and, finally, informs them of when a solution has been reached, and, on the other hand, how the person involved helps to organize that environment so that the task is easily locatable and the next action necessarily a response to the environment just established. Let's just consider how A and B locate and solve their problem and wind up working together.

We can pick up the action at the beginning of the Pair Negotiations

section of Getting in Pairs (Figure VIIIC). There was a natural order picked by the children. This was disrupted by the formulated order given by the adults, although after E and F get together, it is clear that the formulated order is not invincible. So A tries to complain her way into a pairing with B, but Mike disallows the complaint, and the two children hit on a more subtle approach to the solution of their problem. B, who is stuck with C, and D, who is stuck with Mike, try to find out whom G would like to be with, for if they can engineer G to work with Mike, A would be free to work with B and D would be free to work with C. Once it is clear that G is not hungry to work with A, A and B whisper to each other and initiate their bathroom caper. The result is that A and B become a pair, G leaves the room, and C and D become a pair. When G returns, he is paired with Mike.

Let's consider the task environment facing A after her complaint is disallowed. Her problem is that she wants to work with B, and her first effort is rebuffed. But the problem remains alive, continues to hold her attention and leads her to a next step. E and F stand as testimony that her problem can be solved, and B, D, and G continue to keep the discussion open in a way that is not censored by Mike or Nelda. Their discussion makes clear that one possible solution is the dumping of G and Mike into the same pair. On any occasion A might ask herself the "What's happening?" question, the task environment of getting organized is available at a glance. Only E and F are actively working on the making of their cake. Everyone else is standing by, announcing as it were, the answer to A's "What's happening?" query. There is no escape from the problem, short of a drastic reordering of the hierarchy of contexts which frame the answers A receives to her queries. This is a possibility, of course, but we should be able to discover the conditions for its occurrence. Where a reordering

does not occur, it is possible for us to see how the ongoing developments in the task environment engages A in its solution.

At the same time, if we look carefully at A's behavior, we should be able to see how A helps to organize the task environment so that her next behavior, her response, is a response to the task environment, the stimulus, she has helped to constitute. In fact, the stimulus becomes a stimulus by virtue of the anticipation by A of the response to the stimulus conditions A helps to generate. All the while children B,D and G keep the question of pairings open, they do so with A as their environment. A is involved in producing the conditions of the task environment she is asked to work on. In this way, we can see that the task environments worked on by the children of this group, the task environments in terms of which they produce the particular problem solving mental activities that they do, are not just given by the experimenter. Instead, we have a record of how the task environment and the children's behavior is mutually constituted. Thus, our first criterion for an adequate description of the children's problem solving behavior has been in principle with the example analysis of A behavior in getting organized with the other children into pairs.

At this point, we have very little to say concerning our other two criteria. We can speak a little to the second criterion, specifying the differences between different contexts and the mental activities each of them occasions. We have begun to look at how "getting organized" gets done in other cooking clubs. One session, in particular, is intriguing for comparative purposes with the present session. A few months after the original cake baking, we decided to "replicate the experiment," by having the same children, in the same adult-imposed pairings, make the same four cakes. It became immediately apparent that the cognitive psychologists' requirement of systematic variation is impossible in a natural setting: B (who had worked with A continually from the time of the session described above), announced upon entering the room, "A, I can't work with you today. I'm gonna work with D." So much for replication. At any rate, we have just started to analyze the second cake-baking session, and our informed intuition is that there are specifiable differences and similarities in terms of the mental work that gets done.

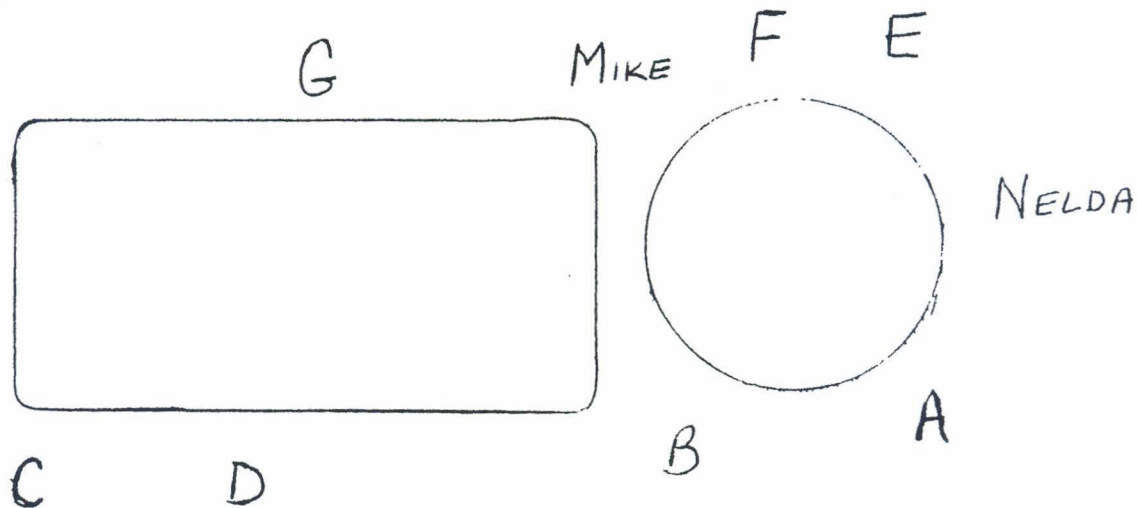
About our third criterion, that any mental activity must be generalizable in terms of the multiple contexts which frame the particular organization of task environments and behavior under analysis, we can say nothing at this point. Considerable success with the first two criteria will have to be achieved before progress with this last criterion will be possible. It is a worthwhile goal for our labors, for meeting such a criterion

