

Conflict strategies and resolutions: Peer conflict in an
integrated early childhood classroom

by

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CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Peer conflicts provide researchers with an opportunity to understand social development, as well as the benefits and risks of social conflict in everyday life (Shantz, 1987). Although a number of researchers have studied conflict by observing typically developing children (Dawe, 1934; Krasnor & Rubin, 1983; Laursen & Hartup, 1987; Ramsey, 1986; Sackin & Thelen, 1984), observational data is needed on the conflicts of children in integrated preschool settings.

Integrated preschools provide educational programs for both children with disabilities and typically developing children under the same curriculum. One goal of many integrated preschool classrooms is to increase social interactions. Researchers have observed increased social interaction in integrated environments when the role of the teacher is facilitative rather than directive (Kuglemass, 1989). Ispa (1981) suggests integration can be facilitated better when teachers are less controlling in the classroom. By comparing observations of two classrooms, Ispa (1981) reported more social interactions and peer conflict among the members of the least controlled classroom. Therefore, it is important to study conflicts and how they are resolved if a least restrictive environment is essential to the integration of typically developing children and children with disabilities.

The purpose of this study is to examine the conflicts occurring between children in an integrated classroom. This study, part of a larger ethnography, will compare both the physical and verbal peer conflicts of typically developing children and children with disabilities in an integrated preschool. A number of conflict variables will be examined including social goals, oppositions, conflict strategies, outcomes, and teacher interventions. The main objectives are to examine social goals and resolutions of conflict as they occurred in the classroom culture.

The following questions were examined to determine the process children used to resolve conflict.

Problem Questions

A. Social Goals of Conflict

1. In what context did the conflict occur?
2. What goal was the child trying to achieve?

B. Resolution of Conflict

1. How did children resolve conflict?
2. What strategies did the child employ?
3. What was the outcome of the conflict?

C. Role of the Teacher in Children's Conflicts

1. When does the teacher intervene?
2. Whom does the teacher interact with first?
3. How does the teacher intervene?
4. What is the outcome of a teacher intervention?

The literature on integrated preschool environments addresses the social interactions between typically developing children and children with disabilities. Because conflict is a form of social interaction, a review of this literature can indicate which children are likely to participate, where social interactions are likely to occur, and which toys or materials lead to greater interaction and possible conflict in the integrated classroom. Before examining the integrated classroom, the review of literature will begin with a definition of conflict.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical framework for this study was the literature on conflict, strategies, and resolutions as well as the peer interactions in early childhood classrooms. The following paragraphs review literature on conflict in typically developing classrooms and social interactions in integrated classrooms.

Conflict, Strategies, and Resolutions

The literature review will begin with a definition of conflict, followed by an investigation of typically developing children's social goals, conflict issues, strategies, and outcomes. In conclusion, the role aggression plays in conflicts and possession disputes will be examined.

Definition of Conflict

Conflict can be defined as a relationship where two people have incompatible goals and use a variety of prosocial and antisocial strategies to influence each other's behavior (Hay, 1984; Shantz, 1987). Conflicts often arise when chosen strategies fail to achieve a goal and may continue if persistent attempts or alternative strategies are unsuccessful (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983). Peer conflict occurs when one child intentionally or unintentionally does or says something to which another child objects and resists while the first child persists (Hay, 1984; Shantz, 1987). A conflict begins when one child opposes or does not comply to the verbal or physical

actions of another (Hay, 1984; Shantz, 1987; Wilson, 1988).

Strategies include all verbal or physical behaviors used during the conflict prior to the outcome (Wilson, 1988). The conflict ends when one child ceases to object, yielding a winner, a mutual solution is found (Dawe, 1934; Shantz, 1987; Strayer & Strayer, 1976; Wilson, 1988), or "60 seconds have passed without any behavior being exhibited relevant to the conflict issue" (Shantz, 1986, p. 1323).

Social Goals and Conflict Issues

Children may come into conflict when trying to achieve a social goal. What the child intends to achieve in a social interaction, for example group entry or object acquisition, is the social goal (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983). Through observational studies, researchers have identified a number of social goals and conflict issues. Social goals may include initiating play, stopping other's actions, seeking affection or comfort, gaining information, seeking help, eliciting action from others, acquiring objects, and entering on-going play (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983; Neel, Jenkins, & Meadows, 1990). Possession, territory and space, course of play, social intrusion, and annoyances have been found to be common issues in preschool children's conflicts (Ramsey, 1986; Wilson, 1988).

Strategies and Outcomes

Sackin and Thelen (1984) found that the type of behavior or strategy used significantly affected the outcome of conflicts, regardless of the participant's sex. Laursen and Hartup (1989) found that conflicts were most commonly resolved by insistence resulting in a winner/loser outcome and separation after the conflict. The most common preschool reactions were crying, screaming, withdrawing the object, and grabbing the object (Wilson, 1988). Negative protests including commands, name calling, threats, verbal rebukes, giving directions, and claiming toys for themselves were the most common verbal strategies used by children (Wilson, 1988). Seeking help from the teacher was rarely used by children as a means of resolving conflict (Strayer & Strayer, 1976). Most conflicts terminate with a subordinate behavior (Sackin & Thelen, 1984). Negotiation and disengagement were not as likely to be chosen as methods to end conflicts (Laursen & Hartup, 1989). The most frequent subordinate behavior in a win/lose outcome of a conflict was withdrawing. Wilson (1988) found preschool children were twice as likely to avoid conflict and leave the situation than they were to ignore it.

Sackin and Thelen (1984) found that participants frequently separated when subordinate behaviors ended the conflict, but participants often remained together when conciliatory behaviors were observed at the termination of

conflict. A conciliatory solution was found when a satisfactory outcome of the conflict was obtained and play continued among members of the preceding conflict (Sackin & Thelen, 1984). The most frequent conciliatory behaviors reported by Sackin and Thelen (1984) include cooperative propositions, object offering or sharing, and signs of affection. They rarely observed apologies or symbolic offerings (Sackin & Thelen, 1984).

Both children losing in a conflict was rarely observed and when it did occur it was usually the result of teacher intervention (Wilson, 1988). When adults intervened, interaction between children often ceased and participants went separate ways. But in a fourth of those conflicts, adult intervention helped to maintain play (Wilson, 1988). The presence of a teacher was more likely when conflicts lasted longer than ten seconds (Laursen & Hartup, 1989).

Although children rarely intervene in peer conflicts, Wilson (1988) observed a number of intervention strategies used by the children in her study. Children were observed retrieving objects, voicing protests, offering suggestions, and using aggressive behaviors. If teachers and peer bystanders were absent and aggressive behavior did not occur during the conflict, close proximity and interaction between participants was likely to resume after the conflict (Laursen & Hartup, 1989). The majority of conflicts were resolved by

the children themselves and often as a result of "one child forcing another to yield" (Dawe, 1934, p. 55). Most children recovered rapidly and showed no evidence of resentment soon after the conflict (Dawe, 1934).

The number of counterattacks and the participants' relationship also influenced the outcome of conflicts (Nelson & Aboud, 1985; Strayer & Strayer, 1976). Numerous counterattacks often ended with a subordinate behavior by one of the participants. Strayer and Strayer (1976) found a counterattack, usually a threat, to occur in more than one out of every five "agonistic episodes."

The relationship between participants was examined by Nelson and Aboud (1985) to determine what effect friendship had on conflicts. They found that friends gave more explanations and criticisms than non-friends resulting in more mature judgements and better solutions to problems.

Aggression During Conflict

Although most conflicts did not involve aggression, social conflict was the context in which most aggressive behaviors occurred (Shantz, 1987). Some aggressive behaviors used by preschoolers included hitting, kicking, and pulling (Dawe, 1934; Strayer & Strayer, 1976; Wilson, 1988). Wilson (1988) found aggressive acts most frequent among four-year-old children, but these aggressive behaviors rarely resulted in physical injury to another child.

Dawe (1934) found boys to have more frequent and aggressive conflicts than girls. This finding was supported by Sackin and Thelen (1984), they found male dyads to have more conflicts than male/female dyads and female dyads to have the least number of conflicts. But females and males were equally likely to initiate conflict (Wilson, 1988). Dawe (1934) also found that conflicts occurred most often with those of the same sex. Wilson (1988) found females to act aggressively toward both girls and boys; but half of the aggressive behaviors towards boys were in reciprocation of a male initiated aggressive act. In other words, a female acted aggressively only after she had been hit, pushed, or spit upon by a male (Wilson, 1988).

Males used the most aggressive behaviors, but white males used more aggressive behavior than children of color (Wilson, 1988). White males initiated over half of the incidents which involved hitting, kicking, and throwing a child to the ground. The most frequently observed aggressive behaviors were pushing and hostile gestures (Wilson, 1988). Compared to the other children in her study, Wilson (1988) observed the aggressive behaviors of spitting and poking objects at people more frequently among female children of color. Female children of color used more aggressive behaviors than white female children when in conflict, but when white females used aggressive behaviors they chose those which were the most

violent (Wilson, 1988).

Aggressive and Nonaggressive Children

Because children who regularly exhibit aggression are at risk for later life difficulties including dropping out of school and criminal activity (Parker & Asher, 1987), it is important to address the issue of conflict when children with disabilities, placed in integrated classrooms, exhibit aggressive behavior. An observational study was conducted by Neel, Jenkins, and Meadows (1990) to compare aggressive and nonaggressive preschool boys' social problem-solving goals and strategies. They found both aggressive and nonaggressive children sought the same number of social goals, used the same number and range of strategies, and had a preference for five of the same strategies. The most frequently reported social goals were initiating play, eliciting action from others, and object acquisition. Differences between the groups were found in terms of the infrequently used goals and strategies. Aggressive children used more intrusive strategies to obtain objects and to enter a group, whereas nonaggressive children directed their attention to another activity and asked more questions. Neel et al., (1990) suggested that researchers examine the relationship between the goals and strategies selected to reach those goals in the context in which they occur.

Possession Disputes

The majority of preschool conflicts involve possession disputes (Dawe, 1934). Ramsey (1986) suggested that children preferred to have materials assigned to them, rather than share materials with others. Children were less likely to have a possession dispute when the material was assigned. Ramsey (1986) found conflicts involving possession occurred more often when the materials in the dispute were either scarce or easily manipulated by the children. The likely occurrence of a possession dispute depends on the types of available materials (Ramsey, 1986). Possession disputes were most frequent when manipulatives were involved and "the children were trying to use the same space, objects, or the activity depended on accumulation" (Ramsey, 1986, p. 179).

More conflicts occurred when activities involved the accumulation rather than the exchange of materials. Accumulation happens when children try to obtain as many of the materials as they can. Blocks and manipulatives are often used in accumulation activities while activities involving gross motor or art materials have a transitory use. Although manipulatives are smaller and easier to defend, Ramsey (1986) suggests conflicts involving blocks occur because blocks are used in accumulation activities, to create boundaries, and in the creation of structures with small openings. Less conflicts occurred when blocks were used in a group project or

as props in dramatic play (Ramsey, 1986).

Interactions in Integrated Preschools

The following paragraphs review the literature on interactions in integrated preschools. The review of literature will begin by examining typically developing children's and children with disabilities' choice of playmates, play activities, toys, and materials used in free-play settings. Then, communication of children with disabilities and typically developing children will be explored and conclude with an investigation of the children's interactions with teachers.

Playmates

The playmate a child chooses may influence the likelihood conflict will occur. The literature on integrated preschools describes playmate preferences of typically developing and children with disabilities. Although a significant number of interactions were found between typically developing children and children with disabilities, typically developing children tend to play more with other typically developing children as opposed to children with disabilities (Faught, Balleweg, Crow, & Van Den Pol, 1983; Ispa, 1981; Kugelmass, 1988; Peterson & Haralick, 1977). Faught et al. (1983) also found children with disabilities to spend the largest proportion of their play time with other children with disabilities. But Guralnick (1980) reported a tendency for children with mild

disabilities "to show a preference for interacting with" typically developing children (Guralnick, 1980, p. 252).

A number of studies have noted differences between the children with moderate and severe disabilities and the children with mild disabilities and typically developing children (Guralnick, 1980; Guralnick & Paul-Brown, 1977). Although the children with moderate and severe disabilities interacted with children at all developmental levels, social interactions with typically developing children and children with mild disabilities were limited (Guralnick, 1980). Guralnick (1980) found typically developing children and children with mild disabilities more likely to play with each other as opposed to playing with either the children with moderate or severe disabilities.

Type of Play

The type of play a child engages in can also predict the child's ^{low styles of} tendency toward entering into ^{specific play levels} conflict. After comparing children with mild, moderate, and severe developmental delays, Guralnick (1981) found children with severe disabilities engaged in the most inappropriate play and the least amount of onlooker, associative, and cooperative play. Simple and exploratory play decreased as developmental level increased, while constructive and pretend play increased (Guralnick, 1980, 1981). In contrast, no differences were found in the amount of inappropriate play for the other

developmentally delayed groups (Guralnick, 1981).

Inappropriate play exhibited by the children with severe disabilities decreased when all four developmental levels were in a single classroom (Guralnick, 1981).

Solitary, parallel, and cooperative are the three most prominent types of play examined in the social interaction literature on integrated classrooms. For all developmental levels, over time, solitary play decreased and cooperative play increased (Guralnick, 1981).

Solitary play. Depending on the activity, solitary play can either enhance or be detrimental to cognitive development. Rubin found (1982) play which was carried out alone and involved repetitive sensorimotor actions (solitary-functional play) to correlate negatively with mental age. Rubin (1982) suggests that a four-year-old child may be at-risk if she or he participates in a "large amount" of solitary-functional play. Solitary play has been found to decrease as the developmental level of the child increased. Although both typically developing children and children with disabilities participate in some solitary play, children with disabilities have been found to engage in more solitary play than typically developing children (Guralnick & Groom, 1987; Kohl & Beckman, 1984; Rogers-Warren et al., 1981; Stoneman, Cantrell, & Hoover-Dempsey, 1983).

Parallel play. Rubin (1982) observed that conflicts often occurred when children played in close proximity while engaged in repetitive motor activity or parallel functional activity. In contrast, less "rough and tumble play" was observed when children participated in parallel constructive play (Rubin, 1982).

Rogers-Warren et al. (1981) suggest that choice of play was not influenced by the developmental level of the peers. They report that parallel play was the chosen form of play for all combinations of typically developing children and children with disabilities (Rogers-Warren et al., 1981). But children with disabilities participated in parallel play to a greater extent than cooperative play, whereas typically developing children engaged in a larger proportion of cooperative play (Rogers-Warren et al., 1981).

Parallel play was the most common type of play, reported by Peterson and Haralick (1977), when typically developing children were in a particular play area by themselves or in combination with disabled peers. Parallel and cooperative play occurred more when only typically developing children were present as opposed to when only children with disabilities were present (Peterson & Haralick, 1977).

Cooperative play. During free play periods, children are given the opportunity to develop social skills through cooperative play (Kuglemass, 1989). A number of studies have

found typically developing children to participate in more cooperative play than children with disabilities (Faught et al., 1983; Stoneman et al., 1983). For example, Guralnick (1981) did not observe a single instance of cooperative play by children with moderate or severe disabilities. Kuglemass (1989) suggests deficits in perceptual, motor, or cognitive ability may impede some children with disabilities from engaging in cooperative play.

Play Activity, Toys, and Materials

As previously examined in the literature on conflict, Ramsey (1986) found that certain types of play materials increase the possibility of conflict. Play activity, toys, and materials have also been examined in the literature on integrated classrooms (Stoneman et al., 1983; Rogers-Warren, Ruggles, Peterson, & Cooper, 1981) and provide clues to the probability of conflict in the integrated classroom. Through freeplay observations, Stoneman et al. (1983) examined the use of play materials by typically developing children and children with mild disabilities to determine if certain play materials facilitated social interaction. The researchers found differences in the frequency of use of materials in mixed interactions and differences in the type of play the materials promoted (Stoneman et al., 1983). When frequency of use of play materials in mixed interactions was investigated, the researchers found that interactions between typically

developing children and children with mild disabilities occurred more frequently when the children engaged in housekeeping and art activities (Stoneman et al., 1983). A significant number of mixed interactions were also observed when the children played with blocks and vehicles (Stoneman et al., 1983). Although proportionally less frequent interactions occurred between typically developing children and children with disabilities when they engaged in water play than blocks or vehicles, water play did contribute to mixed interactions more than the other play materials (Stoneman et al., 1983).

The researchers also found that different play materials promoted different types of play. Library materials promoted the solitary play for both groups (Stoneman et al., 1983). Solitary activity was also frequent among children using fine motor toys and art materials as opposed to children listening to records or participating in water play (Stoneman et al., 1983). Less solitary activity was found when children played with blocks, vehicles, and the record player (Stoneman et al., 1983).

Cooperative interactions were more frequent when the children played with blocks, vehicles, and water play materials than when they played with art and library materials (Stoneman et al., 1983). But play with blocks and vehicles was also associated with more conflicts than play with fine

motor, library, or housekeeping materials (Stoneman et al., 1983).

Rogers-Warren et al. (1981) also found differences in the type of activities children enter. Although the most preferred and least preferred areas in the classroom were the same for both children with disabilities and typically developing children, more of the children with disabilities spent time doing structured activities (Rogers-Warren et al., 1981). For example, children with disabilities spent more time at the art table and the work table, but typically developing children spent more time in nonstructured play with manipulatives, engaged in floor activities, and playing with puppets (Rogers-Warren et al., 1981).

Social Interactions Across Settings

Although a number of researchers have investigated the social interactions of children during freeplay (Guralnick & Groom, 1987; Rubin, 1982; Stoneman et al., 1983), Kohl and Beckman (1984) investigated the social interactions of children across activities and settings in an integrated preschool. Observations of both typically developing children and children with disabilities have revealed more body movements and physical contact during freeplay than during any other activity (Kohl & Beckman, 1987). Typically developing children spent more time helping peers, observing the teacher (Isapa, 1981), and participating in twice as many interactions

with other children during free play than did children with disabilities (Kohl & Beckman, 1984). Children with disabilities interacted more frequently with adults during fine motor activities than typically developing children (Kohl & Beckman, 1984). During snack, no differences were found in the number of interactions occurring with adults or children (Kohl & Beckman, 1984). "Children with disabilities interacted most often with other children during snack, while typically developing children interacted most often with other children during free play" (Kohl & Beckman, 1984, p. 53). Simultaneous interactions between adults and children were observed most often during circle for typically developing children and snack for the children with disabilities (Kohl & Beckman, 1984).

Communication

Lack of verbal skills impede the interactions and integration of typically developing children and children with disabilities (Kugelmass, 1989). Insufficient verbal communication may be a barrier when trying to resolve conflicts. Guralnick and Paul-Brown (1977) investigated the verbal interactions of typically developing children and children with disabilities. They found typically developing children to adjust their speech to the developmental level of the listener (Guralnick & Paul-Brown, 1977). Typically developing children talked more to other typically developing

children, using more complex constructions and fewer single word utterances than children with disabilities (Guralnick & Paul-Brown, 1977). Although typically developing children have been found to verbalize twice as much as children with disabilities during freeplay and circle, no differences were found during fine motor activities or snack time (Kohl & Beckman, 1984).