will not only join several branches of our social sciences into a single effort, but will offer us the possibility of making generalizable statements about how people engage in different kinds of mental activities in particular contexts.

# SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS

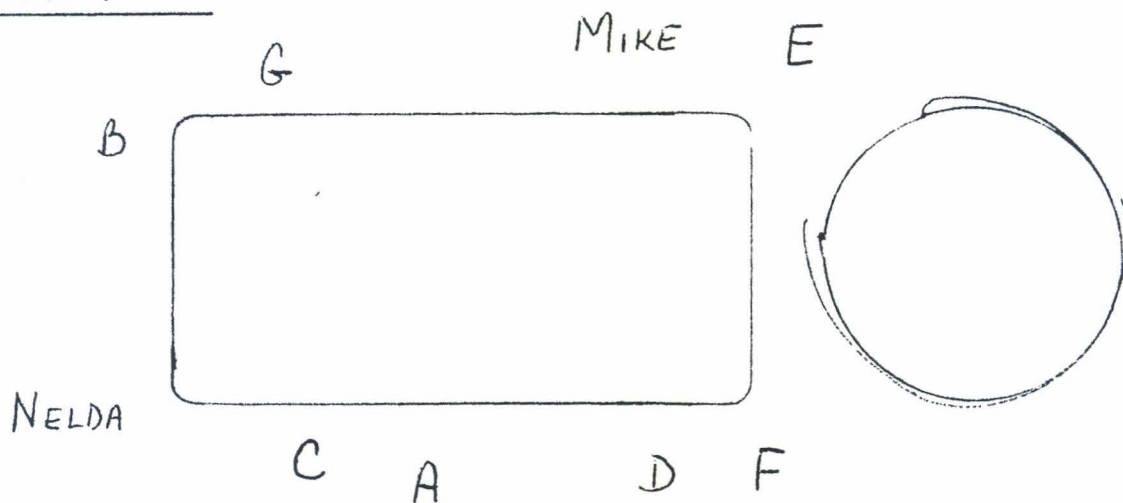
Utterances listed under the figures are those spoken immediately prior to the spatial arrangement shown.

## Time 1



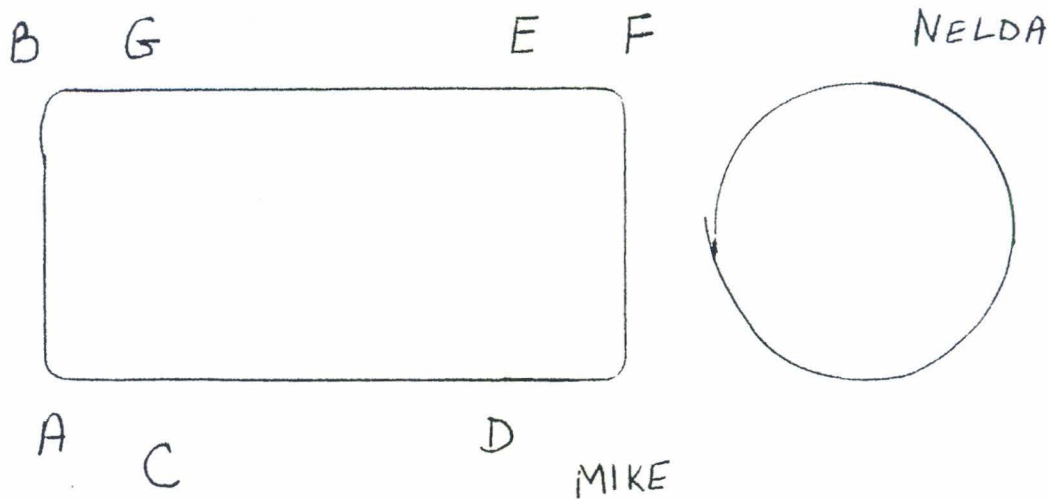
Nelda: We're going to do 4 different cakes today... And you're going to work in 4 groups.