Teachers

Previous researchers studying integrated classrooms provide some information on the interactions between children and teachers. One study found that the most frequent interactions between children and teachers occurred when children were not playing with toys or manipulating materials (Stoneman et al., 1983). Compared to typically developing children, children with disabilities have been found to spend more time looking at and being in the proximity of teachers (Field et al., 1981). Teachers interacted more positively with children with disabilities, especially children with severe disabilities, as opposed to the typically developing children (Guralnick, 1981). Children with disabilities received more prompts, help, and affection from their teachers than typically developing children (Field et al., 1981; Guralnick, 1981; Ipsa, 1981). But Dunlop, Stoneman, and Cantrell (1980) found children with disabilities to participate in more inappropriate play and negative adult-

child interactions than typically developing children. Ispa (1981) also found that requests and behaviors of children with disabilities were refused by teachers more often than requests and behaviors of typically developing children.

Teachers often become involved in resolving peer conflicts in the preschool classroom. Kuglemass (1989) observed numerous conflicts and pointed out the "importance of active teacher involvement in facilitating positive social interactions" (p. 41). The teacher's role in resolving conflicts can also influence how the students in conflict are viewed by their peers. Schnorr (1990) suggests teachers can influence the status of children in a class depending on whether they address a child's strengths or uphold a pattern of discipline. Because "being good" is a desirable quality in a friend (Schnorr, 1990), children who are in constant conflict or unfairly disciplined may not be seen as desirable and thus may lessen the number of positive social interactions a child will have with his or her peers. Although it can be a source of distress, conflict is inevitable and essential to the development of social skills. Therefore, more research is needed to examine conflicts in integrated classrooms which will guide teachers in helping peers resolve conflicts and facilitate integration.

CHAPTER 3. METHOD

The purpose of the present study is to examine the conflicts occurring between children in an integrated classroom. A number of conflict variables will be examined including goals, strategies, outcomes, and the teacher's role in peer conflict. A selection of peer conflicts will be analyzed excluding conflicts of rough and tumble play.

Prior observational studies of children's conflicts examined children only during freeplay, used methods such as written notes or audio recordings that relied solely on the observer's memory, and previously established coding categories (Dawe, 1934; Krasnor & Rubin, 1983; Laursen & Hartup, 1987; Neel et al., 1990; Ramsey, 1986; Sackin & Thelen, 1984). Through ethnographic and qualitative methods of participant observations, video recordings, and fieldnotes the researcher is able to examine conflicts within the context in which they occur without the constraints of memory, prescribed coding systems, and limited settings. Prolonged involvement as a participant in the classroom will provide a more accurate interpretation of the children's intentions in the context in which the conflicts occur.

This study, part of a larger ethnography, will compare both the physical and verbal peer conflicts of typically developing children and children with disabilities in an integrated preschool. The main objectives are to examine

social goals and resolutions of conflict as they occurred in the classroom culture.

Problem Questions

A. Social Goals of the Conflict

1. In what context did the conflict occur?
2. What goal was the child trying to achieve?

B. Resolution of the Conflict

1. How did the children resolve conflict?
2. What strategies did the child employ?
3. What was the outcome of the conflict?

C. Role of the Teacher in Children's Conflicts

1. When does the teacher intervene?
2. Whom does the teacher interact with first?
3. How does the teacher intervene?
4. What is the outcome of a teacher intervention?

Design

As part of a larger comprehensive ethnography, this study is conducted within a naturalistic paradigm. Unlike the emphasis on hypothesis-testing through experiments as in a positivistic paradigm, research within the naturalistic paradigm is a process of exploration in an undisturbed social setting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Human behavior can only be studied within the context of the culture; therefore, it is important for researchers to learn the social meanings of the culture they study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Ethnography is a description of culture in order to understand how people perceive, interpret, and represent everyday life experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The path of an ethnography is not predetermined; the ethnographic design is a continuous process of asking questions, collecting data, making ethnographic records, and analyzing data (Spradley, 1980). An ethnographer, through extended participation, can see, hear, and question the people, actions, and events in subjects' lives in order to collect the necessary data needed to inform the researcher about the issues being examined (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Through an exploratory examination of the culture, the observer selects and interprets information in the environment based on a set of questions pertaining to the research problem (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). The research problem and questions come from a continuous review of the literature and actual participation in the setting (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). An analysis of the data collection (fieldnotes and videotapes) reveals emerging themes identified by recurring patterns and events (Spradley, 1980). A description of the culture can then be presented through examples from the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Assumptions

There are a number of assumptions made by the ethnographer using a naturalistic paradigm. A naturalistic

paradigm assumes realities are multiply constructed; therefore, they must be studied holistically, within their natural settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although multiple realities are participant and context bound, an infinite number of constructions can be made in the minds of the participants in the classroom. Therefore, the naturalistic paradigm assumes the theory is grounded in the data, because multiple realities could not possibly be accounted for in any prior theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher assumes the research problem and questions can be developed, changed, and expanded throughout the data collection process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Through this process, themes and categories emerge to reveal patterns in the everyday lives of the participants (Spradley, 1980).

In ethnography, a researcher must assume cultures exist and "all perspectives and cultures are rational" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 13). The researcher must also assume that she has some idea about what a culture is like and selects, from the observations, data she judges to be cultural (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Finally, the researcher assumes previous observations of the setting and participants' recorded histories are informative and will be taken into account when interpreting the data (McMurray, 1992).

Limitations

Limitations exist when humans are the instruments of an investigation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although the participant observers take in a broad spectrum of information, the data they collect are selective and based on their own interpretations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Spradley, 1980). Recorded descriptions of the culture are derived from the point of view of the participant observer. These descriptions are limited by the ethnographer's own past experiences, values, activities, thoughts, and feelings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Spradley, 1980).

Although generalization of findings to other populations is limited because this study examines specific people in a particular setting at one point in time (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), the cultural elements, discovered through this study, will be generalizable to other settings (McMurray, 1992).

Trustworthiness

In a naturalistic paradigm realities are multiply constructed; therefore, validity and reliability procedures appropriate when a single "true" reality is assumed, are not appropriate techniques for an ethnography (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). But as an ethnographer, it is important to address the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the research findings (Guba, 1981).

Techniques to increase the internal validity and credibility of this study included prolonged engagement, persistent observations, peer debriefing, triangulation, member checks, and collection of referential materials (Guba, 1981). Through prolonged engagement in the integrated classroom, the participant observers learned the culture, built trust with the students and teachers, and became a natural part of the setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Long term involvement allowed participant observers time to overcome distortions caused by their presence and to test perceptions and biases of themselves and others (Guba, 1981).

Persistent observations were important in order to identify the elements and characteristics in the setting which were most relevant to the investigation of conflict (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher included the essential qualities, as well as relevant atypical characteristics, but excluded details irrelevant to the investigation (Guba, 1981).

Peer debriefing provided the researcher with the opportunity to interact with a knowledgeable professional who posed probing questions and provided possible alternatives to test the researchers developing perceptions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The participant observers redirected journals and field activities consistent with the critiques obtained during these debriefings (Guba, 1981).

Triangulation of a variety of sources (participant

observers, research team, videotaping, fieldnotes, and informal interviews) increased the credibility of the findings by cross-checking the data and interpretations. A comparison was made of the data obtained from these different sources, different methods, and multiple investigators (Guba, 1981). Information was not accepted unless it could be verified from at least two sources (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Eight weeks of videotaping were collected and used to verify findings and interpretations.

Member checks were performed by continuously testing the data and interpretations as they were derived with the research team and members of the classroom from which the data was collected (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through member checks the researcher gained additional information from the respondents in order to understand intentions, correct errors, and confirm individual data points (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Upon completion of the ethnography, the researcher submitted the findings to the research team and classroom staff for a final testing before putting it into its' final form (Guba, 1981).

Although the results of an ethnography are context bound and not generalizable to an entire population, transferability within similar contexts is important (Guba, 1981). In order to obtain transferability, the researcher participated in purposive sampling and collected "thick" descriptive data

(Guba, 1981). This will permit others to compare this integrated classroom to other possible contexts and provide the opportunity for judgements to be made about possible transfer (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Dependability or reliability of the ethnography will address the process of inquiry through use of triangulation and an audit trail (Guba, 1981). Overlapping of the methods, through triangulation, ensured that a weakness of one method was compensated for by strengths of another (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For example, poor sound obtained from a videotape may be compensated for by participant observer's detailed fieldnotes.

An audit trail of the processes by which data was collected and analyzed is another element to ensure findings were dependable (Guba, 1981). The data collection and interpretations, including interview notes and a running account of the process, was documented in journal format and available for an external auditor to review (Guba, 1981).

Although confirmability or objectivity is also assessed through an audit trail and triangulation, the focus rests on the products rather than the process of inquiry (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher kept a journal of introspections and assumptions which caused her to formulate questions and findings in a certain way (Guba, 1981). This audit trail was available to an external auditor and tested

during peer debriefing (Guba, 1981). The main goal of the auditor was to certify that data does exist to support the researchers interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Through triangulation, the researcher ensured that each element of inquiry was supported by at least two of the following sources: participant observers, fieldnotes, videotaping, research team, or informal interviews (Guba, 1981). Finally, because the research team was composed of individuals working in both the naturalistic and positivistic paradigm, individual predispositions were balanced out (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Subjects

There were seventeen children, seven girls and ten boys, from lower and middle class families, enrolled in the class. At the time of enrollment, the mean age of the children was four years, five months. The class was composed of nine typically developing children and eight children with disabilities. There were twelve white children (4 girls and 8 boys), three Asian children (1 girl and 2 boys), and two African-American girls. Seven of the children with disabilities were white (1 girl and 6 boys) and one child with a disability was an African-American girl. The children had mild to moderate disabilities; no child in the classroom was severely disabled. One child's disability is delayed speech and risk for later developmental problems due to an abusive

home environment. Another child has delays in both speech and cognitive functioning. The class also contained a child with autism, a child with cerebral palsy, a child with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and a child with meningomyelocele which impairs motor activity.

The purpose of the study was to examine the conflicts of typically developing children and children with disabilities in an integrated preschool; therefore, the conflicts of all seventeen children were targeted for inquiry. This research was approved by the Iowa State University Human Subjects Review Committee.

Setting

The study was conducted within project EMERGE, an innovative early childhood classroom located in the Iowa State University Lab School. Project EMERGE is the outcome of a joint venture between Ames Community School District and Iowa State University, the Department of Human Development and Family Studies. Developmentally appropriate curriculum and assessments which incorporate the research-supported practices of early childhood teaching strategies, teacher education, integration, and individualized educational programs have been identified through the project.

The teaching staff consists of an early childhood special education teacher, an education associate, and two graduate assistants. During the first half of the semester, a student

teacher participates on a daily basis. The Heartland Area Education Agency provides support staff on a consultative and direct service basis.

The laboratory classroom provides an opportunity for the frequent participation and observation of Human Development and Family Studies undergraduate and graduate students. Parents are also encouraged to participate in or observe the classroom. An observation booth with video equipment is available to students, parents, and visitors as a means to observe, without being seen, by the children.

The classroom measures 31'5'' by 33'5'' with a very high ceiling, hard tile floors, three exits, and a 31'5'' by 8'0'' upper balcony with windows along the back wall. Half the room contains, a sink, storage closet, basin, and three tables used for activities and snack time. The other half contains an area filled with props for dramatic play and a large carpet used for gross motor activities and large group activities. In the middle of the room is a carpeted area next to a shelf where blocks are stored. Along one wall is the observation booth and directly below are the children's cubbies. A computer center, writing center, story book corner, and another table, used for self-selection and small group activities, are located on the balcony. A door leading to a fenced playground is also located on the balcony level.

Daily Schedule

Children with disabilities attend from 8:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. and typically developing children attend from 8:30 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.

8:30 - 9:35 Arrival / Self-Selection

Self-Selection Activities: manipulatives, blocks, art projects, sensory activities, fine and gross motor activities, book corner, writing center, dramatic play, computer center, and activities to increase language and cognitive skills.

9:35 - 9:45 Clean up

9:45 - 10:05 Large Group/ Writing

10:05 - 10:20 Snack

10:20 - 10:45 Small Group

10:45 - 10:55 Book Exploration in Small Group

10:55 - 11:10 Large Group

11:10 - 11:45 Outdoor Self-Selection/ Departure of
Typically Developing Children

Procedures

Four to five days a week throughout the semester, one of the two participant observers were in the classroom. At the beginning of the study, the observers were blind to which students were the children with disabilities and which were

the typically developing children. Although the participant observers, an Iowa State University professor and a graduate student, could never truly be a peer to the children, the observers' goal was to participate as fully as possible in the role of a child. For example, participant observers avoided participating in instruction, discipline, and other activities related to the role of teacher.

Throughout the study, fieldnotes were recorded by two participant observers and videotaping, from 8:30 a.m. to 11:15 a.m., was distributed over the semester for a total of eight weeks. The data set, for this study, included 20 days of randomly selected videotapes, for a total of approximately 180 hours of viewing. Activities that were observed by participant observers include self-selection, snack time, small and large group, outside play, and field trips. The integrated preschool was observed from 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. The observations and videotaping were only done when the classroom was integrated. Fieldnotes included descriptive behaviors of the children and subjective comments and interpretations of observers.

The observers initially went into the classroom to observe social interactions in an integrated setting with the intention to focus on the issues of gender and race. After participating in the culture of the classroom, a number of conflict episodes were observed producing a shift in focus.

More data were gathered to develop categories surrounding the conflicts which emerged in the integrated classroom. This accounts for the appearance of data that was unexpected at the beginning of the study. Coding categories were not assigned prior to observing. The categories evolved after the initiations, strategies, and outcomes of child guided conflicts were observed. Themes emerged from the data collection which portrayed a deeper understanding of the conflicts within the classroom.

Instruments

The participant observers are the instruments in an ethnography (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through triangulation of methods (videotapes, observations, informal interviews) and multiple investigators, the trustworthiness of observations and interpretations were obtained. Validity of the interpretations of the children's behavior was addressed by consulting with the classroom staff and other observers on the research team at weekly meetings. Through the presentation of videotapes, the research team and preschool teachers discussed the validity of the assigned coding categories to particular conflict episodes.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the conflicts occurring between children in an early childhood integrated classroom. A number of conflict variables were examined including, social goals, oppositions, strategies, and outcomes, in an effort to compare both the physical and verbal peer conflicts of typically developing children and children with disabilities. The main objectives were to examine social goals and resolutions of conflict as they occurred in the classroom culture. The following sections include descriptions of the surroundings, participants, and daily activities of the integrated classroom to provide the reader with the context in which peer conflicts and resolutions occurred.

Surroundings of the Integrated Classroom

The early childhood integrated classroom is located on Iowa State University's campus in the Child Development building, a large red brick farm house, encircled by college dorms, on a small grassy hill surrounded by tall trees and small pine shrubs. On the main floor of the Child Development building are three laboratory classrooms designed for the purpose of child development research, education, and service for families. The teachers and students in these classrooms have access to a kitchen, a small library, and three

laboratory rooms in the building's basement. The kitchen was used for preparing snacks. The library and laboratory rooms were used for small group activities and timeout. There is also a computer room, in the basement, for college students. Classrooms and faculty offices are on the second and third floors of the building; and the attic has been transformed into an office for graduate students. The children were rarely on these upper level floors, but during a scavenger hunt, the children did have the opportunity to tour them. In the back of the building, there is a large fenced in playground divided into two play areas; a smaller playground for the older children in Lab C and a larger play area for the combined class of Lab A and B.

Lab B, the classroom for this study, measures 31'5'' by 33'5'' with a very high ceiling, brown hard tile floors, three exits, and a 31'5'' by 8'0'' upper balcony with windows along the back wall. One side of the room contains, a sink, storage closet, basin, and three tables used for activities and snack. The sink is used to wash hands, obtain water for various activities, and as drinking water. The teachers store self-selection materials (e.g., dinosaurs, cars, puzzles) in bins on shelves in the storage closet. A telephone and other miscellaneous items are also located in the storage closet. Everyday, the teachers put a new sensory activity (e.g., sand, water, flour) into a basin between the storage closet and the

sink. Mops, brooms, and dustpans hang on the wall next to this basin. When the children arrive to class, they find self-selection activities (e.g., playdough, legos, art material) on two round and one rectangular table. The tables have short legs and chairs just the right size for the children in the class. On one side of the rectangle table, is a shelf filled with colored construction paper, glue, scissors, and crayons. On the other side, stands an easel used for painting and drawing. On the wall, next to one of the round tables, is a bulletin board with pictures of Brad's typical daily activities. The teachers used these photographs as visual aides when explaining to Brad, a child with autism, the activities he would be participating in throughout the day.

The other half of Lab B contains an area filled with props for dramatic play and a large carpet used for gross motor and large group activities. In the dramatic play area, there is a play stove, sink, and refrigerator full of plastic food and dishes. The dramatic play area also contains a small table, two chairs, a small wooden rocking chair, a mirror, and a crib filled with dolls. Finally, there is also a blue shelf for storing props and a red coat rack for storing costumes the children wear during dramatic play. Every week a new theme is provided for the dramatic play area and new props are incorporated. For example, the children have come to school

when the dramatic play area has been a shoe store, a post office, and a doctor's office.

Next to the dramatic play area, a large wooden rocking chair sits on a large grey carpet. The carpet was used, during self-selection, for large motor activities (e.g., tumbling mat, trampoline, slide). During large group, the teacher sat on the large wooden rocking chair facing the children as they sat, forming a horseshoe, on the outer edge of the carpet. On one side of the carpet, a record player and tape recorder were placed on top of a shelf full of puppets and props used when the teachers told stories and sang songs. Along the wall, in back of the rocking chair, is a bulletin board with visual aides used, during the calendar activities, to help explain the days of the week and the weather. For example, geometric shapes (e.g., square, rectangle, triangle) in different colors each represented a day of the week. A balloon to be popped during the calendar activity and a round posterboard were also pinned to the bulletin board. An arrow on the poster board pointed to weather symbols. For example, if it was sunny the arrow was pointed to the sun. Each week Theresa, the head teacher, put up different pictures of the children's families on the bulletin board. When it was the child's turn to bring in pictures of his or her family, the child received a coupon good for one free sandwich from a participating "Subway" restaurant. Above the bulletin board

were the letters of the alphabet, pictures of dinosaurs, a large black and white clock, and each child's birth date written on a paper fish.

In the middle of the room is an aqua carpet next to a shelf where blocks are stored. The teachers also placed other activities on the carpet for self-selection including cars, trains, and wooden villages. Next to the aqua carpet is a wooden desk used for a peg board and locked storage.