## Time 2



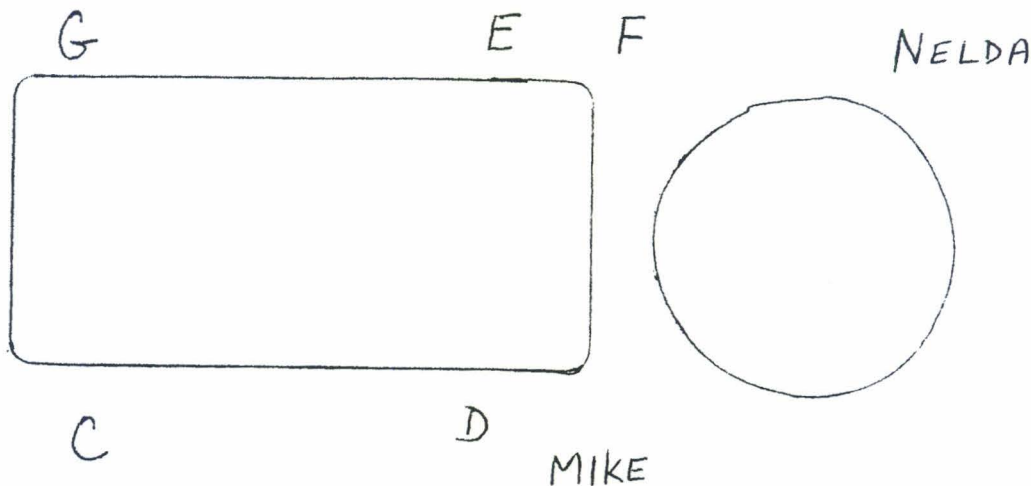
Nelda: Group 1 is G and B....  
Group 2 is D and F....  
Group 3 is A and C....  
Group 4 is E and I guess Mike.

### Time 3



Mike: You guys unhappy that - you wanna do it together? (to E+F)  
Don't you wanna do it with D? (to F)

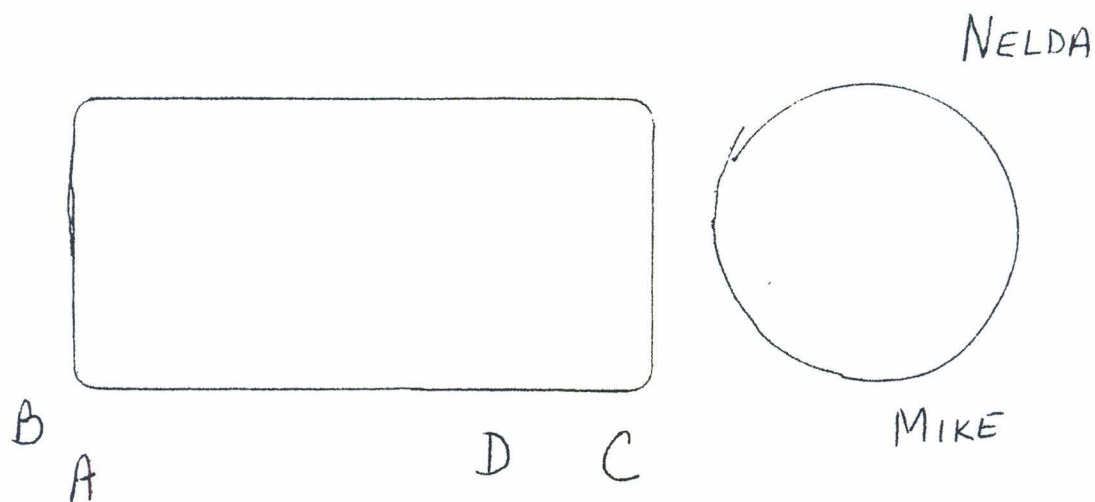
### Time 4



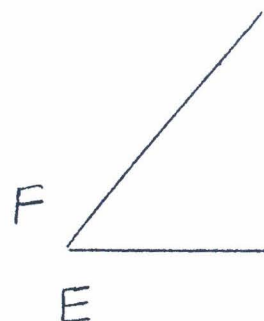
A: Mike, can we go to the bathroom?

Mike: Can you go to the bathroom? You can spend as much time in the bathroom as you like, but you've got half an hour to bake the cake.

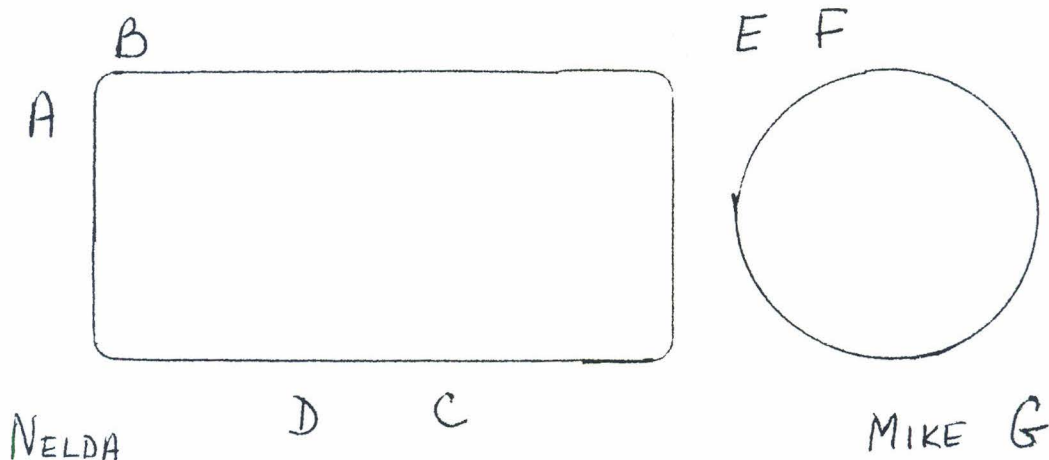
Time 5



D: See, she (C) wants to be with me and I wanna be with her (C).  
 Mike: You wanna get started? Maybe you guys can get started.  
 D: You wanna get started with each other?  
 C nods



Time 6



Mike: Why don't you get together with those others? (E+F)

F: No you're not!

Mike: G... wanna do one with me?

G: Sure.

Mike: Alright let's get together and do it.

# Linear Schematic of Problem Solving Activities in Getting Organized

P= problem

R= response to problem

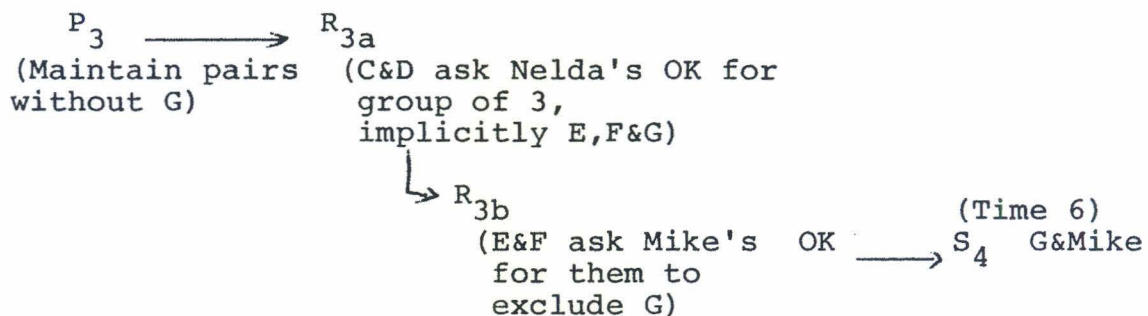
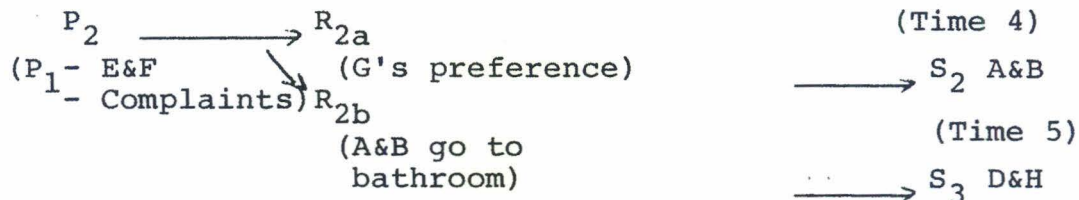
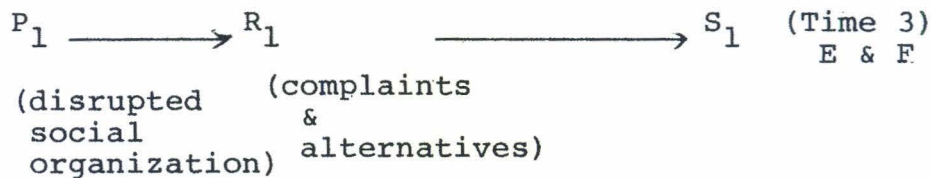
S= solution

Time i,2, etc. refer to the particular groupings discussed  
above

(Time 1)



(Time 2)



COOKING					
GETTING ORGANIZED			MAKING CAKES		Baking cakes
ORGANIZATION PRESENTED		DISRUPTED SOCIAL ORDER		?	
ANNOUNCEMENT	PAIR PREFERENCES	GETTING IN PAIRS	KEEPING G OUT		

GETTING IN PAIRS															
PAIR ANNOUNCEMENT				COMPLAINTS TO GROUP				Pair Negotiations							
B and G	D and F	C and A	E and M	COMPLAINS ALTERNATIVE and THREATS	D and F E and M D and M E and F	B tries complaint	M disallows it	FIND OUT G's PREFERENCE		ESTABLISH A+B PAIR			ESTABLISH C+D PAIR		
QUERY		TRADE		ANSWER		WHISPER		GET UP and GO TO H	GET OK TO GO TO BATH ROOM	GO TO BATH ROOM	STAY A LONG TIME	RE-TURN TO GETTER	STATE WISH FOR DESIRED GROUPS	M SUGGESTS C+D A PAIR	C+D AGREE
B QUERY	D QUERY	D OFFER TRADE		G WANTS E											