Along one wall is the observation booth and directly below are the children's cubbies. The observation booth is used by students, teachers, parents, and visitors to observe the classroom as unobtrusively as possible. The observation booth also contains the video equipment used in this study to videotape the children. The children store all personal items they bring to school in cubbies located below the observation booth. Each child's cubby contains a shelf to place papers on and a hook to hang up their coats and bags. Above each cubby is the child's name and a nametag hangs from some string on the hook. When the children come into class, the nametag is pinned to the back of each child's shirt.

A computer center, writing center, story book corner, and another table, used for self-selection and small group activities, are located on the balcony. In the story book corner, there is a book shelf, a blue bean bag chair, and a large overstuffed chair. Paper, pencils, scissors, tape, and

a stapler are stored on a shelf in the writing center and a few self-selection activities are stored in a cupboard against one wall. Under the balcony, there are cupboard doors leading to a crawl space the children were allowed to use during dramatic play. A door leading to a fenced in playground is also located on the balcony level.

Most of the playground is full of grass and trees, but a small black topped area, near the door, was used for riding tricycles and pulling wagons. Within the fenced playground, there are swings, a bridge, a jungle gym, and metal bars for climbing. There is also a small hill in one corner of the playground that the children used during the winter for sledding.

Participants of the Integrated Classroom

The classroom is composed of 17 children, 9 typically developing children and 8 children with developmental disabilities. Although each child in the classroom participated in at least one conflict episode, the children with developmental disabilities were in more of the conflicts than the typically developing children. Fifty-three percent of the conflicts were between a child with a disability and a typically developing child. Both participants were children with developmental disabilities in 36.14% of conflicts. Conflicts between typically developing children occurred in only 10.84% of the total conflicts.

In general, boys (n=128) were in more conflicts than girls (n=38), there were more boy-boy (n=52) conflicts than boy-girl (n=24) conflicts, and the least number of conflicts were between two girls (n=7). More specifically, most conflicts occurred between Mike and Dan, two male children known to have behavioral disorders and Kris, a very assertive typically developing girl, was in the majority of boy-girl conflicts. Brief descriptions of the teachers and students are presented in the following paragraphs.

Teachers

There were five teachers who participated in the integrated classroom; Theresa, the head teacher, an education associate, a student teacher, and two graduate assistants. All the teachers were educated in child development or early childhood education.

Theresa. The head teacher, Theresa, is an early childhood special education teacher for the Ames school district. Theresa is in her late twenties, she is tall, thin, and has short brown hair. Theresa showed that she really cared for her students by displaying signs of affection. She often gave the children hugs and picked them up to rock them in times of distress. For example, one day when Don arrived into the classroom, Don said to Theresa, "Hi." Theresa gave Don a hug, "Big hug," she said (Sept. 16, 1992 fieldnotes). Another time, everyone was on the carpet for the second large

group. Dan gave Theresa a hug and then slapped her open palm to "give her five" (Sept. 16, 1992 fieldnotes).

The children also understood Theresa's authority in the classroom. The children were more likely to display inappropriate behaviors when another teacher led group.

Support staff. Before the children arrived, Theresa put together activities, scheduled college student visits to the classroom, and collaborated with her support staff. Theresa's staff included an associate education teacher, a student teacher, and two graduate assistants. Undergraduate college students came periodically throughout the day to assist with the activities. If a teacher was absent, the students were assigned to help with snack or lead a small group.

Theresa was an excellent role model for her support staff. The other teachers imitated the words and actions she used with the children. Although the large group activities were usually led by Theresa, the student teachers were expected to lead group on a few occasions. Sharon, the education associate, or Janet, a graduate student, were never observed leading the group during these activities. Sharon spent the majority of her time with Brad, a child with autism, who needed more one on one assistance than the other students in the class.

The teachers appeared to have a good working relationship. They all had a good sense of humor and often

shared amusing stories about the children. For example, one day during snack, Sharon was leaving the room to get a glass of water.

Sharon said, "Bye Brad." Brad said, "Bye Brad." Theresa said, "No, Bye Sharon." Brad said, "Bye Sharon. Don't get ____ Sharon." Theresa thought he said, "Don't get drunk." But Sandy thought he said, "Don't get in trouble." Either way they all had a good laugh (Sept. 18, 1992 fieldnotes).

The teachers seemed to take a lot of joy out of caring for these children and realized that they were fulfilling an important responsibility.

Theresa and Sharon were in the classroom everyday from 8:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., but the two graduate students, Janet and Sandy, supervised self-selection, snack tables, small group, and outside play between their college classes. Niki, the student teacher, participated in the classroom only half of the semester. Because Niki was in the classroom to learn how to be a teacher, she was expected to lead group and act as head teacher while being evaluated by Theresa.

In an interview, Theresa said she did not give specific rules to the teachers in the classroom as far as discipline procedures or the use of language in the classroom. Because this classroom was located in a laboratory preschool on a college campus and many of the teachers were graduate students in the field of child development or early childhood education, she expected the teachers to already possess the

necessary skills regarding discipline in a preschool setting (Aug. 26, 1993 interview). But Theresa did direct the other teachers' attention to problem situations, often asking them to place children in timeout, to sit by children, or to move toward a certain proximity of the room.

Children with Disabilities

In an interview with Theresa, she talked about the history of the children with disabilities (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). Although there were eight children with disabilities in the classroom, only seven will be discussed in the following paragraphs. Parental permission was not obtained from one child in the classroom.

Bill. Bill is a tall, thin boy with brown hair and brown eyes. Bill has cerebral palsy and is on seizure medication (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). He has low verbal skills and poor motor coordination which cause him to be very clumsy. Theresa said "He has become more oral, but has motor problems which often cause him to trip." Bill loves being in the classroom and seems to enjoy all the children and teachers. Although Bill has been observed playing with Bob on numerous occasions, Bill does not possess the appropriate skills to enter into play with the other children. It is also difficult for Bill to participate in one activity for an extended period of time, except for books. Theresa said, "He loves to read and can sequence stories. He knows his colors, but still needs help

counting" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

Bob. Bob is a thin boy with blond hair and blue eyes. He is usually dressed in dark green, navy, or black clothing. He often looks as though he just got up, his hair needs to be combed and green mucus protrudes from his nose. Theresa said, "Bob had a number of health problems when he was born. His brain was growing too fast, so they had to put a plate in his head." Bob is lagging in development, he has very low verbal skills which have improved over the course of the year. Theresa said, "He did not talk at all at first, but in the last few weeks he has been speaking in complete sentences. He is not confident in his abilities. His mother is very concerned about him. Bob has five or six older brothers and has been taken out of the home due to abuse" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). Theresa did not know or could not inform us whether Bob was abused himself. Theresa said, "Bob withdraws very quickly after he has been violent" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). Bob is not afraid to stand up for his rights among his peer group and will hit another child especially in retaliation, but Bob becomes frightened, backs off immediately, and runs away when he fears punishment from the teacher.

Brad. Brad, a five year old boy with autism, is the oldest child in the classroom. He is a stocky, but attractive child with brown hair and brown eyes. Brad lives with his

mom, dad, and at least one brother. Brad is the only child with a disability whose mother brings him to school daily. Brad's mother often stayed during self-selection watching Brad or visiting with Theresa. Because Brad is a child with autism, he has an abnormal way of dealing with people and objects. For example, he repetitively lined up videotapes in a row on the floor and he often responded with a blank stare when spoken to.

In an interview Theresa said, "It is Brad's second year in lab B. Last year he did not do a lot in the classroom. He's doing more this year, he is responding well to his new written schedule (he had a photographed schedule before). He now has a work table of his own, he must complete the work at the table before choosing things from self-selection. He spends a lot of time at the computer. He has difficulties with social situations and does not generalize very well. Brad will be going into the Kindergarten class next year. Sharon will be in there with him too, in the hopes that he will have a successful year" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

On the first day of school, during large group, Theresa explained to the children, "Brad will sometimes do things that everyone else will not be doing and if you have any questions about what Brad is doing you can ask me." She added, "If you see Brad doing good work, pat him on the shoulder and tell him you like his work. He likes that and will be your friend if

you do that." She also said that Mike knows Brad and is good at getting him to participate in group activities (Aug. 31, 1992 fieldnotes).

During large group and snack, Brad is the only child allowed to play with other toys. He almost always has some object in his hand to manipulate. One time, during a small group activity outside, Brad was allowed to be on equipment but the other children were not. The choices for small group were the swings or the tricycles, but Brad and Cher decided to go on the bridge. Sandy informed Cher that it was "not a choice," but nothing was said to Brad, who continued to play (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes).

During snack, Brad was given a little plastic sheet with pictures of a napkin, cracker, glass, and juice. Like the photographs on the wall, these pictures helped the teachers explain to Brad the activities in which he would be participating.

Sometimes during snack, Brad would run away from the table and enjoyed having Sharon run after him. Kris, a typically developing girl, found this activity amusing, too. Sharon often took Brad up to the balcony to play with the computer and read stories when he started causing a disturbance (e.g., running, screaming) in the classroom (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes).

Cher. Cher's long brownish-blond hair is usually pulled back into a pony tail or the sides put back in barrettes. She resembles a very tall two year old with her round face, rosy cheeks, baby fat, and waddling motion when she walks. Cher has spina bifida. In an interview, Theresa said, "When I had her over at Willson-Beardshear (elementary school), she could not walk at all. Then she used a walker and now has braces on her legs." This semester, Cher wore diapers, but at the end of the year, Cher had a catheter placed in her urine tract. Theresa said, "She lags in fine motor and switches words around at home, but I have not noticed this in the classroom" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

Although Cher has a difficult time climbing stairs and sitting on the floor for extended periods of time. Cher often likes support when she walks and sits; she likes to hold onto an adult's hand when walking, climbing stairs, and leans on adults when standing or sitting (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes).

The teachers describe Cher as stubborn and she can also be very bossy. When Cher talks, she often speaks in short sentences involving a request or comment. For example, outside during a small group activity, Cher was playing on the bars of the swing. Cher said, "I'm going to climb up there" as she points to the top of the swingset. She tries to reach as high as she can to pull herself up. After an unsuccessful attempt, Cher said she was going to slide down. She slid on

the bar toward the ground. To Sandy, Cher said, "Get me up." Sandy said, "Did I hear a please?" (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes). Another example of Cher's short commands was observed when the participant observer was using a rolling pin to roll out some playdough, Cher said, "I want the roller." The participant observer told Cher to wait until she was finished using it (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes). Another day Cher and the participant observer were playing with some playdough again, Cher handed the participant observer a rolling pin and commanded, "Roll this" (Sept. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

Theresa said, "Cher is sometimes shy and can be very stubborn." Although Cher seems to get along best with Bob and Bill, Cher is not popular among her peers and would rather play with an adult than the children. The children have also made comments about Cher's disability. Cher likes to play with the teachers, especially undergraduate students, more than the children. For example, on the playground, she often asked Susie, an undergraduate student, or the participant observer to play with her in the sandbox (Oct. 2, 1992 fieldnotes). Theresa did not have any specific objectives for Cher, but because she prefers to play with adults rather than her peers, a member of the research group suggested Theresa consider increasing Cher's social interactions with the children (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

During self-selection, Cher spent the majority of her

time engaged with the sensory motor activities in the basin or in the dramatic play area. The only conflicts Cher was observed in involved possession disputes.

Dan. Dan is a skinny boy with white hair and blue eyes. Dan is more interested in gross motor activities and blocks than the fine motor, sensory motor, or dramatic play activities.

Dan had troubles adjusting to school. On the first day, Dan tried to avoid all the people by moving away from them when they approached him.

When Theresa tried to talk to Dan, he began to cry and said, "I don't want to be here." Dan collapsed to the floor, Theresa picked him up to try to comfort him. When Cher arrived, Theresa gave Dan to Sandy. Dan began crying again and squirmed out of Sandy's arms. Once again he lay down on the floor. Finally, Sandy picked Dan up off the floor and managed to get him to sit still long enough to listen to a story (Aug. 31, 1992 fieldnotes).

A week later Dan was still having adjustment problems. On this occasion, a teacher was explaining to Dan that he needed to take off his jacket, but he did not want to. He began to cry while trying to get away from the teacher's grasp (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes).

At the beginning of the semester, Dan also talked out of turn during group and cried when called upon even when he initially wanted to be called on (Sept. 11, 1992 fieldnotes). Sometimes when Dan talked out of turn during group, he would make inappropriate comments.

During a calendar activity, Theresa asked, "Dale what shape is Monday?" She pointed to a picture above the word Monday. Dan shouted, "Puff the magic dragon." Then Dale gave the correct shape (Sept. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

Both in and outside of peer conflicts, Dan exhibits aggressive behaviors, including hitting, kicking, and pushing. But, Dan is not always an aggressive child, he can be quite affectionate. For example, the children were told to hug the puppets and wash up for snack. When it was Dan's turn he kissed as well as hugged the puppet (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes).

He often misinterprets children's behaviors as actions against himself and does not have the patience for children who interrupt his play or do things he does not like. For example, one day Bill accidentally bumped into Dan.

Dan said, "You push me" and commented that Bill was being bad. "Give me back my car." Then Dan showed Theresa the car he took from Bill. "I got this car," he said. Not knowing how he had obtained the car, Theresa acknowledged his success (Sept. 30, 1992 fieldnotes).

Dan would also intentionally do things to the other children. He tried to be very sneaky, he looked to make sure no one was watching before he stole another child's cracker or pushed a child off a tricycle he wanted to ride. For example, One day at snack Dan wanted another cracker.

Dan said, "You share a cracker." No one shared. Dan took Ellen's napkin with a cracker on it when she was not looking. He picked up the cracker, looked around, put the cracker in his mouth, and pushed the napkin back in front of Ellen.

Ellen turned around, looked at her napkin, and asked, "Did Dan eat my cracker?" Janet said, "I don't know. Let's ask him. Dan, did you eat Ellen's cracker? Dan, you know what? You already ate all your crackers and when you're done you need to just sit quietly in your chair. Ellen we'll see if we can find you another cracker." Dan said, "Uh, uh I want crackers. I don't have a cracker." Theresa talked to Dan, while Janet found Ellen a cracker (Sept. 4, 1992 video).

During an interview, Theresa said Dan was recently tested for autism. The results were inconclusive. "He seems to have the characteristic of some, but others don't match up. Dan is high functioning, but has an odd orientation to space. He often pushes people away from him. Dan's mother is very concerned about Dan and visits the classroom on occasion. All of Dan's siblings were adopted. His family has very high expectations for him." Theresa said that the family often tries to turn episodes around to make it look like the child Dan hurt was at fault (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

In the afternoon, Dan had his own work space. Theresa said his work space was a "Police area" meaning a teacher was close by should Dan be in need of assistance and to help him stay on task. Dan has low fine motor skills possibly due to his double joints. At the end of the year, Dan was put on ritalin and Theresa thought his behavior had improved (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

Luke. Luke is thin with blond hair and blue eyes. He wore mix-matched clothing and sometimes smelled unpleasant. Luke was the only child in the classroom who wore glasses.

Luke did not like to wear his glasses and removed them from his face on a number of occasions. To keep them from falling off his face, a black piece of elastic was tied on to the ends of the bows and wrapped around his head. Luke has low verbal skills and cognitive abilities. The only word Luke said was "mama", but he did provide his toy cars with sound effects. When playing with cars he said, "brrrrrrrr!". He said "mama" when referring to teachers and when in distress, otherwise he was very quiet. Luke came into the classroom at the end of the semester and was not well accepted by the children.

On Luke's first day of class, Tom was watching Luke, he said, "That's not supposed to be at our school." Janet said, "He's at our school now" (Oct. 21, 1992 fieldnotes).

Unfortunately, Luke did not have a friend in the preschool. Although he often watched the other children at play, he was rarely included in their activities.

Mike. Mike is a white boy with blue eyes and blond hair. He often initiates play and is asked by other children to play. Most of the time Mike is a very talkative, outspoken, friendly boy. For example, one day we took a field trip to Willson-Beardshear elementary school to see some fire engines. Everyone sat on the sidewalk as one of the firefighters explained the equipment to the children.

When the firefighter was talking to the children, Mike said, "My dad has a big hose." The firefighter said, "Yeah, we have a big hose." Mike said, "But my dad has a hose too." Whenever the firefighter would say "Okay?" Mike always responded

with an "Okay!" (Oct. 5, 1992 fieldnotes).

Although Mike lives in the typical nuclear family, he is not a typically developing child. Mike has been diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

Although he is on medication to control his hyperactive behavior, Mike can become very violent when he is angry. He has been observed kicking and hitting his peers and teachers. The teachers worked with Mike to help him to learn to be calm. Stability and routine are important for Mike.

Theresa said, "Mike was referred by a baby sitter due to behavior concerns. Mike is taking the medication ritalin. He has a difficult time with schedule changes, but does better if he is warned ahead of time. He can be very violent. His home environment as well as other factors may contribute to his behavior problem." Theresa is working with him on his social skills and problem solving skills (Mar. 26, 1993 interview).

In summary, the children with disabilities all have developmental delays, but each child has his or her own unique personality, characteristics, and behaviors. As a group, the children with disabilities had lower cognitive and verbal abilities and could be more aggressive than the typically developing children.

Typically Developing Children

The typically developing children, although similar in age to the children with disabilities, have strikingly

different features and abilities.

Amber. Amber, a very attractive Asian girl, usually wore pretty dresses and had her long black hair braided and tied with colorful ribbons or barrettes. Although Amber is usually quiet, she has a good sense of humor and can be very outgoing. Amber and Tom car pool together. She and Tom have been observed laughing and having fun in one another's company.

While Tom and Amber were playing with their playdough, Tom put a big ball of playdough on a little ball and smashed it with his hands. Amber started laughing then Don and Cher started laughing too. Tom did something else Amber found funny. Tom also was laughing. Tom smashed his playdough again. Amber turned to Mike at the writing table. Laughing, Amber said, "Look, Tom." Mike said, "It's not funny. It's not funny." Amber said, "No, Tom." Tom said, "Amber is laughing" (Sept. 23, 1992 fieldnotes).

Amber later became good friends with Ellen when they both brought Barbie dolls to school.

Angie. Angie has very short brown hair and brown eyes. She is more likely to wear pants rather than dresses to school and often brings stuffed animals to class with her. Angie seemed shy when she first arrived with her mom to the classroom and sometimes did not want her mom to leave. Angie's sister, a student in the class next door, sometimes came to the classroom, too.

Janet and the participant observer were sitting at a round table in the middle of the room. There were some peg boards with nails pounded into them just enough so rubber bands could be placed around the nails. Angie approached the table and sat down. Janet asked, "Are you a little shy today?" Angie

shook her head yes. Janet replied, "It's the third day, it will take some time." Janet asked Angie if she had any sisters. Angie held up two fingers. Janet said, "You have two sisters?" Janet said she saw Angie's sister yesterday when they dropped Angie off. Angie said her sister is in Lab A (Sept. 2, 1992 fieldnotes).

Although Angie can be shy, after she is around people for a while she enjoys teasing them.

During self-selection, Angie usually participated in the art activities and played with Ellen. Angie and Ellen often whispered back and forth to each other about children in the classroom.