KEEPING G OUT									
GET OK FOR GROUP OF 3					ERASE OK FOR GROUP OF 3				
ASK IF 3 CAN WORK TOGETHER	NOLDA ASSENTS	TELL E+F G IS WITH THEM	TELL A+B THEY CAN BE TOGETHER	E+F COMPLAIN	NO +M AGREE TO E+F MINUS G	G TRIES E+F	E+F COMPLAIN	M OFFER TO BE WITH G	G AGREES

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fication of the inner process guarantees access to specific forms of higher behavior as opposed to subordinate forms.

The study of any new field must always begin with a search for, and elaboration of, method. In general, it may be said that any principally new approach to a scientific problem inevitably leads to new methods and ways of study. The discovery of a new method which is adequate to the new problem posed, differs fundamentally from a simple modification of previously accepted methods.

The methods of the contemporary psychological experiment have always been closely tied to the basic questions of psychological theory; they have always been the reflection of the ways in which the principally important psychological problems were viewed and solved. Therefore, our criticism of current views concerning the essence and development of psychological processes must inevitably result in a re-examination of the fundamental principles of the methods of research.

Despite a great variety in the particulars with which psychological experiments are conducted, virtually all such experiments are ~~xxxxxxx~~ rely upon a stimulus-response framework. No matter what the subject matter under discussion, the psychologist seeks to confront the subject with some kind of stimulus situation which is designed to influence him in some way and then to examine and analyse the response(s) elicited by that stimulating situation. After all, the very essence of experimentation is to evoke the phenomenon under study in an artificial (and thereby controllable) way and to study the variations in response which occur in conjunction with various changes in the stimulus situation.

On the surface it may appear that various schools of psychology could not possibly adhere to this methodological schema. But closer examination of the differences between schools of psychology reveals that these differences arise with respect to the theoretical interpretation they want to assign to the consequences of various stimulating environments and not to the general methodological approach within which observations are made.

Reliance on stimulus-response methods is an obvious feature of those schools of psychology whose theories are based upon stimulus-response interpretations of behavior. It may be less obvious that the same holds true for introspective psychology, since the two schools have grown up in opposition to each other.

To claim that both introspective and objective psychology share a common methodological framework does not in any way imply that there are no important differences between them. The adoption of a stimulus-response framework by introspective psychology in the 1880's was a revolutionary step forward for psychology, bringing it closer to the method and spirit of the natural sciences and preparing the way for the objective psychological approaches which followed. Rather, recognition of this basic fact of a common methodological base helps us to appreciate that introspective psychology was rooted in the firm soil of natural science and correctly understood the reactive character of psychological processes.

It is important to realize that the experimental method was first formulated in that area of psychophysics and psychophysiology which dealt with the simplest psychological phenomena, phenomena that could plausibly be interpreted as directly and uniquely linked to external agents. Wundt, for example, saw the very essence of psychological research in the alteration of the stimuli which generates a change in the psychological process linked to them, these processes being manifested in the subject's introspective reports. At the same time it is important to realize that for Wundt the stimulus and response functioned to set up the framework within which the important events, psychological processes, could be studied in a <sup>reliable and</sup> controlled fashion. Introspective reports of these processes remained <sup>the</sup> paramount evidence concerning their nature.

This understanding of the nature of psychological experimentation entailed limitations which Wundt, among others, clearly understood; such experimentation was adequate only to the study of elementary processes of a psychophysiological character. The higher psychological

as far as experimental psychology is concerned. If we recall the kinds of experimentation on the cognitive development of children which have characterized the research reviewed in earlier chapters of this book, it is easy to understand investigators' concentration on elementary psychological functions; this limitation is a built-in feature of the experimental method as generally accepted in psychology.

From the foregoing it should be clear that a stimulus-response framework for constructing experimental observations cannot serve as the basis for the adequate study of the higher, specifically human forms of human behavior. At best it can only help us to record the existence of the lower, subordinated forms which do not capture the essence of the higher forms. Using current methods, we can only determine quantitative variation in the complexity of stimuli and responses characteristic of different animals and humans at different stages of development.

It is our belief, based upon a dialectical materialist approach to the analysis of human history, that human behavior differs qualitatively from animal behavior to the same extent that the kind of adaptability and historical development of Man differs from the adaptability and development of animals. The psychological development of man is part of the general historical development of his species and must be so understood. Acceptance of this proposition means that we must find a new methodological formulation upon which to base psychological experimentation.

The keystone of the approach which we have adopted and which we will try to describe analytically in the following sections follows directly from the contrast which Engles drew between natrualistic and dialectical approaches to the understanding of human history. Naturalism in historical analaysis (according to Engles) manifests itself in the assumption that only nature affects man and only natural conditions determine historical development. The dialectical approach, while admitting the infleunce of nature on man asserts that man, in turn, affects nature, creating through his changes in nature new natural conditions for his existence. This position forms the keystone of our methodological and analytic approach to the study and interpretation of man's hihger psychological functions.

101 M: Who are the pairs of kids that we've got who are gonna be (inint.)

1

Na: Alright we're going to do 4 different

2 Na: cakes today and you're going to do them, almost all by yourself. You can ask us

Na: questions but I'm going to give you the recipe. And you're goin

3 H: I only like chocolate

D: I only like choclate too right.

4 Na: to work in 4 groups and group 1 is Richard and Nancy.

Ny: I wanna work with Lawana

R: What're we doin?

5

A: Richard. And me and Paul me and Paul

Na: O.K., Richard, Nancy. I'll give you your recipe. If you'll come up.

A: Me and Paul. Me and Paul

6

M: Nancy

Na: Richard

P: Me and Alex

A: Me and Paul.

to Na

7

M: Is Nocole in a group with somebody or (did it ?

L: I hope I'm with \_

Na: There's no Nicole.

8

A: Me and Paul are a group or I'm not doing anything.

M: Who are the other groups? Donna & Alex, Lawana & Helliura

L:

to L 9 M: Paul. Oh. O.K. Well I'll do it with Paul (unint.)

Ny: I said why don't Alex and Richard and me and you ?

---

Na: Alright (unint.)

D: I'm with Alex!

10 A: Hey, um. I'm gonna have to be with Paul.

L: Can I do it (unint)

---

128 D: Yes, I am with Alex. She just read it off the list.  
(to H)

Ny: Hurry up cake.

11 Na: Group 2 is Donna & Alex

M: Look Donna

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A: (unint.)

12 D: Oh, junk

M: What's the problem?

---

Ny: Richard, we got the hurry up cake.

13 L: I don't wanna (unint.)

(to N) R: What d'ya mean?

---

(to R) Ny: Hurry up cake Hurry up cake.

H: Lawana! Me and you!

14 P: Alex, me and you?

Na: Donna You're group 2

Ny: Let's hurry up.

(to D) Na: You'll be with Alex. You two will be making one cake.

15  
(to A?) P?: Who?

M: (unint.) Nelda?

A: Lawana

---

R: Will we get to make a whole cake ourselves?

(to D) A: Who are you with? Aw.

16 D: You.

H: Who am I with?

---

M: Paul. Hey, Paul. You wanna make the cake with me?

17 H: Who am I with? Who am I with?

(to D) A: You wanna trade with somebody (unint.)

(to P) M: This is what we gotta do. Got the (unint.) Take a look at it. Nelda.

18 N: Alright group 3 is \_\_\_ Lawana and \_\_\_

R: Machine gun.

A: Paul, who are you wi

---

(to R) Ny: Where? Lawana & Hellura

R: I've got a machine gun

19 M: Right now, Paul is with me.

A: I wanna cook too.

---

Na: Where's Lawana? You're Hellura; Where's\_\_

(to Na) H: Right here.

20 Ny: Emma?  
cont'd R: That's Hellura.

---

151 21 Na: That's Lawana right here. O.K. Group 4 is Paul and \_ I guess Mike  
Ny: Who's Donna with?  
M: Donna's with Alex  
Na: Will be doing it - with Paul? Alright.  
22 M: I'm gonna do it with Paul. You guys unhappy that - you two

---

(to P & A) M: wanna do it together? Don't you wanna do it with Donna?  
23 A: Yes  
Ny: I wanna do it with Lawana!

---

D: And I have (?)  
24 H: (unint.)  
M: Oh, now Nancy, don't start in on me like that O.K.? That's just to  
Ny: (unint.)  
M: much to handle.  
(to P & A) Na: Are you two going to work together? O.K.

---

25 M: You might be able to handle it, but I can't  
(to L) H: You rather do it - you rather do it with Paul?

---

(to Na) A: O.K. now wait. I can't read these instructions, 'cause it's hard  
L: I rather do it with Nancy  
26 Na: Well you'll be able to  
H: Either me or Paul  
M: (unint.)

M: Well, you guys got a way of making all these things not work too well. Donna what do we  
gotta c

27 Na: (unint.) how to do it.

Ny: Richard, you wanna do it with what's his name? No

(to N) R: Who? Alex?

(to Na) M: Is there any general thing you wanna tell 'em?

L: Paul?

28 R: Paul?

Ny: No, the guy.

Na: Alright. The general thing I'd like to tell you, if you will be quiet and listen

29 L: Mike

Ny: Yeah.

R: (unint.)