Dale. Dale is a chubby boy with brownish blonde hair and brown eyes. Dale is intelligent and has a rather large vocabulary. When compared to the other children, Dale talks more like an adult and can explain things in intricate detail. Although he became friends with Pam, Dale is more of a loner, often involved in isolated activities by himself. He was not as active as the other boys in the classroom and missed a majority of the social interaction time because his mother often brought him late to class.

Don. Don, a short Asian boy with black hair, is the youngest child in the classroom. He was three at the beginning of the school year. Don laughs, smiles, and always seems to be in a good mood. Even the first day of class he had no problem saying goodbye to his mother (Sept. 16, 1992 fieldnotes). Don seems to get along with everyone, he takes

everything in stride, and rarely gets upset or even cries when the children hurt him. For example, one day as the children were beginning to sit down for large group, Dan tackled Don to the ground. Don just got up off the ground, walked over to the grey carpet, and sat down ready for group (Sept. 23, 1992 fieldnotes). Don rarely initiates conflicts, but often informs the teachers about them.

Ellen. Ellen has blue eyes and shoulder length, bobbed, blonde hair with bangs. She often arrived to class in attractive dresses and tights, she rarely wore pants to school. Ellen is very intelligent, socially adept, and seems to have a very good self esteem.

One day the participant observer was writing in her notebook outside on the playground, Ellen asked, "How many sisters do you have?" She replied "Two." The participant observer asked if Ellen had a sister. She said two, then counted herself, her sister, mother, and father. She concluded, "There are four people in my family" (Sept. 2, 1992 fieldnotes).

Ellen was a well liked child among her peers. Although she and Angie became the most intimate visible friendship in the classroom, Ellen also became friends with Amber. Ellen and Amber often played together with the Barbie dolls they brought to class. Ellen also enjoyed helping the teachers in the classroom. She was often one of the children chosen to help make snacks. Ellen's mom, a secretary in the building where Lab B is located, often stayed in the classroom for a little while

to watch Ellen and visit with Theresa. Sometimes during her breaks, she would return to the classroom to watch the children from the observation booth.

Kris. Kris is a thin, tall, very assertive, active girl with shoulder length, blond, bobbed hair, bangs, and blue eyes. She is usually dressed in pants rather than dresses. Kris likes to be in control. She shows great leadership potential, but can be very stubborn when she does not want to follow the rules. The following example illustrates Kris's desire to be the leader in a board game.

We played Candyland in small group. Kris said, "I know how to play it. You guys don't. I have this game at home." Kris said, "I'll go first, cause I'm the leader." Sharon said, "I haven't decided on a leader. Sandy will pick who goes first." Sandy picked Kris, Sandy said, "I have picked Kris. Go first, Kris." Kris said, "I'm the leader, I went first" (Oct. 16, 1992 fieldnotes).

Kris really enjoys teasing her peers, but often does not know when to stop harassing a child. The following example illustrates Kris teasing Brad.

Kris tried to touch Brad's dinosaur. Brad said, "No, no." Brad moved Kris's hand away from the dinosaur. Kris picked up two dinosaurs. Kris said, "Look their fighting." Brad said, "No, no." Brad picked up a dinosaur and walked away. Kris followed Brad. Kris said, "Say Kris, Kris, say Kris." Kris stopped following Brad and walked over to the dramatic play area. Later, Kris returned to Brad and tickled him with a feather. Brad said, "No, No, No. Now give me that." Kris continued to tickle Brad until Sharon said, "Kris, Brad said stop it." Then, Bob tried to take the feather Kris used to tickle Brad. Kris said, "No, Bob. Want me to do

something to Brad?" Kris went over to Brad to tickle Brad's dinosaur. Brad said, "No, no. Stop that." Sharon told Kris not to bother Brad. Bob used the feather to tickle Brad. Kris said, "He's doing it! Get him!" Kris went over to Brad and gave him a hug. Brad said, "Please, please." Brad and Kris went over to the playdough table (Nov. 6, 1992 fieldnotes).

However, Kris can become hurt when excluded from activities. She is friends with Pam and Brad. Kris often told the teachers little stories about her personal life. She was most likely to talk about these events at the snack table.

One day during snack, Kris said to Sandy, "You know where I get to go? Patricia's house." She said that Patricia was in Lab A with the three year old's. Then she said, "Her mom is picking me up. I've never been in her car before so now I get to see what's inside." Sandy asked, "How do you know Patty?" Kris said, "No, no, not Patty. I don't know her mom's name is, I only know what the kid's name is." Sandy said, "Yeah, because she's your friend" (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes).

Pam. Pam is an intelligent, tall, thin girl with big brown eyes and thick, curly, bushy, brown hair. Although Pam is part white and part African-American, she was adopted by white parents. Pam often wore dresses, but they were more casual in comparison to those worn by Amber and Ellen.

Pam does not like attention drawn toward her. She often covered her ears when called on to take a turn or became the center of attention during large group (Sept. 18, 1992 fieldnotes). At the beginning of the school year, she was friends with Kris, but later became better friends with Dale. During conflicts, she talked to the children to defend herself

and her ideas.

Steve. Steve is a tall, thin boy with blue eyes, red hair, and freckles. He is very intelligent and sensitive. Possibly because he is intellectually superior, Steve has a difficult time relating to the other children. Steve's dad brought him to school almost everyday. His dad played with the children during self-selection and often accompanied the class on field trips. Most of the time, Steve played with either his Dad or Tom during self-selection. He and Tom have been known to gang up on Mike, but Steve rarely initiates conflict.

Tom. Tom, a very intelligent Asian child, from a large family, seemed shy at first, but became friendly and popular among the children as time went by. At the beginning of the semester, he was quiet and kept to himself. For example, he spent more time in the writing center during self-selection by himself (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes). Later he became more vocal and was even reprimanded by Theresa for talking to the other children during large group. Tom's first friends in the classroom were Amber and Steve. They seemed to like to do the same things and be intellectual equals. Tom often knew the answers to questions asked during group, he can read (e.g., the children's names) and can count very well. According to Theresa, as Tom became more "self confident" in the classroom, he became friends with Mike, Dan, and Don. Mike and Dan were

more physically active and may have provided Tom with a sense of excitement.

Tom often assumed the role of the teacher in conflicts, he tried to smooth things over, comfort the victim, and defend his friends. He was also an informant to the teacher. He often reported what happened to the teachers or asked the teachers for help. Although Tom found humor in teasing the children, he seemed to be sensitive to the children's feelings and rarely initiated conflict. For example, during a small group activity, Tom accidentally stepped on Bill's hand. When Bill began to cry, Tom picked up Bill's hand and rubbed it (Sept. 21, 1992 fieldnotes).

In summary, as a group, the typically developing children have higher cognitive capabilities, were more popular with their peers, and demanded less of the teacher's attention than children with disabilities. But similar to the children with disabilities, each typically developing child has his or her own unique personality, characteristics, and behaviors.

Activities of the Integrated Classroom

The teachers and students, of the early childhood integrated classroom, participated in a variety of activities throughout the day. These activities, including self-selection, large group, writing, snack, small group, and outside play, provided the children with structure and consistency.

Arrival

When the children entered the classroom, all of Theresa's attention was focused on greeting them and their parents. All of the typically developing children and Brad, a child with autism, were brought to the classroom by their parents, but the children with disabilities arrived on buses.

As the children arrived, they were greeted by a teacher, and put away their coats, book bags, and other personal belongings in their cubbies. Either the teacher or the child's parent pinned the child's nametag to the back of his or her shirt. For example, on the first day of class, Don arrived to school with his mother.

Theresa helped Don find his cubby with his name on it. Theresa told Don that she remembered him from the summer. Don did not respond. Theresa then informed Don's mother where she could sign in everyday. There was also a board, under the parents sign up sheet, where the children could sign in themselves. Don told Theresa he signed an "H". Theresa clapped and said "Yeah!" Theresa interested Don in some playdough with another teacher (Aug. 31, 1992 fieldnotes).

Self-selection

After the children arrived, they participated in a variety of self-selection activities which the teachers had set up in the room. Most of the children wandered from activity to activity staying at those they enjoyed longer than others. Although self-selection was a time for conversation and social interaction, the children were expected to follow a number of rules. First, the children were to stay calm and

use inside voices. One day, Mike, Dan, and Brad were yelling as they played on the jungle gym. Janet told them that their noise was too loud for being inside (Sept. 28, 1992 fieldnotes).

No running was a another rule the children were expected to follow. Mike quickly learned this rule, on the second day of class, when Theresa told Mike he would have to sit in his cubby after he had been running in the room. Theresa said, "You can't run around the room wildly" (Sept. 2, 1992 fieldnotes).

Also, the children had to choose some activity, but the teachers encouraged the children to "choose something else," if they spent too much time at one activity. This was a common occurrence for sensory motor and large motor activities.

Not every activity in the room was a choice for self-selection. For example, at the beginning of the semester, Kris and Pam were standing over by the bulletin board above the grey carpet.

Kris said, "The balloon came off." Pam said, "Ah!" Kris said, "It's going to be raining." Pam said, "It's raining right now. First it's rainy, then it's sunny." Theresa walked over to inform the children that the calendar was not one of the choices of self selection today (Sept. 2, 1992 fieldnotes).

Besides supervising and assisting children with self-selection activities, the teachers also became involved in the

play. In the following episode, Theresa was participating in dramatic play. Theresa was telling Kris that she needed to buy a high-chair for her baby from Casey's, a local convenience store.

Kris said, "There's one left." Theresa asked, "Do you think if I call Casey's they could hold it for me and I could get it later?" Kris said to the doll she was feeding, "Stop reaching your hand in there." Theresa commented that it was probably hot and the baby could get hurt, but Kris said that it wasn't hot, the doll liked to put his hand in it. Theresa asked Kris how much the high-chair cost. Kris asked, "The red high-chair?" Theresa asked, "How much does the red high-chair cost?" Kris replied, "5.02." Theresa pretended to call Casey's on a toy telephone. She asked them to hold the high-chair and told them she would be over to get it in a little bit (Sept. 3, 1992 fieldnotes).

Clean-up

At the end of self-selection, Theresa played music as a cue to the children that it was time to pick up the activities. Then she would walk around the room, informing the children they had five minutes before it was time to clean up. After the five minute warning, all the children, except Brad, were expected to pick up the toys and put them away for the day.

Large Group

After all the activities were picked up, the children formed a horseshoe by sitting down on the edge of the grey carpet. Theresa began large group by leading a sing-a-long, with hand motions, until everyone was seated. During large group, the children were encouraged to participate in a number

of activities. During the calendar activity, Theresa asked the children which geometric shape (e.g. square, rectangle, triangle) on the bulletin board represented the day of the week. Then, to help the children understand one day has past and a new one has begun, Theresa popped yesterday's balloon and blew up a new balloon for today. Calendar was followed by a weather activity. Theresa asked a child to look out the window on the balcony to see what the weather was like outside. Then she moved an arrow on the poster board to the correct symbol which indicated the type of weather. For example, if it was raining, Theresa pointed the arrow to a picture of a cloud and raindrops. Every other day a different child had the opportunity to take home the "mystery box". With a parent's help, the child put an object into the empty box and wrote clues as to what was inside the box. When the child brought the box back to school, the children tried to guess what was inside the box based on the written clues. During large group, a child was also chosen to take home Puff, a dragon puppet, for the night. Finally, large group was a time when the children sang songs, did finger plays, and read stories. The following paragraph is an example of a typical large group.

During large group today, Mike had the mystery box. Tom guessed, "Pig" then "sheep." Mike read a clue, but then gave away the answer. Theresa suggested that Mike pick Tom or Angie to give the box to, but Mike picked Brad. Brad had already had the box, so Mike picked Don instead. During the

calendar activity, Sandy asked, "What day is today?" Tom said, "September." Sandy said, "That's the month." Then Tom said, "Friday." When Sandy blew up the balloon she drew a picture on it and asked the children to guess what it was. Dan said, "A zoo." Mike said, "A dragon." And Dale guessing correctly said, "Tree and flowers." When asked the number of the week, Tom stated correctly, "Eighteen." Dan asked Dale, "What are you doing stinker?" He hit Dale. Janet moved Dan to another place on the grey carpet. Dan said, "Sad, sad." Angie was asked to check the weather she said it was sunny (Sept. 18, 1992 fieldnotes).

Because large group was a time to listen to the teacher, there were a number of rules the children were to follow. The children were expected to keep their hands and feet to themselves, take turns talking, and sit on their bottoms at the edge of the carpet. One day during large group, Cher was leaning on the participant observer. But when she got up on her knees, an undergraduate student helped her to sit on her bottom (Sept. 2, 1992 fieldnotes).

There was also a rule that the children could not take off their shoes during group. As the following example illustrates, Kris had a difficult time following this rule.

One day during group, Kris refused to put her shoes on. Theresa had Kris sit in her cubby. Theresa sat on a chair in front of Kris so she could not see what the other children were doing. Pam said, "What are you doing Theresa?" Janet said to Pam that she didn't know what Theresa was doing. Angie whispered something to Ellen. Theresa took Kris into the bathroom for time out (Oct. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

Finally, the children were to stay in one place on the carpet. Talking to one of the children during large group,

Theresa said, "You need to sit here and it is not a choice to move" (Sept. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

After large group, the children were dismissed through a dismissal game. For example, one day, Theresa asked the children to take turns giving another child a hug and then leave to wash up for snack time. Most of the children hugged, but Dan gave the children a kiss (Sept. 2, 1992). Another day, Sandy began dismissing people for snack by having them read their names on a card. Tom could read all the names without any help from Sandy (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes). After they were dismissed, they were expected to wash their hands and use the bathroom before sitting at their snack table.

Writing

Half way through the semester, Theresa incorporated a writing activity after large group. During this activity, the students were each given a booklet of paper, a magic marker, and were instructed to find a quiet place to sit down and write. She handed out the books one by one until everyone had a book and found a place to sit. It was not a time to talk to friends and they were not allowed to sit at the snack tables. Sometimes the teachers would walk around the room and help the children write stories about the pictures they drew in their books. After the children wrote, approximately 10 minutes, Theresa rang a bell to dismiss them for snack. Before they washed their hands for snack, the children handed their magic

markers and books to Theresa.

Snack

During snack, the children were assigned a snack table according to the color of their pink, green, or orange nametag. Each snack table was composed of both typically developing children and children with developmental disabilities.

There were certain rules the children were encouraged to follow during snack. On one of the first days of school, Theresa used two puppets to demonstrate the rules (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes). Each child was "in charge" of a particular snack item. These items consisted of napkins, juice, glasses, spoons, bowls, and a snack item (e.g., cookie, cracker, pretzel). The children were expected to ask for the item they wanted from the person who was in charge of the item. The children were allowed to pour their own juice and select their own snack item out of a basket or bowl, but they could have only a half a glass of juice and a limited number of snacks. For example, when the participant observer asked for the cheese, Tom said, "Only four." The participant observer nodded. Sharon said, "No, she can have five" (Sept. 23, 1992 fieldnotes).

The items for snack are sometimes made by the children in the room as a self-selection activity. For example, at one table, Sandy was helping Don make lemonade.

Sandy said to Don, "I will cut (the lemon) and you will squeeze." When Don tried to grab the lemon, Sandy said, "First I should cut it." Don replied, "Okay." Then Sandy said, "I will cut this in half. Then, see this handle? I want you to push this down." Don pushed the handle down. Sandy said, "Good Job! It's hard work, push hard. Look at all that juice." Janet agreed, "Don, your a muscle man." Sandy pointed to the garbage as she said to Don, "Can you put that lemon in here." Then Sandy asked Don, "Can you do this part?" She handed Don a lemon to put in the squeezer. Janet said "Wow! Look at that." Sandy said, "Is there any more juice?" Don said, "No." Sandy said, "Okay take it out" (Sept. 2, 1992 fieldnotes).

At other times, Sharon asked three children to help put snacks together downstairs in the kitchen. In the kitchen, each child was given a task. One child would count the napkins, a second child would count the silverware, and the third child would help prepare the snack item to put in baskets or bowls. Sharon would put all three items and a pitcher of juice on a tray before taking them upstairs to the classroom.

The children were not as active during snack, but they did talk among themselves and with the teacher. One day, when we were eating apples and dip, Kris explained to Theresa the recipe for caramel apples.

Kris explained where and when her mother got the apples, she said, "Mom got apples off the tree. I was in my mom's tummy and that was a long, long time ago." Theresa asked Kris how old her mom is. Kris said she didn't know. Theresa asked, "Older than you?" Kris said, "Yes." Theresa said, "Twenty?" Kris said, "No." Theresa asked, "Younger than twenty?" Kris said, "Yes." The teachers and I chuckled at her answer (Sept. 30, 1992 fieldnotes).

Brad often ran away from the snack table. He liked to make it a chasing game between himself and Sharon. When Sharon knew Brad was just doing this for attention, she would send another teacher to retrieve Brad. When the teacher brought Brad back to the table, he usually ran over to Sharon and gave her a hug.

Brad did not sit still at the snack table. He got up and ran to the other side of the room and stopped to see if Sharon was watching him. Sharon said that Brad wanted her to chase him. Sharon continued to sit at the table, but Sandy brought Brad back to the table. When Brad reached the table he gave Sharon a hug (Sept. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

After snack, the children were expected to dispose of their own napkins, put their cups on a tray, and wipe up their table area with a sponge. Each child was expected to return to the snack table and wait for the small group activity to begin.

Small Group

Theresa assigned each table with a small group activity. During these activities, the groups stayed at their snack table or went to the library, outside, on a walk, or to another part of the room. Each week, new activities were rotated to allow each small group a chance to participate. During small group activities, the children were not allowed to join another group's activity without permission from Theresa. For example, one day Cher walked over to the carpet where Theresa was leading a small group activity. Cher

frowned as Theresa took her back to her own group (Sept. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

In contrast to snack, small group was a time for the children to listen to the teacher and not talk to each other. The teacher who led the small group activity usually read a story at the completion of the activity.

Large Group

After small group, the children again formed a horseshoe on the grey carpet. During this time, Theresa read a story to the children before dismissing them to go outside and play. When the weather did not permit outside play, the children joined Lab A in their room for a video or Theresa provided the children with a number of activities to choose from including a Barney video.

Outside

Outside the children could choose to do whatever they wanted and were usually joined by Lab A. Both Lab A and Lab B teachers supervised outside play.

During outside play, the center of conflict was the jungle gym ship. The boys occupied the ship often creating dramatic play scenes from Peter Pan. There always seemed to be some theme of good versus evil.

On this occasion, Mike just returned to the ship. Dan was on the ship. Dan said, "I don't like him. I'm going to get him." Mike said, "Grab on, grab on to the rope. Get Dan down, get Dan down." Dale tried to push Dan down on the face. After I stopped Dale from pushing, Dan got onto the ship.

Then Mike said, "Tie him up, tie Dan up." As Dale, Don, and Mike were in the process of tying Dan up with the jumprope, I quickly informed Sandy of the situation. Sandy stopped them from tying Dan up by talking to them about their own personal space (the topic of today's group) (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes).

The children remained on the playground until 12:00 p.m. All of the typically developing children were picked up by their parents on the playground and the children with disabilities were brought back inside where they completed their afternoon activities by 3:00 p.m.

Analysis of the Participants' Conflicts

Conflict is "a clash, competition, or mutual interference of opposing or incompatible forces or qualities (e.g., ideas, interests, wills)" (Grove, 1986). In a social interaction, conflict occurs when there are incompatible goals between two or more people (Hay, 1984; Shantz, 1987). Children come into conflict when one child's behavior is opposed by another child and the first child continues the behaviors being opposed (Hay, 1984; Shantz, 1987).

Participant observers focused on peer conflict to determine the process children used to resolve conflict. A number of questions were examined.

Problem Questions

A. Social Goals of Conflict

1. In what context did the conflict occur?
2. What goal was the child trying to achieve?

B. Resolution of Conflict

1. How did the children resolve conflict?
2. What strategies did the children employ?
3. What was the outcome of the conflict?

C. Role of the Teacher in Children's Conflicts

1. When does the teacher intervene?
2. Whom does the teacher interact with first?
3. How does the teacher intervene?
4. What is the outcome of a teacher intervention?

In an effort to analyze the data, eight randomly selected tapes were viewed in their entirety, noting the conflicts that occurred on each tape. Then the researcher reviewed the tapes again to develop a running record of each conflict from the videotapes and fieldnotes. Preliminary results revealed that most conflicts occurred during self-selection; therefore, the decision was made to view only self-selection for the remaining 12 videotapes.

After viewing the 20 videotapes, a running record was made for each of the 83 identified conflict episodes. Then an observational worksheet (Figure 1) was completed to record the sequence of conflicts. Through these worksheets, data was narrowed down, organized, and counted to produce a number of frequency tables. This helped to identify, for example, which strategies were used the most, the least, and by whom.

Domain analysis (Spradley, 1980) was used to analyze the data. Through a domain analysis, the researcher was able to

Activity: Self-Selection/Blocks
Date: 11/12/92

Child who initiates the conflict	Physical or verbal behavior before conflict	Initial opposition and who opposed
Bob special needs	took Daniel's block.	Daniel opposed "No, Bob!"

Adult Intervention	Child Intervention
The teacher tells Dan not to hit, that he should use his words.	

Figure 1. Observational worksheet to record the sequence of conflicts.

Strategies of child who initiated	Strategies of child who opposed
<p>Bob holds the block.</p> <p>Bob drops the block and walks to the dramatic play area.</p>	<p>Dan tries to grab the block. Dan hits Bob.</p>
Outcome	Comments
<p>win/lose children separate</p>	

Sharing >
Hitting > is a kind of > conflict strategy.
Kicking >

Figure 2. Domain analysis worksheet.

locate categories of meaning by examining the fieldnotes and videotapes to identify cultural domains (Spradley, 1980). "A cultural domain is a category of cultural meaning that includes other smaller categories" (Spradley, 1980, p. 88). The category terms may either be words used by the people in the culture or specified by the researcher. A domain analysis worksheet (Figure 2) was also completed, for 20 days of fieldnotes and videotapes, using semantic relationships which coincide with the previously stated problem questions (Spradley, 1980). Domain terms were identified in the collected data which correspond to the chosen semantic relationship. A list of all identified domains was accomplished by repeatedly searching through fieldnotes and videotapes using a number of semantic relationships (Spradley, 1980).

Domain analysis revealed seven major domains including: goals in conflicts, oppositions, conflict strategies, resolutions, adult interventions, child interventions, and

outcomes. The domain analysis was guided by previous research on conflict. The definitions of the categories, listed in Table 1, emerged from the data during the analysis process. The findings of this study are supported by detailed descriptions of the culture, interviews with the head teacher, and frequency counts. In the following paragraphs, descriptions of peer conflict will be presented through examples from the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Social Goals in Conflicts

Although conflicts occurred throughout the course of the day, conflicts were most often observed during self-selection as opposed to snack or group times. During self-selection, conflicts were most common in the dramatic play area, the gross motor area, and in the block area (Figure 3 & Table 2). Materials which often led to possession conflicts included: manipulatives (e.g., blocks, cars, and legos), gross motor activities (e.g., balls, balloons, and jumping mat), and attractive but sparse dramatic play toys (e.g., jewelry, purses, and money). Art materials and fine motor activities produced the least number of conflicts.

Conflicts occur as the result of incompatible social goals. Social goals are what children intend to achieve in social interactions (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983). Seven social goals emerged from the data. Of the goals that resulted in a peer conflict, "Acquire an object" (n=44) was the goal most

Table 1. Definitions and frequencies of categories from each conflict domain.

Social Goal	n	Definition
Annoyance	12	"teasing or aggressive actions toward a child or group of children without provocation and seemingly without a desired objective (e.g., there is no attempt to gain a toy)" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8).
Course of Play	6	"refusing to adopt a fantasy role" (Shantz, 1987, p. 287), "wanting to pursue an idea but is denied by the other children" in the course of a current play activity (Wilson, 1988, p. 8).
Personal Space	4	"one or more children attempting to crowd into claimed spaces, reclaiming of a previous space occupied by a child; accidental or incidental contact with another person or possession that initiates a protest response" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8).
Acquire an- Object	44	children trying to acquire the same or "one or more children trying to gain a toy already possessed by a child" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8).
School Rules	5	one or more children violates a school rule (Shantz, 1987).
Enter Play	9	"child is denied entrance to an activity" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8).
Stop Action	3	to prevent or stop another's action (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983).

Table 1. (continued)

Opposition	n	Definition
Begging	1	pleading for an object (e.g., "Please, please, please").
Covering	1	putting body or body part over an entire object in order to conceal, protect, or defend it (e.g., Amber puts her arms over her felt board, Mike puts his hand over his container of rocks).
Crying	6	a whining or wailing noise often accompanied by shedding tears.
Directing	7	instructing or ordering a peer (e.g., "Give that back", "Leave your hat on", "Don't do that again").
Grabbing	9	taking hold of an object or peer with a hand (e.g., grab an object, grab an object from a peer, grab peers body or clothing, arm, neck, hand, shirt). (e.g., Dan grabs a purse Mike is holding, Bob grabs Tom's arm).
Hitting- Person	3	striking a peer with hand or object (e.g., Hit peer, hit object, hit peer with object, hit object with object, threaten to hit, tap).
Holding Back	8	an effort to keep a peer from an object by pulling the peer's arm, hand, or body away from the object, pulling the object out of the peer's reach, or holding the peer away from the object with one's body (e.g., Mike pulls the rock container away from Bill).
Informing Adult	2	tell an adult what a peer is doing (e.g., "He took that", "He's squishing me", "Dan wants to break this").
Informing Peer	12	provide knowledge to a peer about an object, person, or action (e.g., "I was using it", "My hat is too little", "Your splashing it out").

Table 1. (continued)

Opposition	n	Definition
Kicking	1	hit peer or object with foot.
"Mine"	3	child states possession with the words "mine" or "my" (e.g., "That's mine", "My rocks").
Moving	5	change the position of an object or person. Crawl, run, or walk away (e.g., Brad ran with the car, Dale crawls away from Bill with the train).
Name Calling	1	to insult a peer with derogatory statements (e.g., "You little B.S").
Pulling	9	pull object from peer, pull on object peer is holding, pull peer's arm or hand (e.g., Kris pulls on a ball Angie is holding, Bob pulls on a hose Bill is holding).
Pushing	7	moving peer or object with body, body part, or other object (e.g., push peer, push object, push object into another's object, push object into peer, push hand back with object, hold back peer).
Questioning	1	asking for information (e.g., "Did Dan eat my cracker?").
Reaching	3	extending a hand toward an object or peer (e.g., Bill reached for Brad's car).
Screaming	1	loud verbal noise with no speech sounds.
Verbal- Protesting	22	the child says don't, no, or the peer's name. These words may be used in combinations with an informing or directive statement (e.g., "Don't Bill", "No, no", "No, don't").

Table 1. (continued)

Strategies	n	Definition
Affection	1	smile, tickle, put arm around peer's waist or shoulder.
Begging	4	pleading for an object (e.g., "Please, please, please").
Covering	5	putting body or body part over an entire object in order to conceal, protect, or defend it (e.g., Mike covers a purse with his body).
Crying	10	a whining or wailing noise often accompanied by shedding tears.
Directing	32	instructing or ordering a peer (e.g., "You put this on", "You leave me alone", "Don't do that again").
Following	11	running or walking after peer (e.g., Kris walks after Brad).
Grabbing	20	taking hold of an object or peer with one's hand (e.g., grab an object, grab an object from a peer, grab peers body or clothing, arm, neck, hand, shirt).
Hitting- Peer	6	striking a peer with hand or object (e.g., Kris hit dan with a sock, Dan tapped Brad on the head).
Hitting object	4	striking an object with hand or another object (e.g., Dan knocked down his block structure, Dan hit Don's car with his car).
Holding Back	8	an effort to keep a peer from an object by pulling the peer's arm, hand, or body away from the object, pulling the object out of the peer's reach, pushing the peer's hand back with the object, or holding the peer away from the object with one's body (e.g., Mike pulls the rocks out of Bill's reach, Cher pulls the phone out of Pam's reach).

Table 1. (continued)

Strategies	n	Definition
"Hostile-Gesture"	4	making a fist, shooting with ones fingers (Wilson, 1988).
Ignoring	34	child continues previous activity and does not respond to peers or teachers.
Informing-Adult	44	tell the teacher what a peer is doing (e.g., "He took that," "He's squishing me", "Dan wants to break this").
Informing-Peer	59	provide knowledge to a peer about an object, person, or action (e.g., "I was using it", "My hat is too little", "Your splashing it out").
Insisting	9	hold firmly to ones position (e.g., "Uh huh", "Yes!", "Yes, you would!").
Kicking	3	hit peer or object with foot.
"Mine"	3	child states possession with the words mine or my (e.g., "That's mine", "My rocks").
Moving	29	change the position of an object or person. Crawl, run, or walk away (e.g., Bob walks over to the grey carpet, Don crawled over to sit by Dan on the grey carpet).
Offering	7	hold out object to peer (e.g., Dan holds out a car to Mike).
Pulling	1	to tug on an object a peer is holding in an effort to retrieve the object.
Pulling-Hair/Head	2	tug on a peer's hair or head to inflict pain (e.g., Dan pulled Dale's hair).
Pushing	20	moving peer or object with body, body part, or other object (e.g., push peer, push object, push object into another's object, push object into peer).

Table 1. (continued)

Strategies	n	Definition
Reaching	9	extending a hand toward an object or peer.
Removing-Object	2	peer withdraws the object from conflict (e.g., "lets just not have the earrings").
Questioning	2	asking to use an object (e.g., "Can my baby go down there?").
Screaming	3	loud verbal noise with no speech sounds.
Substitute	4	peer gives an object to a peer and takes peer's object, peer gets a different object, or grabs an object from a peer other than the one in conflict (e.g., Angie said, "Ok then, I'll pick something else", Angie gets a new piece of Jewelry, Bill gave Luke his purse and takes Luke's purse).
Taunting	2	to provoke peer with insults (e.g., "Na, na, na, boo, boo!").
Throwing	6	to propel an object into the air or at a peer (e.g., Kris threw and object at Mike).
Verbal- Protesting	56	child says don't, no, or the peer's name. These words may be used in combinations with an informing or directive statement (e.g., "Don't Bob!").
Waving	3	gestures hand at peer to signal "go away" or "move away" (e.g., Angie waves Kris away with her hand).

Table 1. (continued)

Adult Interventions	n	Definitions
Apology	1	apologizes for a peer's actions (e.g., "I'm sorry Dan knocked your stuff over").
Choice	1	adult gives the child an option (e.g., "You can...or I will").
Directing	34	instructing or ordering a child (e.g., "Bill needs to wait his turn", "Kris, I would like the jewelry to stay down here").
Informing	36	provide knowledge to a child about an object, person, or action (e.g., "Bill, Bob is using it").
Listen to Peer	8	adult repeats a child or tells a child to listen to what her or his peer is saying (e.g., "Listen to Kris's words", "He is saying no", "He doesn't want you to...").
Questioning	13	asking the child questions to identify the problem, to discover what the child wants, and to understand what the child is doing (e.g., "What makes you sad?", "What happened?", "Did you want a turn?", "Do you want a car?").
Redirecting	8	draw the child's attention to a new activity (e.g., "Dan help me pick up these blocks", "You have those blocks down there to play with").
Removing-Object	5	take away an object from a child (e.g., "We're going to put that up here and you can eat it later", the teacher puts the food above the cubbies).
Removing-Person	9	take away a child from a situation or area of the room (e.g., the teacher takes Bill out of the room, the teacher moves Dan back to his seat, the teacher picks up Dan and carries him to a chair).

Table 1. (continued)

Adult Interventions	n	Definitions
Sharing	4	adult tells children to play together or take turns (e.g., "you need to share", "play together").
Substitute	5	adult gives one child the object of conflict and the other child a comparable object or only gives a comparable object to one child (e.g., "Susan gives Bob a piece of paper", "Brad's mom gives Bob a car").
"Use your-words"	18	adult tells the child to talk to the peer (e.g., "Dan, you need to use your words", "You need to tell Bill, you don't like that", "You can say Bill, I had it").
Validation	1	let a child know that his or her feelings are justified (e.g., I know that makes you feel very sad").
Warning	4	adult says the child's name in a warning fashion or tells the child what will happen if she or he does not comply (e.g., "You must not be getting people wet or you will have to choose another activity", "If you spit, you will be taken to the bathroom").
Child Interventions	n	Definitions
Following	1	running or walking after peer.
Grabbing Object	4	taking hold of an object with one's hand. (e.g., Tom grabbed the car).
Informing Peer	2	provide knowledge to a peer about an object, person, or action (e.g., "It's clean up time", "That's naughty, naughty, naughty").

Informing Adult	6	child tells an adult what a peer has done (e.g., "He took his car and didn't ask", "He has a gun for shooting").
Offering	1	giving help or an object to a peer (e.g., "I'll help you..", Dale offers Dan his blue ball).
Pushing	1	use body to move peer or object (e.g. Dan pushed Tom out of Mike's way).
Questioning	1	asking for information.
Redirecting	1	draw the child's attention to a new activity (e.g., "I'll show you something").
Throwing	1	child propels an object through the air (e.g., Dan threw the ice cream scoop).

Outcome	n	Definition
Win/Lose	53	when one child achieved his or her goal, but the other child did not (Dawe, 1934; Shantz, 1987).
Win/Win	26	when play between the participants continued as if the conflict had never occurred (Dawe, 1934).
Lose/Lose	4	"neither party achieves desired objectives or solution" (Wilson, 1988, p. 13).

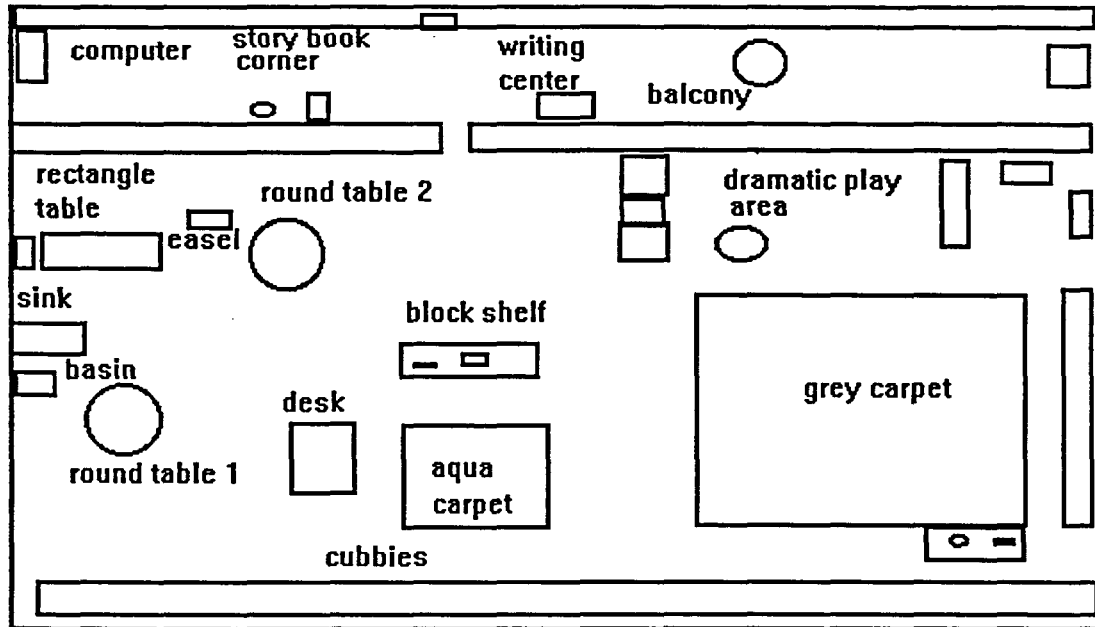


Figure 3. Diagram of the integrated early childhood classroom.

Table 2. Frequencies of conflict occurring in different areas of the room.

Area	Frequency
Round table 1 by the sink	3
Rectangle table	1
Round table 2	3
Balcony	4
Dramatic play area	23
Grey carpet (gross motor)	12
Aqua carpet by the blocks	22
Basin	1

frequently observed. Conflict also occurred when a child's goal was to intentionally annoy another child (n=12), enter into play with other children (n=9), or change the course of their current play with new ideas (n=6). Finally, conflicts were observed when a child entered the personal space of another child (n=4), did not follow school rules (n=5), or tried to stop the actions of other children (n=3) (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983; Shantz, 1987; Wilson, 1988). Descriptive examples from the data will be presented in the following paragraphs to illustrate each of these goals.

The first example illustrates acquiring an object as a goal of the conflict. "Acquire an object" refers to "one or more children trying to gain a toy already possessed by a child" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8). Because the children had more power when they controlled the objects, acquiring objects of play was a real issue for the children. The children in control of the objects had the opportunity to play and could choose to include or exclude others from playing. Children came into conflict when they wanted the same object. Dramatic play toys were more likely to be objects of conflict than the other toys because they were attractive, but sparse. Whether or not the children in conflict were able to retain possession of the object depended on the strategies used. Most of the time only one child retained the toy, but sometimes the children shared or a teacher took the toy away.

The goal in this episode was to acquire or retain possession of a crutch. Bill and Bob were standing, against the balcony, in the corner of the dramatic play area. Because the dramatic play theme for the week was "Hospital", many hospital related props were available including a stethoscope, bandages, and crutches.

Bill and Bob, both children with disabilities, were playing with the doctor equipment in the dramatic play area. Bill tried to grab the crutch Bob was holding. Bob pushed Bill. Bill tried to grab the crutch again. Bob pushed Bill away. Bob walked away with the crutch, leaving Bill sitting on the floor (Nov. 4, 1992 video).