Na: If you wanna make a cake today. If you wanna make a cake today, the steps

30 R: I wanna be with Paul. I'm doing it with Paul.

D: I'm doing it with Mike.

170 Na: Are on the blackboard, but the ingredients and the steps are (unint.)

D: Na\_\_

31 Ny: Alex and (unint) and Hellura & Donna & Lawana and (me)

R: I wanna do it with Paul.

Well, who are you doing it with?

(to R) D: Alex is doing it with Paul

32

R: I want to do it with Paul.

M: (well made) Wanna try?

---

(to D) R: Her

(to R) D: You wanna trade with me and you could be with him?

33 M: Richard and \_ Richard & Donna

Na: I do have a general thing - to tell them

---

M: You guys, Nelda was try \_ Donna. Nelda was trying to tell you what \_

(to R) 34 D: Wanna {trade} {change} ?

L: Can I trade with you?

---

35 M: Goodness gracious. Nelda was trying to tell you what the general things are \_

---

36 M: are that you have to do in order to be able to make a cake and they're written on the

---

37 M: board. You want her to tell you about em or you wanna read em for yourself?

---

M: and go do it? Go ahead.

38 R: I'll read 'em. Can I read 'em to everyone?

H: Read 'em yourself. Read 'em to yourself.

---

39 M: What d'ya gotta do?

(Richard Reads Directions)

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205 Na: What bowls are you going to use to measure your flour and sugar and the

---

Na: ingredients into? What bowls are you going to use?

D: A measuring bowl. Measuring cup.

A: Oh! Oh! Oh!

(to A) M: What is it?

Ny: Measuring cup.

Na: Alright. You're going to use these 4 \_ We don't have a 4th bowl, so

Na: someone will have to use this pan to measure into. Alright. Now, the

D: I will.

Na: pans that you're going to use are over here, and they have the shortening

Na: beside them for you to grease them.

D: I can't do it with one hand.

(to L) H: (unint.)

L: (shakes head)

R: Oh, my goodness.

M: (unint.) What do ya do

P: I can't (unint.)

(to R) Ny: We're doing it together. No, we're doing it together

L: I already have (unint.)

Na: And here are all the ingredients. You may have to share with each other, but, this

(to P & A) D: There's a special way (unint.)

Na: is what you need, right here.

(to L) Ny: (whisper)

R: Hey, who \_

8

D: Richard. Richard you wanna {do it} with me?  
M: O.K. The way this cake works. It takes

---

M: half an hour to bake so you got half an hour to make it.

(to Na) A: (unint.)

(to A) Na: (unint.)

R: Bum bee dum dum.

---

227 Na: You guys have 4. Why do I have 2 over here?

(to D) M: How you doin?

(to M) D: All right.

H: Come on.

---

L: Mike, can we go to the bathroom?

M: Can you go to the bathroom? You can spend as much

Na: Who's Donna - well, let's

---

M: time in the bathroom as you like, but you've got half an hour to bake the cake.

D: I'm, I'm with Mike.

---

D: and Alex is with Paul

M: Alright Donna.

H: They don't wanna do it because

Na: O.K. Who took Alex's place?

---

H: Mike\_\_ Mike\_\_ uh, Mike. Can't we both be with who we wanna be, I don't wanna

Na: We got\_\_ 2 recipes for number 2 which got shifted around (unint)

H: be with Donna \_\_\_\_ Lawana (unint) and Lawana & Nancy went to

D: and I wanna be with some \_

P & A) Na: O.K. you two are set now. Get

H: be together and those two wanna be together \_

D: Yes, but Alex wants to be \_

Na: ready. You can do your own cake. Go ahead. (unint.) and then what?

D: But listen, but listen. Alex wants to be with Paul and Richard wants to be with Paul.

P & A) Na: Read the recipe. O.K.? You've each got a recipe. Decide what you're going to do. What

Na: each one is going to do. Here are the ingredients and, there's a pan to \_ You can

D: Alex got \_

H: (unint.) 'cause Lawana's getting mad. She don't wanna be with me.

Na: use this bowl. And sift it in. And this is you're own cake. Your very own cake.

M: But you know what Hellura? It seems to one that if you wanna spend your time

15 Na: Hurry up spice cake.

M: figuring out who you want to be with we can do that and if we wanna make a cake

A: our own cake?

M: we can do that. But, I don't see very much the way to both

D: and \_ but but then Richard doesn't wanna be with you and

Na: (unint.)

H: What do I do (unint.)

10  
D: everyone wants to be with Paul. The boys wanna be with Paul and she wants to

A: Oh, no, I can't \_ I can't eat spice cake.

Na: You don't have to \_

M: Richard.

---

D: be with me. I wanna be with her.

Ha: eat somebody else's cake.

M: Hey, Richard, where you going?

R: to the bathroom.

---

M: I'll walk you over. Oh, you, you know how to find it by yourself?