This episode shows Bill trying to acquire an object by grabbing onto it. But Bob's pushing strategy was more successful at retaining the crutch.

In this scenario, Bill was unable to achieve the social goal of acquiring an object. Bob was always more likely to win possession disputes with Bill, because Bob used aggressive strategies. Bill rarely used aggressive tactics and was often the victim of aggression. Although it is important to provide aggressive children with alternative strategies, it may be just as important to provide children who are frequent victims of aggression with alternative strategies as well. In many cases, Bill and Luke became victims of aggression because, unlike the other children, they appeared helpless, responding to aggression by crying or allowing the aggressors to achieve their goals. Low verbal skills may be one reason Bill and Luke have a difficult time defending themselves and their

rights. If the children learned new strategies to defend themselves, they would be less likely to be chosen as victims, because the aggressor would be less likely to achieve his or her goal.

The next example, demonstrates annoyance, the second most frequent goal in the conflicts of the children in this integrated classroom. Annoyance refers to "teasing or aggressive actions toward a child or group of children without provocation and seemingly without a desired objective (e.g., there is no attempt to gain a toy)" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8). There were a number of reason's children annoyed other children. Often the children annoyed another child to gain attention or to get a reaction from them. When typically developing children annoyed others their purpose seemed to be teasing. Although the frequency at which a child annoyed another child seemed to depend on his or her personality traits, the children with disabilities were more likely to annoy than the typically developing children.

In the following episode, Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, appeared to have no other motive for moving a chair other than to annoy Dale, a typically developing child.

During snack time, Dan pushed an empty chair toward Dale. Dale moved the chair back. Dan pushed the chair toward Dale again. Dale moved the chair back. Dan said, "I don't like that Dale. Don't do that Dale." Dan pulled Dale's hair. Janet said, "Dan, I need you to sit in your chair." Dale said, "Well, he can't sit there." Dale moved to the other side of the table (Nov. 4, 1992 video).

On this occasion, an empty chair sat between Dan and Dale at their assigned snack table. Although there appeared to be no apparent reason for doing so, Dan pushed the empty chair toward Dale who immediately moved the chair back to its original position at the table. Dan pushed the chair again and Dale proceeded to push the chair back. Then Dan informed Dale not to push the chair. The conflict began to escalate to dangerous heights when Dan forcefully pulled Dale's hair. After the teacher observed Dan's aggressive behavior and directed him to sit in his chair, Dale informed the teacher that Dan could not sit by him and moved to the other side of the table.

Although it appeared annoyance was the motive in this conflict, there may have been an underlying individual reason for the child's behavior. As mentioned previously, Theresa said, Dan has an "odd orientation to space," this orientation may be the cause of his behavior in this conflict. He may have perceived the chair as invading his space. It may have been too close for comfort. Dale may not have understood why Dan wanted the chair moved, but when Dan moved the chair it hit Dale's chair which was an obvious invasion of Dale's space. When Dale moved the chair back to its original position, Dan may have perceived Dale's act as a personal attack on him, causing him to become violent to defend himself. To protect himself from Dan's aggressive behavior,

Dale moved to the other side of the table. To prevent these conflicts, it would be helpful to find out how Dan perceives space and what can be done to correct his perception. In conclusion, although children appear to choose annoyance as a social goal in conflict "without provocation and seemingly without a desired objective," there may be underlying individual reasons for the child's behavior (Wilson, 1988 p. 8).

Conflicts also occurred when a child, usually a child with a disability, wanted to enter play with the other children, but was "denied entrance" (Wilson, 1988, p. 8). Children intrude into the play of others because they want to be included in their activities. In the following example, Brad's mom was watching Brad, Bill, and Kris construct block towers. In this scenario, Bill, a child with cerebral palsy, tried to place a block on the tower Kris, a typically developing child, was building.

Bill tried to put a block on Kris's tower of blocks. Kris said, "No, no, no, no." Bill tried to put the block on the tower again, Kris said, "No Bill, not that." Bill knocked the tower down. Kris said, "Don't!" Brad's mom said to Bill, "Listen to Kris's words. She said no. She said stop." Bill walked over to the block shelf and began to throw the blocks on the ground. Theresa stopped Bill and told him he must pick the blocks up and put them back on the shelf (Oct. 16, 1993 video).

In this episode, it appeared that Bill intended to enter into play with Kris by helping her build a tower. But when Bill attempted to put a block on the tower, Kris verbally

protested. Bill ignored Kris's words with a second attempt at placing a block on the tower. Brad's mom reinforced Kris's right to build her own tower, by reminding Bill to listen to Kris's protest. Finally, Bill gave up his goal to play with Kris and took his frustrations out on the blocks in the shelf.

Once again, we see that Bill's strategies to achieve his goals fail. Like most children, Bill wants to play with the other children, but because he uses intrusive tactics, he has a difficult time entering into their play. Bill needs to learn new strategies for entering into the play of other children.

This conflict also reveals Kris's need to control the situation. Kris often directs the children's play. In this episode, she tried to tell Bill that he was putting the wrong block on the tower. It did not appear as though she did not want Bill to play, but that she wanted to control the course of the play. Although Kris was demonstrating some leadership qualities, for which Brad's mom reinforced, little was done to help Bill learn how to appropriately enter play. Perhaps before Bill became frustrated and knocked over the tower, Brad's mom could have provided Bill with other options, for example, asking Kris if he could help.

In conclusion, conflict arising from children's social goal to enter play depended on the group entry skills of the participants. Children with disabilities were more likely to

use intrusive strategies than typically developing children because they lacked the appropriate group entry skills.

Conflict also occurred during the course of children's play when a child's new idea or wish to change the course of their current play was rejected by his or her peer (Shantz, 1987; Wilson, 1988). Unlike the other social goals, course of play implies the children are already cooperating, but come into conflict over ideas about how the play should progress. These conflicts often occurred between typically developing children participating in dramatic play scenarios. In the following example, Kris and Amber, two typically developing girls were playing dress-up in the dramatic play area.

Kris said to Amber, "Put your hat on." Amber said, "My hat is too little." Kris said, "No! Put that on." Amber said, "Uh, uh." Kris said, "You have to put it on." Amber said, "No! Uh, uh! It's too little." Kris said, "You put this on. Then put this on over it. You'll be the prettiest at the ball. You want to?" Amber said, "I want to put that on." Amber points to scarf. Kris said, "Okay, put that on the top then you can go to the ball. You'll be the prettiest of the year." Amber said, "Uh, uh." Kris said, "Yes you would." Amber repeated, "Uh, uh." Kris said, "Alright then, your not going to the ball." Amber agreed, "I'm not going to the ball."

In this episode, Kris had the idea that Amber should wear a hat, but Amber told Kris the hat was too small. When Kris insisted on her idea, Amber verbally protested. Kris continued to insist and provided Amber with the information that she would be the prettiest at the ball if she wore the hat. Amber continued to tell Kris the hat was too small.

When Amber told Kris she wanted to wear a scarf, Kris agreed, but then wanted Amber to put the hat over the scarf. Amber protested again. Kris informed Amber that if she did not wear the hat, she could not go to the ball. Finally, this conflict ended in a win-lose situation, Amber would not wear the hat and agreed not to go to the ball.

In this conflict, Kris wanted to control the course of play, but was denied by her peer. After her initial strategy to insist on her idea failed, Kris and Amber were able to negotiate and come up with an agreement. Changing the course of one's current play requires a certain amount of intellectual capability and creativity. Kris and Amber were able to end their conflict by using their dramatic play scenario. Although they agreed Amber would not go to the ball, Kris did not achieve the goal of persuading Amber to wear the hat.

Conflicts were also observed when children entered the personal space of another child. This often occurred during large group, when the children were searching for a place to sit down on the grey carpet. Conflict occurred when one child did not want to sit by another child or insufficient space was available.

The following episode illustrates personal space as an issue of the conflict. Wilson (1988) defined space as "one or more children attempting to crowd into claimed spaces,

reclaiming of a previous space occupied by a child; accidental or incidental contact with another person or possession that initiates a protest response" (p. 8). In this scenario, Don, a typically developing child, chose to change his position on the grey carpet during a group activity.

Don moved to sit by Dan. Dan pushed Don. Don said, "No, owe, owe, owe." Janet said, "Dan, listen to the teacher." Dan said, "Sit over there." Dan pushed Don again. Don said, "No." Dan said, "Sit over there." Dan pushed Don again. Don said, "No." Dan said to Janet, "He's squishing me." Dan moved to another place on the carpet. Janet came over to sit by Don and Dan. Then Don moved back to his original position and Dan moved back to his original position (Oct. 12, 1992 video).

In this conflict, Dan did not want Don to sit by him; therefore, he tried pushing Don away. Janet, a graduate student, tried to redirect Dan's attention by telling him to listen to the teacher reading a story. Dan ignored Janet and directed Don to sit somewhere else. When Don refused, Dan insisted and pushed Don again. When this strategy failed to produce the desired results, Dan informed Janet there was not enough room for Don to sit by him and moved to another position on the carpet. Finally, both children moved back to their original positions when Janet came into their proximity.

This conflict, illustrates Dan's perceived orientation to space. Don is invading his space, he is too close for Dan's comfort. Because Don refused to move, even after Dan resorted to aggressive strategies and told Janet, Dan moved to another position on the carpet. Perhaps in the fear of punishment or

that Janet would move them herself, the boys moved back to their original positions when Janet came into their proximity.

Peer conflict was also observed when a child did not follow the school rules set by the teacher (Shantz, 1987). For safety reasons, the teachers in this classroom often limited the number of children who could participate in gross motor activities at the same time. The following example demonstrates what often happened when a child chose not to comply with the established classroom rules.

Dan went on the climber where only three people were allowed. Pam said, "Only three people." Dan said, "No, four, no nine people, nine people." Janet said, "You need to come play some place else. There's only three people at a time. Dan I need you to come out" (Sept. 28, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

A sign made by the teachers was taped on the jungle gym. Three stick figures were drawn on the sign to indicate to the children that only three people were allowed on the jungle gym at one time. Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, violated this rule when he climbed onto the jungle gym. Pam, a typically developing child, reminded Dan of the rule, but he protested. The conflict ended with a win-lose outcome when the teacher intervened reinforcing Pam's understanding of the rule by informing Dan that only three people were allowed on the equipment at the same time; therefore, he needed to come out.

Later, the children were again reminded that only three people could be on the jungle gym at one time. But this time,

Pam and Angie were asked to leave the jungle gym.

Pam said, "I don't know why there can be only three people at a time." Kris said, "There's a sign." Pam said, "But I don't know why!" (Sept. 28, 1992 fieldnotes).

As this example illustrates, one reason conflicts occurred was because the children did not know why they had rules. Perhaps if the teachers and children collaborated on rule making, the children may have understood why rules were needed and this could reduce the number of conflicts. In this example, the sign may be able to communicate the rule to the children, but not the reasoning behind the rule. For children to understand the necessity of rules, teachers need to explain school rules. Children may be more inclined to follow school rules if the teacher explains why the rule is necessary. In this case, it is necessary to limit the number of people to prevent injuries and give more people turns on the equipment.

Finally, conflict occurred when a child tried to stop the actions of other children (Krasnor & Rubin, 1983). In the following episode, the goal of Kris, a typically developing child, was to prevent Brad, a child with autism, from knocking over a block tower.

The children were taking turns knocking over a block tower Kris had built. Kris wanted to give Tom a turn to knock down the blocks. Kris yelled, "Tom, Tom, Tom!" But before Tom came down from the balcony, Brad walked toward the block tower. Kris said, "No Brad." Kris held Brad's body back with her hands. Brad pushed Kris away. Kris held Brad back with her hands again. Theresa said, "He's doing the computer, can you give someone else a

turn?" Kris continued to yell, "Tom, Tom, Tom!" Finally, when Tom came down from the balcony, Kris let go of Brad. Tom knocked down half of the blocks with one sweep of his hand and Brad knocked down the other half of the tower (Oct. 16, 1992 video).

On this occasion, Kris was directing people to knock down blocks. After Brad had knocked down the blocks several times, Kris decided to give Tom a turn to tumble the blocks. But Brad, unwilling to wait his turn, walked toward the tower. Kris verbally protested and tried to hold Brad away from the tower with her hands, but Brad pushed Kris out of his way. Kris successfully accomplished her goal when she quickly held Brad back from the tower again until Tom arrived. Tom knocked over half the tower and Brad knocked over the remaining blocks. The conflict ended in a win-win situation, both children achieved their desired goals and play between the two resumed after the conflict.

Again Kris came into conflict when she tried to control the play. Kris may have felt she was in charge of the activity and had the right to choose who could and could not knock over the block tower. Kris and Brad came into conflict because, Kris wanted to give another child a turn and she wanted Brad to wait. But Brad has problems with delayed satisfaction, he wants his needs met immediately. Kris forced Brad to wait until Tom came down from the balcony. Tom did not share the enthusiasm Brad and Kris had for knocking over the tower. When he finally did come down from the balcony, he

knocked only half of the blocks over with one sweep of his hand and returned to the balcony. Brad enthusiastically knocked down the other half of the blocks.

In conclusion, there were a number of social goals which were issues of conflict, but the social goal itself did not cause the conflict. The children came into conflict when one child opposed the social goal of another child.

Opposition

For a conflict to exist, it is necessary for one child to oppose the social goal of another child (Shantz, 1987).

Opposition is a "hostile or contrary action or condition designed to constitute a barrier or check" (Grove, 1986). In conflict, opposition refers to the initial resistance of one child to another child's action or behaviors (Shantz, 1987).

Verbal protesting was the opposition used most frequently by both the typically developing children and children with disabilities. But the frequency of oppositions (Table 3) also revealed that typically developing children were more likely to give their peers information after a protest, whereas children with disabilities were more likely to use a non-verbal strategy such as grabbing, pushing, or holding back a person or object.

The first example illustrates a typically developing child providing a child with a disability information after his initial protest.

Table 3. The frequencies of oppositions used by typically developing children and children with disabilities.

Opposition	Typically Developing Children	Children with Disabilities
VERBAL		
Begging	0	1
Crying	1	5
Directing	4	3
Informing peer	10	2
Informing adult	1	1
"Mine"	0	3
Questioning	1	0
Screaming	0	1
Verbal Protesting	13	9
Name calling	0	1
Total Verbal	30	26
NON-VERBAL		
Covering	0	1
Grabbing	3	6
Holding back	2	6
Moving	4	1
Pulling	5	4
Reaching	1	2
Total Non-Verbal	15	20
AGGRESSIVE		
Hitting person	0	3
Kicking	0	1
Pushing	1	6
Throwing object	1	0
Total Aggressive	2	10

Dan knocked down Dale's legos. Dale said, "Don't, your breaking it." Theresa said, "You know what, Dale? Did Dan knock your stuff over?" Dan said, "I didn't break it. I didn't break it." Theresa said, "Dan, I need you to stop." Then to Dale she said, "Can you tell Dan how that made you feel when he knocked your stuff over?" Dale said, "It made me feel sad when he knocked my stuff over." Theresa asked, "Dan, why did you knock his stuff over? Why did you knock it over?" Dan said, "He did that." Theresa said, "No, you knocked it over. You will be done." Then Theresa said to Dale, "I'm sorry Dan knocked your stuff over. I know that makes you feel very sad. No Dan, you are picking them up. You are not playing with them. No, pick them up. Pick the rest of them up." Dan said, "I want to build." Theresa replied, "No, you are not building you are picking them up. You cannot build right now because you are picking them up" (Sept. 11, 1992 video).

While putting legos together, Dan knocked over Dale's lego structure. Dale verbally protested and informed Dan that he was breaking the legos apart. Theresa, the head teacher, directed Dan to stop breaking Dale's legos, but Dan insisted he did not knock it over. Theresa asked Dale to tell Dan how it felt when he broke his legos. When Theresa asked Dan why he knocked over the lego structure, Dan blamed Dale and continued to play with the legos. Theresa informed Dan to pick up the legos.

In this conflict, Dan denied his actions. Theresa tried to help Dan learn to take responsibility for his own actions by insisting he pick up the blocks. To convey to Dan how his actions hurt people, Theresa asked Dale to tell Dan how breaking his legos made him feel. Dan did not seem to understand and continued to play with the legos. Theresa

continued to insist Dan pick up the legos, he eventually did. Dan tried to turn this episode around to make it look as though it was Dale's fault. In an interview Theresa said, "His family often tries to turn episodes around to make it look like the child Dan hurt was at fault" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). But Theresa did not let Dan blame Dale for his actions, she insisted he take responsibility for his actions by insisting he pick up the blocks.

Compared to typically developing children, children with disabilities were more likely to use a non-verbal strategy such as grabbing, pushing, or holding back a person or object. This example illustrates a child with a disability using a non-verbal strategy to oppose the initial protest.

Mike took a necklace. Dan said, "No, no" and pushed Mike. Mike grabbed for the necklace. Mike said, "Give me that." Dan pushed Mike down and landed on top of him. Theresa walked over to Dan, picked him up, and carried him to a chair. Theresa told him he could not push people in school (Dec. 9, 1992 video).

On this occasion, Mike and Dan, both children with disabilities, were having a possession dispute over a necklace. After Mike took a necklace, Dan verbally protested then pushed Mike. When Mike tried to retrieve the necklace again, Dan aggressively pushed Mike to the floor and landed on top of him. When the teacher intervened, the conflict ended in a win-lose outcome, as Dan was removed from the conflict and informed that his behaviors would not be tolerated in

school.

These two examples illustrate the different choices to oppose a peer. In the first example, Dale, a typically developing child provided Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder with information after the verbal protest. In contrast, Dan pushed Mike following a verbal protest in the second example.

Conflict Strategies

Although opposition is necessary, for a conflict to exist, it is not sufficient. A strategy must be employed by the child whose behavior was opposed. Strategy refers to the tactics the child uses to achieve his or her goal (Grove, 1986). In conflict, strategies include all verbal or physical behaviors used prior to the outcome (Wilson, 1988).

Five strategies, including verbal protesting, informing peer, directing, moving, and informing an adult were commonly used by both typically developing children and children with developmental disabilities. But children with developmental disabilities also used ignoring and pushing as strategies of conflict (Table 4).

Children with disabilities were more likely than typically developing children to ignore another child's strategies, interventions, and adult interventions. The following example illustrates Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, ignoring a typically developing child's strategies

Table 4. The frequencies of strategies used by typically developing children and children with disabilities.

Strategy	Typically Developing	Children with Disabilities
VERBAL		
Begging	0	4
Crying	1	6
Directing	13	10
Informing peer	28	17
Informing adult	9	18
Insisting	7	7
"Mine"	1	2
Questioning	1	0
Screaming	2	1
Verbal Protesting	33	19
Taunting	0	1
Total Verbal	95	85
NON-VERBAL		
Affection	1	0
Covering	3	2
Following	3	8
Grabbing	9	10
Holding back	2	5
Ignoring	6	25
Moving	13	19
Offering	2	4
Pulling	7	6
Reaching	2	5
Removing	2	0
Substitute	2	2
Waving	2	1
Total Non-Verbal	54	87
AGGRESSIVE		
Hitting object	0	3
Hitting person	1	4
Kicking	0	3
Pushing	0	19
Pulling hair/head	0	2
Total Aggressive	1	34

and a teacher's previous intervention.

Dan pushed his car into Don. Don said, "Don't Dan." Don moved his car away from Dan. Dan said, "Don't Tom, I don't like that." Dan pushed his car into Don again. Don said, "Ouch! No Dan, no!" Theresa said, "Remember Dan, what we talked about, no pushing into Don's truck. Drive your own truck." Dan said, "I'm going to drive my own truck right here" (Nov. 2, 1993 video).

In this example, Dan ignored Don's verbal protests. He also ignored a prior direction from Theresa, the head teacher. But when reminded by Theresa and directed to drive his own truck, Dan informed Theresa he would comply with her directions.

In this conflict, Dan was using an aggressive strategy to enter into play with Don. When Don moved his car away from Dan, Dan may have interpreted this as Don rejecting him as a play partner, thus he said "I don't like that." Dan tried pushing the car into Don again. Theresa intervened reminding Dan that he was not to push the truck into Don's. She asked him to drive his own truck. Respecting her authority, he proceeds to follow her command.

There were a number of reasons why children chose to ignore the actions and behaviors of peers and teachers. One reason they chose to ignore others was because they wanted to continue the activity they were doing. Children with disabilities may ignore because they do not have the verbal ability to negotiate. The children also ignored when their social goal was to annoy or to get a reaction from another

child. Brad, the child with autism, may not respond because children with autism have difficulties with social interactions. It is a characteristic of autism to avoid social interactions and look blankly as if the child is unaware of a person's presence. But many of the children, even the typically developing children, have chosen not to respond to other's questions or comments. Ignoring was not a resolution strategy, the absence of communication between the children continued the conflict.

Children with developmental disabilities also used strategies including, begging, taunting, kicking, pushing, name calling, and hair or head pulling which were never used by the typically developing children. The following conflict illustrates the use of several aggressive tactics by a child with a behavioral disorder.

Brad attempted to touch Dan's blocks. Dan pointed, "No, no." Brad moved to a different area on the aqua carpet. Dan pointed at Brad and then tapped him on the head. Dan repeated, "No, no." Brad touched the blocks. Brad put a block on Dan's structure. Brad put another block on Dan's structure. Dan said, "No!" and pushed Brad. Theresa said, "Dan said no, Brad." Brad knelt down near the blocks. Dan walked over to Brad, placed his hands on Brad's back, and pushed him down. They both fell over. After Dan kicked Brad, he said, "I kicked Brad." Theresa said, "Dan come here." Dan ignored Theresa and tapped Brad on the head. Brad put a block on Dan's structure. Dan said, "You get away." Theresa said, "Dan, ask Brad to help" (Dec. 7, 1992 video).

In the previous conflict, Dan opposed Brad's behavior with a verbal protest. Brad moved to another position on the

carpet to try a different approach. Dan tried to communicate to Brad again that he did not want him to touch his blocks. When Brad ignored Dan's warning, Dan became aggressive and pushed Brad. Theresa, the head teacher, reinforced Dan's right to play alone, but Brad continued to stay in the proximity. Feeling threatened, Dan pushed Brad again and kicked him. Dan ignored Theresa when she called him over. After Brad put another block on the structure, Dan directed Brad to leave. Finally, Theresa decided to take an alternative route to end the conflict. She achieved a successful intervention by asking Dan to cooperate with Brad in putting the structure together.

Again, Dan used aggressive strategies. The teachers tried to teach the children that aggressive behaviors were not appropriate strategies, but children were rewarded for using these strategies when they succeeded in achieving their goals. For example, before resorting to aggression, Dan used his words to tell Brad "no." But when Brad persisted, Dan used aggressive strategies that have worked for him in the past. Fortunately, Theresa "stepped over quickly" and eventually offered Dan an alternative sharing strategy.

In this episode, it was Dan who denied Brad entrance into play. Brad used an ignoring strategy because he was inviting the social interaction rather than avoiding it. Brad ignored Dan's strategies and did not easily give up on his goal.

Because Brad is a child with autism, his behaviors were more difficult to control. In this episode, after repeated attempts to get Brad to understand Dan wanted to build his own tower, Theresa may have decided it would be easier to change Dan's behavior. Therefore, she asked Dan to ask Brad to help. This was a more successful strategy, instead of competing for the blocks, they were able to cooperate.

In comparison, affection and removing the object of conflict were strategies used only by the typically developing children. Through this comparison, it can be concluded that the children with disabilities in this classroom were more likely to choose strategies, particularly aggressive strategies, which are not positive, appropriate, or productive in resolving conflicts.

Conflict Resolution

Resolution is an act of solving problems (Grove, 1986). Conflicts were found to be resolved by the children themselves, through an adult intervention, and on rare occasions through a child intervention. In the few conflict episodes in which a teacher did not intervene, children with disabilities were just as likely to begin the process of conflict resolution as the typically developing children, but the majority of conflicts in this classroom were resolved when one participant in the conflict informed the teacher resulting in a teacher intervention or when the teacher directly

intervened.

Only 31.22% of the conflicts were resolved by the children themselves and were most often resolved when one child stopped insisting or protesting. The child then either left the area or remained in the area and play continued. The conflict between two typically developing children in the following example was resolved when one child stopped insisting.

Amber showed Tom the Mr. Potato Head that she had just put together. Tom grabbed the Mr. Potato Head to put a pair of sunglasses on it. Before Tom had the chance to put the glasses on Mr. Potato Head, Amber pulled it away. Tom held up the sunglasses to Amber. Amber shook her head. Tom nods his head. Amber and Tom continued to take turns shaking and nodding their heads. Tom stopped nodding still holding the glasses and Amber was still holding the Mr. Potato Head. (Sept. 4, 1992 video).

In this episode, Amber refused to accept Tom's idea of putting sunglasses on a Mr. Potato Head. Although Tom continued to insist on his idea, Amber protested by shaking her head. Finally, the conflict ended in a win-lose outcome when Tom was unable to achieve his goal and stopped insisting on his idea.

Conflicts were also resolved when a child withdrew, often leaving the area after his or her peer informed an adult. In this episode, the conflict was resolved when Don, a typically developing child, informed the teacher and Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, immediately left the situation.

Dan pushed some blocks onto Don's building. Don said, "Dan, your knocking it." Don pushed the blocks back. Dan pushed more blocks onto Don's building. Don said, "Your knocking mine down." Don said to Sharon, "Dan wants to break this." Dan left the area (Nov. 11, 1992 video).

Although Don's first two attempts to resolve the conflict failed, his success at informing the teacher ended the conflict with a win-lose outcome, Don continued playing with the blocks, but Dan chose to leave the situation.

This was a typical conflict for Don and Dan. Dan used physically aggressive strategies. In contrast, Don provided Dan with information as to why he was opposing his actions. When this strategy failed Don informed Sharon of Dan's aggressive intentions.

Children with disabilities were more likely to inform the teacher than typically developing children, because the children who had low cognitive and verbal abilities needed more help to resolve conflicts. In this classroom, the teachers often encouraged the children to ask for help. On a number of occasions, Theresa said, "If you can't solve a problem yourself, ask a teacher for help." This rule was very important in this classroom, because typically developing children and children with disabilities used different strategies to resolve conflicts.

Another way peers resolved conflict was by removing the object of conflict. As in the following example, this strategy was more likely to occur between two typically

developing children than between two children with disabilities. In this scenario, Angie and Ellen, both typically developing children, were playing jewelry store in the dramatic play area.

Angie was buying some jewelry from Ellen who was ringing up the sale on the toy cash register. After Ellen rang up a necklace, Angie said, "No, I like the earrings too." Ellen said, "I have to have the earrings." Angie protested, "I'm having the earrings." Ellen said, "No, let's just not have the earrings." Ellen took the earrings out of the box the necklace was in and set it aside. Angie agreed, "Okay then, I'll pick something else." Angie went to get a new piece of jewelry from the jewelry box (Dec. 9, 1992 video).

In this conflict episode, Angie and Ellen came to a mutual agreement to remove the object of conflict and substitute it with a new object. Substitution was also used as a resolution strategy in this example ending the conflict in a win-win situation where both children continued playing together.

According to Nelson and Aboud (1985), friends tend to make more mature judgements and resolve conflict more successfully. Ellen and Angie were known to be very close friends. This may be the reason they were able to come to a mutual agreement, to give up their goal to obtain possession of the earrings and substitute a new pair. Another reason Angie and Ellen may have been able to find a mutual solution to the problem, is because typically developing children have the intellectual ability to resolve conflict in a more mature

manner.

Finally, as in the previous example, substitution of a new object often ended in a win-win situation where both children continued to play together.

Luke was holding onto a purse. Bob came up to Luke and pulled on Luke's purse. Luke pulled back on the purse. Bob gave Luke his purse and took Luke's purse (Dec. 7, 1992 video).

This conflict took place between two children with very low verbal skills. In contrast to the previous episode between two typically developing children, a trade was not verbally negotiated. A non-verbal pulling strategy was used to end the conflict in a win-win situation, each child remained in possession of a purse and play continued among the participants.

Unlike the previous example, the children did not come to a mutual agreement. Both Luke and Bob have low verbal ability. But Bob is more aggressive than Luke. Luke rarely went to great lengths to defend himself or his possessions. Like Bill, Luke was often a victim of the other children's actions.

Conflicts were always resolved when the children left the area, stopped insisting or protesting, removed the object of conflict, or substituted a new object for the object of conflict. Other strategies which resolved conflict included: informing peer, moving, offering, questioning, and directing. Informing an adult was also used as a strategy to resolve

conflicts, but when a child informed an adult the conflict was usually resolved through a teacher intervention.

In summary, both children with disabilities and typically developing children can resolve conflicts themselves, but typically developing children use more appropriate strategies than children with disabilities and can come to mutual agreements through verbal communication.

Adult Interventions

Although some conflicts were resolved by the children themselves, the majority were resolved through an adult intervention. Within this integrated environment, 69.88% of the conflicts involved an adult intervention. A teacher always intervened in conflicts which involved strategies of screaming, taunting, begging, "mine", hitting, kicking, pulling hair/head, hostile gestures, throwing, and name calling. In contrast, strategies including affection, substitution, and removing the object of conflict never involved a teacher intervention.

When adults intervened, they were most likely to intervene with the child who initiated conflict first. Because children with disabilities were more likely to initiate conflict than typically developing children, the adults interacted with the children with disabilities prior to interacting with the typically developing children.

Adults often intervened immediately after an opposition

and were most likely to give a child directions, information, or tell the child to "use your words" (Table 5). In an interview, Theresa stated, "the teachers try to allow the children to solve their own problems," but observations of this classroom revealed behaviors contradictory to her goal. The teachers in this classroom were most likely to intervene directly after an opposition; therefore, few turns could be taken by the children to resolve the conflicts by themselves.

When an adult intervened in a conflict episode, the adult often provided information or direction to the child and the child complied with the teacher's demands. The following

Table 5. The frequencies of adult interventions used in 58 out of 83 total conflict episodes with typically developing children and children with disabilities.

Adult Intervention	Typically Developing	Children with Disabilities
Apologizing	1	0
Choice	0	1
Directing	5	29
Following	0	2
Holding back	0	1
Informing	8	28
Listen to peer	2	6
Moving	1	2
Questioning	4	9
Redirecting	1	7
Removing object	0	5
Removing person	1	8
Sharing	1	3
Substitute	1	4
"Use your words"	6	12
Validating	1	0
Warning	2	2

possession conflict, between Mike and Luke, two children with disabilities, illustrates a teacher providing information to a child. In this scenario, Mike and Luke were playing in the dramatic play area with the doctor equipment.

Mike took the stethoscope from Luke. Luke screamed. Mike pulled on the stethoscope. Then, Luke pulled on the stethoscope. Theresa said, "Mike, Luke had that one." Mike let go of the stethoscope (Nov. 2, 1992 video).

In response to information received from the teacher, Mike understood that he was not entitled to the stethoscope and let go. In this situation, it was important for the teacher to intervene, because of Luke's low verbal ability. The teacher provided Mike with information Luke was unable to communicate.

This conflict also demonstrates Theresa's authority in the room, Mike listened to Theresa. From Mike's past experiences, it can be predicted that if Theresa was not present, Mike would have obtained the stethoscope, even if he had to resort to aggressive means. In this episode, the conflict was resolved through a teacher intervention. Theresa provided Mike with information and he responded appropriately.

Other than providing a child with information or direction, an adult may choose to remove the child from the conflict situation. This was most likely to occur when the child had exhibited aggressive behavior during the course of the conflict episode and generally resulted in a win-lose

situation.

The following example illustrates the removal of a child by a teacher after aggressive behaviors had been used. Mike and Dan, both children with behavioral disorders, were having a possession dispute over a necklace in the dramatic play area.

Mike took a necklace. Dan said, "No, no" and pushed Mike. Mike grabbed for the necklace. He said, "Give me that." Dan pushed Mike down on the floor and landed on top of him. Theresa walked over to Dan, picked him up, and carried him over to a chair. Theresa told Dan that he could not push people in school (Dec. 9 1992, video).

In this example, Mike took a necklace to which Dan verbally protested and pushed Mike. Mike grabbed for the necklace a second time and again was pushed by Dan. Theresa, the head teacher, intervened by removing Dan from the dramatic play area and informing him that his behaviors were not appropriate in the classroom.

Dan and Mike were both known to be aggressive. When playing together, conflict was almost inevitable. Through her actions and words, Theresa was telling Dan that aggressive behavior would not be tolerated in the classroom. This message was sent to the children in conflict as well as to any peer bystanders.

When children are removed from conflict, it prevents them from harming others, gives them a time to calm down, and informs them that their behavior was inappropriate, but it

does not provide the child with conflict resolution skills. The child learns that what he did was wrong, but not how to correct his behavior in the future.

Rather than remove a child from play, adults often chose to redirect the child's attention away from the conflict episode toward a constructive activity. Depending upon whether the teacher redirects the child to continue the previous play activity or to begin a new activity, the outcome of the redirection may either be win-lose or win-win.

The following example portrays a teacher using a redirection strategy to end the conflict with a win-win outcome. In this scenario, Angie and Kris, two typically developing children, were playing basketball in the gross motor area.

Angie was carrying a ball. Kris walked after her and pulled on the ball. Angie pulled back on the ball. Kris pulled on the ball again. Angie continued to pull the ball back. Kris let go of the ball and told Angie to throw the ball in the basket. Sandy walked over and asked, "Where's the other ball?" Kris ran to get the other ball. Both Angie and Kris played with the balls (Nov. 13, 1992 video).

In this example, Kris wanted to play basketball, but the only ball that Kris was aware of was in Angie's possession. First, Kris tried to pull the ball away from Angie. When this strategy failed, Kris directed Angie to throw the ball in the basket, perhaps hoping to retrieve the ball once Angie had thrown it. But before Angie threw the ball, a teacher

redirected Kris's attention toward another ball. Through this redirection, the conflict resulted in a win-win outcome and both children were able to continue playing together.

Adults in this classroom were also observed substituting the object of conflict with a new object or removing an object from one child and giving it back to the child who had it first. The example which follows, shows a teacher removing an object from one child and giving it back to the child who had it first. In the dramatic play area, Ellen, a typically developing child, had just taken a necklace out of the jewelry box and placed it on a table when Bob, a child with a disability, came along and picked it up.

Ellen put a necklace on the table. Bob grabbed it. Ellen said, "Bob, Bob." Mike said, "Teacher, Bob took that." Ellen said, "Bob took that from me." Sandy said, "You need to tell him, that was mine. Bob, you can't take that from her." Ellen said, "That was mine, Bob." Sandy said, "Look Bob, I will trade you, I can't let you keep it." Sandy gave Bob a choice. Sandy took the necklace from Bob and gave him a different necklace (Dec. 7, 1992 video).

In this conflict, Ellen tried to retrieve the necklace by getting Bob's attention, but Bob ignored Ellen. Mike, a child with a disability, saw what had happened and informed a teacher. When Sandy, the graduate student, came into proximity, Ellen informed her that Bob had taken her necklace. After Sandy told Ellen to use her words to tell Bob that the necklace belonged to her, Sandy informed Bob that he could not take Ellen's necklace. Ellen informed Bob that the necklace

was hers, but he continued to ignore her. Sandy informed Bob that he could not keep Ellen's necklace, but she would give him a different necklace. Finally, Sandy substituted the new necklace with the one Bob had and gave it back to Ellen. Although Bob did not want to give up the necklace, he was happy to receive a new one. Through this substitution strategy, the conflict ended in a win-win outcome where both children continued playing.

In an interview with Theresa, she observed that children have a hard time understanding that when they put down an object they cannot reclaim that object at a later time (Aug. 26, 1993). In the previous example, Ellen put the necklace down on the table, before Bob picked it up. The conflict began when Ellen went back to retrieve the necklace from the table.

The following example illustrates this same theory. Before Brad took Bill's toy car, he had placed it on the carpet. Once again the conflict began when Bill went back to retrieve the car.

Brad took Bill's toy car. Bill reached for the car. He said, "Please, please, please" and started to cry. Brad's mom said, "Bill, use your words." Brad ran with the car. Mike ran after Brad. Brad's mom said to Mike as she held him back from Brad, "Use your voice, okay." Bill tried to grab the toy car away from Brad. Brad's mom repeated, "Use your words please. Say, please share." After Brad's mom gave Bill a car, she stated, "He has some and he has some." In the end, Brad and Bill each had a car (Sept. 30, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

To retrieve his toy car from Brad, Bill tried three different strategies. First, he tried to reach for the car, then he pleaded for the car, and finally he started to cry. The crying strategy was the most successful, it brought on the attention of Brad's mom. Brad's mom informed Bill to talk to Brad, but Brad, perhaps realizing an adult was more likely to take the car away, ran with the car. In an effort to help Bill retrieve the car, Mike ran after Brad. Brad's mom had witnessed Mike's aggressive behaviors in the past and perhaps knew his behaviors could lead to injury of another child. Brad's mom stopped Mike by grabbing onto him and holding him back from Brad. She suggested that Mike talk to Brad rather than use physical means to retrieve the toy car. Then Brad's mom reminded Bill to talk to Brad. She provided Bill with words he could say (e.g., "please share"), suggesting that they share the toy cars. This conflict ended in a win-win situation when Brad's mom used a substitution strategy. She gave Bill a new car and explained that now they both had a car to play with.

A mere warning from the teacher was sometimes enough to end a conflict episode. In the following example, Bob, a child with a disability, was playing with a balloon. A dispute started when Tom, a typically developing child, tried to enter into play.

Bob looked up and reached for the balloon. Tom jumped up for the balloon. Bob grabbed Tom's arm

and pulled it down. Bob hit Tom. Theresa said, "Bob!" as she walked toward the balloon. Bob ran away. Tom was left holding the balloon (Dec. 7, 1992 video).