Na: Well, eat somebody else's cake. O.K. go ahead.

H: (unint.)

---

M: (unint.) See you when you get back. I got a feeling maybe the cakes aren't

Na: it's all yours. (unint.)

H: Um. What did \_ What do I do first?

A: What do I do first?

---

M: gonna get baked Well.

Na: O.K. The very first thing (unint.)

D: See she wants to be with me and I

---

Na: preheated the oven for you. O.K. I've done that. Now, see

D: Wanna be with her.

M: Well, you wanna get started? Maybe you two guys can get

Na: those steps on the blackboard? That can help you see which things to do first.

M: started.

Alright.

(to H)

D: You wanna get started with each other?

Alright. Let's start.

H:

(nods)

A: Number one.

Grease the pan.

Na: Number one. What d'ya do. Preheat the oven. O.K. we've done that.

D:

You, I'll show you (unint.)

H:

Wait we gotta put something (unint.)

M:

I don't care who does

M: with who

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H: Well, we gotta put on

D:

Oh, goody, he doesn't care who dies it with who

M:

'cause somebody else is

Na:

(unint) pan over there?

M: just gonna start a fight and you can just deal with it alright.

Well, I don't know

P:

(unint.) What pan?

Na:

I put them over here

D:

What do we do?

M: What does it say?

Na: Paul, Paul.

(268-292 not transcribed )

292 Ny: Richard keeps on trying to look in the girls bathroom.

M: Nelda, they're using butter for greasing the pan. Is that wrong?

D: ~~You you (unint) Lawana. You can be with her.~~

D: She's with me. You can be with whoever :

Na: No, no they're not supposed to \_ they're not supposed to use butter.

L: ~~Yah!~~

D: want cause (unint) Alex's with Paul & Richard's with

M: Alright. O.K. Let's take the butter cause it doesn't melt?

Na: Right, butter (unint) butter.

A: ~~I do.~~

M: Alright girls. Donna. Donna. Put your butter back over here (unint.)

Na: Uh, you'll have\_\_

Ny: ~~O.K.we didn't here~~

Ny: what you were doing Oh, go and wash your hands.

L: We gotta do it with our hands?

D: But like\_ but\_ but\_

Na: Alex (unint.\_

Na: Each person goes over here.

L: (reading)

(to N) D: Does it matter if 3 people work together?

Ny: This is all cut

(to H) Na: O.K. See what they're doing? Grease - take one of your pans and use this

Ny: Is this how you do it?

M: Where's paper towels?

D: Does it matter if 3 people work together? Oh, goody!

Ny: That's the order?

Na: I don't care, it's all right with me.

A: Should we put lots of grease on it?

307 (to M) D: We got it all settled because she said it doesn't matter if 3 people work together.

Ny: Is the oven preheated? Grease pan.

Ny: Where's my \_ pan

Na: Oh, there's a pan right over there.

D: Oh, goody!

M: I don't care.

H: I'm not workin with ya no more.

P: You don't use butter.

H: Hey, come on you guys give that back! We were using that!

(to H) D: It doesn't matter.

(to H) D: It doesn't matter. You know why? (unint.) work together

H: I know.

---

(316-328 untranscribed)

D: You guys. Wait a minute. Alright wait a minute. You guys, Richard is

H: Come here. Come on.

Ny: One and a third.

---

(to P & A) D: Gonna be with both of you.

A: Wait! Richard \_

Ny: What does 3-4 mean? 3 dash 4? 1 and 3/4.

M: Three quarters. You know how to find.

H: Richard's gonna be with you.

---

A: (unint.)

D: (Unint.)

Na: Don't worry about it you guys. Don't worry about anyone else. Just do you own

---

(untranscribed)

P : Do we have to have Richard? He bothers me so much.

A: Yea. He goes yuh-yuh-yuh-yuh!

---

Na: Where is Richard? Well.

P: He especially bothers me.

A: (unint) I\_ I talk to him sometimes.

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A: I talk to him out of it, of bothering everybody, bit he just doesn't,

P:

I k

A: Anything sensible

Na: Don't, don't worry about Richard. We're gonna work it out somehow

(345-349 untranscribed)

Na: Mike Is is alright if these 2 do their own cake (unint) Alright, :

M: mmhmm

Oh, yeah.

A: Shift flour

Na: You can do your own cake.

A: Shift flour

M: Richard's sort of

(353-389 untranscribed)

(to R) M: Everybody else is already started.

(to R) D: No, with uh, Paul and Alex.

(to R) A: Well, you're not doing it with us. Well you shoulda been here.

R:

I was i

R: bathroom.

P: (unint.)

(to M) R: Who am I with? Who'm I with?

M:

Why don't ya get together with those othe

D:

A: No you're not! Shut up

D: Yes, he is! Richard, if you like I asked if you'd do one with me.

---

M: before. Wanna do it with me? Alright let's get together and do it.

R: Sure