Because Bob wanted to be the sole possessor of the balloon, he took Tom's action to enter into play as a threat. To defend his rights, Bob pulled down Tom's arm and hit him. When the teacher noticed Bob hitting Tom, the teacher only needed to come into proximity and say Bob's name and he immediately ran away. The conflict ended with a win-lose outcome, Bob lost possession of the balloon, but Tom was able to continue play.

Theresa said, "Bob withdraws very quickly after he has been violent." Theresa also mentioned, "Bob has five or six older brothers and has been taken out of the home due to abuse" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). Although Theresa did not know whether Bob was abused himself, it may explain why Bob becomes frightened, backs off immediately, and runs away from the situation when he fears punishment from the teacher. But as this example illustrates, Bob is not afraid to stand up for his rights among his peer group. Bob will hit another child especially in retaliation. In this episode the conflict was resolved when the teacher warned the child and the child withdrew leaving the situation.

Another way adults intervened was by suggesting the children share the object of conflict. The children in the following example were sitting at the rubberband table.

Usually the children shared the rubberbands, but on this occasion Don would not share the rubberbands until prompted by the teacher.

Dan reached for a rubberband out of a plastic container. Don grabbed the container. Don said, "Don't Dan." Don pulled the rubberband out of Dan's hand. Dan pulled the rubberband away from Don. Theresa said, "You know what, Don? You need to share the rubberbands" (Nov. 2, 1992 video).

Don, a typically developing child, and Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, were sitting at a table playing with rubberbands. Don wanted the entire container of rubberbands; therefore, he refused to share the rubberbands with Dan. When Dan grabbed the container, Don verbally protested and pulled the rubberband out of Dan's hand. Dan reacted by pulling back the rubberband from Don. The teacher intervened by reminding Don that he needed to share the rubberbands. The conflict ended in a win-win situation where both children continued play as if the conflict had never occurred.

Sharing was the concept, the children in this classroom, struggled with the most in peer conflicts. This is a relatively difficult concept, because the children were still in the process of reaching this cognitive milestone. Children in this class, may not have the ability to be less egocentric or see the situation from another's perspective. Many of their conflicts could have been avoided if they were able to share the toys or cooperate in building structures. But they also need to learn that people have the right to play by

themselves and not be interrupted by the other children.

Finally, because getting children to share is sometimes a difficult achievement, Theresa used an alternative intervention after an initial sharing intervention failed to resolve the conflict in the following episode. In this example, Theresa held Bill back when he persisted in his attempts to gain an object of conflict.

Bill was trying to help Dale with his train. Dale said, "No Bill." Bill told Theresa. Theresa said, "What's the matter? You need to find one you can build." "Maybe Dale can help you build one. Dale, can you help Bill?" Dale moved the train. Bill tried to grab the train. Dale said, "No, Bill." Bill began to cry. Bill said, "Please, please, please." Dale said, "No Bill." Following Dale, Bill repeated, "Please, please, please." Dale repeated, "No Bill, no Bill." Theresa stopped Bill, by holding him back, as Dale moved on with the train (Oct. 16, 1992 video).

In this episode, Bill wanted to enter into play with Dale, but he objected with a verbal protest. When Bill informed Theresa, the head teacher, asked what the problem was and told Bill he needed to find his own train. Then Theresa asked Dale, perhaps to increase social interaction, if he could help Bill. Dale ignored Theresa's request and moved away from them with the train. When Bill tried to grab the train again, Dale objected. Not ready to admit defeat, Bill began to cry and plead, but was rejected again with a verbal protest. Bill continued to plead and followed Dale as he pushed the train around on the floor. Theresa stopped Bill from following Dale by holding him back, while Dale moved on

with the train. The conflict ended in a win-lose situation, Bill never achieved his goal, but Dale was able to continue play without Bill's interference.

In this episode, Theresa tried to get the children to cooperate, but Dale did not want to help Bill. Dale rejected all of Bill's attempts to play with him. Because Bill would not take no for an answer, Theresa chose to physically stop Bill.

The previous examples demonstrated interventions adults employed during the heat of conflict, but the teachers also used a number of intervention methods outside the actual conflict. During group, the teachers often discussed and modeled appropriate behaviors using puppets and videotapes of the classroom. According to Theresa, the videotapes were especially useful with Brad, the child with autism. For example, one day the children were watching a video of themselves getting dressed to go outside. Theresa asked the children what they should be doing, pointed out what they were doing, and how they could improve their behavior the next time.

Another day, Theresa used large group as an opportunity to discuss children's feelings. She asked the children how they felt when they saw a peer hit a member of the class. The children responded with phrases such as "it makes me feel sad" and "I don't like it when they do that."

Because the children often come into conflict when someone intrudes on their personal space, Sandy brought up this subject during group.

Sandy asked, "Do you know what your space is?" Mike said it had something to do with rocket ships. Sandy said that Mike was describing the space around the world, but what she is talking about is the space around a person. Don said, "I have my own space." Mike said, "Me too" (Sept. 3, 1992 fieldnotes).

Later in the day, Sandy referred to her group discussion on space when she intervened in a conflict on the playground.

Because consistency is an important component essential for proper discipline, teachers must cooperate to enforce rules. In this integrated classroom it was necessary for the teachers to cooperate with one another. For example, on the first day of class, everyone was sitting on the carpet during large group except Mike.

Theresa said, "Mike sit on the carpet." When Mike refused to join the group on his own, Theresa asked Sandy to help Mike. Sandy grabbed Mike by the hand and took him to the carpet (Aug. 31, 1992 fieldnotes).

In the previous example, Theresa used her authority as the head teacher when she directed Sandy to intervene with Mike. Together Sandy and Theresa enforced the rule that everyone must sit on the grey carpet during large group.

The teachers must also cooperate because of the range of disabilities the children have. The teachers in this classroom work well together, but the following example

illustrates what can happen when only one teacher is available during a peer conflict.

Bill, Mike, and Dan were on the jungle gym. Dan said, "You stop that." Mike hit Bill. Brad took a board. Dan said, "He took that." Theresa came over to separate Bill and Mike. Theresa was holding back Mike in the cubby from kicking Bill who she had on her lap. Mike managed to kick Bill twice. Bill was crying. The other teachers were not around to assist Theresa (Sept. 28, 1992 fieldnotes).

In this example Theresa could have used some help. She was trying to manage the behavior of four children with disabilities, two with behavioral disorders. If another teacher had been available to assist Theresa, Mike and Bill could have been more successfully separated and prevented Bill from being kicked. As this example illustrates, when children in the classroom chose to use violent behaviors, it was important to have a sufficient number of teachers available to prevent these children from harming others.

In summary, adult interventions were very important in this classroom to facilitate the resolution process by providing children with alternative strategies, preventing harm to children when aggressive strategies were employed, and helping children to continue their play.

Child Interventions

Although the majority of conflicts involved a teacher intervention, children were observed as successful interventionists in a few conflicts (Table 6). Children were

Table 6. The frequencies of child interventions used by typically developing children and children with disabilities.

Child Intervention	Typically Developing	Children with Disabilities
Following	0	1
Grabbing	2	2
Informing peer	1	1
Informing adult	4	2
Offering	1	0
Pushing	0	1
Questioning	1	0
Redirecting	1	0
Throwing	0	1

observed offering another child an object or redirecting the child's attention. In the following example, Tom, a typically developing child, redirects Don's attention away from his goal of retaining possession of a rolling pin.

Cher and Don were playing with the sand in the basin. Don was using a rolling pin to flatten out the sand in the basin. Cher pulled on the rolling pin Don was using. After Don pulled on the rolling pin, Cher again pulled on the rolling pin. Tom came over to Don. Tom asked, "Don, you want to eat something? Come here, I'll show you." Don let go of the rolling pin and walked away from the basin with Tom (Oct. 23, 1992 video).

Although it may have been merely a coincidence, Tom successfully redirected Don's attention to another activity and Cher achieved her goal of acquiring the rolling pin. Children also helped to resolve their peers' conflicts by informing the teacher. In an interview with Theresa, she observed that "typically developing children are more likely

to get the teacher or act like a teacher with the special needs children" (Aug. 26, 1993 interview).

Tom and Kris, two typically developing children, frequently assumed the roles of teacher when interacting with Brad, a child with autism. For example, during a small group activity, Brad had rejoined the group holding on to a pair of scissors. Sharon said, "Brad keep the scissors down." Tom said, "You will hurt yourself" (Sept. 14, 1992 fieldnotes).

Another day Brad tried to run outside. Tom informed the teacher, "Brad going to go outside." Tom yelled to Brad, "It's cold." Sharon said, "Come on Brad" (Sept. 18, 1992 fieldnotes).

Near the end of the semester, Kris and Brad became friends. The teachers used Kris as a peer confederate to help Brad increase his social interactions and follow school rules. For example, Kris was encouraged to help Brad ask for snack items. One day Kris succeeded in getting Brad to ask for a napkin, Kris said, "Brad, say napkin please." Brad said, "Napkin" (Nov. 13, 1992 fieldnotes).

Besides undertaking the role of the teacher, the children also acted as informants for teachers. In the following example, Tom, a typically developing child, informed the teacher about the conflict of two children with behavioral disorders. In this episode, Dan was trying to pick up the cars in the block area, but Mike was not ready to put his car

away.

Dan tried to take Mike's car. Mike said, "My car." Dan said, "Stop that Mike, stop that." Tom said, "Theresa, Mike doesn't want to clean up." Theresa said, "Come on Mike, put your car in there. We'll take it out again some other time." Mike refused to put the car away. When Tom tried to grab the car, Mike kicked him. Theresa told Mike that Tom was trying to clean-up. Mike continued kicking his feet. Theresa assured Mike he could play with the car another day. Finally, Theresa removed Mike from the cars and placed him in his cubby (Sept. 30, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

Because Mike was not following the school rule to pick up toys at clean up time, Dan tried to put the car away by grabbing it from Mike. When this strategy failed, Tom intervened by telling Theresa Mike did not want to put the car away. Theresa reinforced Tom's interpretation, she directed Mike to put his car away and reassured him he could play with the car again another day. Mike refused to put the car away and kicked Tom when he tried to retrieve the car by grabbing onto it. Because Mike retaliated by kicking Tom, Theresa immediately removed Mike from the cars. The conflict ended with a win-lose outcome, Mike could no longer play with the cars, but the other children achieved their goal of cleaning up the area.

Typically developing children were more likely to use intervention strategies which were constructive in solving problems than children with developmental disabilities. When children with developmental disabilities intervened they were more likely to add to the conflict rather than resolve it.

Although both typically developing children and children with disabilities informed the teacher, the children with disabilities also chose to push a child in conflict or take the object of conflict. These strategies did not resolve the conflict and a teacher intervention became necessary.

In summary, conflicts were resolved by the children themselves and through adult or child interventions. How the conflicts were resolved depended on the strategies and interventions used by the children and adults within each conflict episode.

Outcomes

Now that the process by which conflicts were resolved has been revealed, the following paragraphs will examine the consequence or outcome of the conflict. Based on a review of the literature and the emerging data, there are three outcomes of conflict: (1) "win-win" (n=26) when play continued between the participants as if the conflict had never occurred, (2) "win-lose" (n=53) when one child achieved his or her goal, but the other child did not, and (3) "lose-lose" (n=4) when neither child of the conflict obtained his or her desired goal (Dawe, 1934; Shantz & Shantz, 1982; Wilson, 1988).

When adults intervened in the conflict episodes, the children were more likely to separate rather than stay together. Out of a total of 58 conflicts with an adult intervention, children separated in 70.69% of the conflicts

and remained together in only 31.03% of the conflicts.

Teacher interventions which often result in a win-lose situation include removing a person, removing the object of conflict, directing, and informing.

During large group, the children were sitting on the grey carpet. Dan put his feet around Kris's legs. Kris said, "Move your feet." Theresa said, "Dan, please keep your feet to yourself." Dan sat down. Kris talked to Dan. Dan kicked Kris and Don. Kris screamed. Dan said, "I don't talk to you." Theresa said, "I think Dan needs to sit right here." Theresa physically moved Dan away from Kris and placed him next to Niki. When Niki picked him up, Dan started to cry, "Noooo!" (Sept. 4, 1992, video).

In this scenario, Kris was opposing Dan's behavior by directing him to move his feet. First Theresa, the head teacher, intervened by directing Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, to keep his feet to himself. Although Dan sat down and complied with Theresa's direction, Kris aggravated Dan by talking to him. Dan lashed out, kicking both Kris and Don. After Kris screamed, Dan informed her that he was not going to talk to her. Theresa intervened again, by removing Dan from the conflict and placing him next to a teacher. As a result of this intervention, the conflict ended with a win-lose outcome; Dan lost his freedom, but Kris remained freely on the carpet not to be harassed by Dan again.

Similar to win-lose outcomes, win-win situations were achieved through teacher directives, but a win-win outcome was more likely when the teacher intervened with a substitution or sharing strategy.

Ellen put a necklace on the table. Bob grabbed it. Ellen said, "Bob, Bob." Mike said, "Teacher, Bob took that." Ellen said, "Bob took that from me." Sandy said, "You need to tell him, that was mine. Bob, you can't take that from her." Ellen said, "That was mine, Bob." Sandy said, "Look Bob, I will trade you, I can't let you keep it." Sandy gave Bob a choice. Sandy took the necklace from Bob and gave him a different necklace (Dec. 7, 1992 video).

As previously mentioned, after Ellen informed Sandy, a graduate student, that Bob had taken her necklace, Sandy told Ellen to use her words to tell Bob that the necklace belonged to her. When this strategy failed, Sandy informed Bob that he could not keep the necklace he had, but she would give him a different necklace. Finally, Sandy substituted the new necklace with the one Bob had and gave it back to Ellen. Through this substitution strategy, the conflict ended in a win-win outcome where both children continued playing.

Finally, lose-lose outcomes were most likely when teachers intervened and only occurred when a person or an object was removed in a conflict situation.

Don used a yellow sponge to wipe up crumbs off the table at the end of snack. While Don was still holding the sponge, Dan grabbed onto it with one hand. Don pulled the sponge back. Dan grabbed onto the sponge with both hands and pulled. Then, Don grabbed and pulled the sponge with both hands. Finally, Janet took the sponge, walked over to Don, placed her hands on his shoulders, and directed him back to his chair. Janet said, "Dan you need to use your words" (Sept. 28, 1992 video).

In this conflict episode, both Dan and Don used a pulling strategy to obtain possession of the sponge. Janet, a

graduate student, intervened by taking the sponge, helping Don back to his chair, and directing Dan to ask for the sponge. Because Janet, removed both the person and the object of conflict, the children could not obtain their desired goals and the conflict ended with a lose-lose outcome.

Similar to teacher interventions, when children resolved their own conflicts, win-win situations occurred more frequently when a substitution strategy was employed. As mentioned previously, a win-win outcome occurred during a conflict between Angie and Ellen in the dramatic play area.

Angie and Ellen were playing in the dramatic play area with the jewelry. Angie was buying some jewelry from Ellen who was ringing up the sale on the toy cash register. After Ellen rang up a necklace, Angie said, "No, I like the earrings too." Ellen said, "I have to have the earrings." Angie protested, "I'm having the earrings." Ellen said, "No, let's just not have the earrings." Ellen took the earrings out of the box the necklace was in and set it aside. Angie agreed, "Ok then, I'll pick something else." Angie went to get a new piece of jewelry from the jewelry box (Dec. 9, 1992 video).

A win-win outcome was achieved when the girls agreed not to use the earrings they both wanted, but to substitute them with a new pair of earrings.

Win-lose was the most frequent outcome when children withdrew and left the situation or aggression occurred during the course of the conflict. The following example illustrates a win-lose outcome when aggression occurred, during a conflict episode, and the child withdrew and left the situation.

Dale said to Bill, "Off my bridge." Dale

pushed Bill away from the wooden bridge. Bill walked away, sat on the floor, and cried. In distress, Bill cried, "Sharon, Sharon." Receiving no response from Sharon, Bill returned to the bridge again. Dale said, "Off my bridge." Dale gestured as though he would have pushed Bill away. In defeat, Bill walked away, sat on the floor, and cried (Oct. 23, 1992 video).

In this example, Bill tried, unsuccessfully, to enter play with Dale. Dale directed Bill to stay off the bridge, then pushed Bill. Bill tried to get the teacher's attention, but the teacher did not respond to his call for help. Not ready to admit defeat, Bill tried to enter into play again. Dale directed Bill to stay off the bridge. Because Dale stood as though ready to push Bill again, Bill walked away. Feeling defeated, Bill sat down on the floor and cried. The conflict ended with a win-lose outcome. Dale achieved his goal, he was the only person on the bridge, but Bill did not achieve his goal to enter play with Dale.

Finally, there was only one conflict, without a teacher intervention, which could be classified as a lose-lose. In this scenario the object of conflict was removed as a choice of play and all participants left the conflict situation.

During self-selection, Dan watched as Angie, Ellen, and Pam played connect four, a tic-tac-toe game played with checkers, at a table located on the balcony. Dan reached over and pulled a button which made all the checkers fall. Pam said, "Dan!" Dan said, "You guys have to do this to push the button." Pam said, "We're playing." Dan moved the connect four and a leg fell off. While Pam tried to put the leg back on, Dan left the table. Pam was still trying to put the leg on when Angie and Ellen left the table too (Nov. 13, 1992, video).

In this scenario, Dan wanted to play connect four, but he did not choose an appropriate group entry skill. He intruded in their game by pushing the button to make the checkers fall down. To protest his actions, Pam yelled, "Dan!" Dan explained that they had to push the button. Pam excluded Dan from the activity when she stated, "We're playing." Dan intruded again, this time breaking a leg off the game. As Pam tried to put the leg back on the game, the other children left the table. The conflict ended with a lose-lose outcome, because the object of conflict was removed from play and no goals were achieved.

Children with disabilities were more likely to lose in conflict situations and typically developing children were more likely to win (Table 7). In the 53 win-lose conflicts observed, children with disabilities were winners in 27 and losers in 40 of the conflicts whereas typically developing children were winners in 27 and losers in only 12 conflicts.

Table 7. The percentages of wins and loses between typically developing children and children with disabilities out of 53 win-lose conflict episodes.

	n	Winner	Loser
Typically Developing Children	39	69.23%	30.69%
Children with Disabilities	67	40.30%	59.70%

There were a number of reasons why the children with disabilities were more likely to lose in conflict episodes than typically developing children. First, children with disabilities were in more of the conflict episodes and used different strategies than the typically developing children. For example, because children with disabilities used more aggressive strategies, they were more likely to be removed from a conflict situation and less likely to achieve their goals than typically developing children. The children with disabilities were also more likely than typically developing children to be victims of aggression. Victims of aggression become losers in conflict episodes because they rarely achieve their goal.

In contrast, the typically developing children were more likely to be winners of conflict episodes because of the strategies they employed. Typically developing children are more intelligent and capable of using more verbal strategies. For example, in the episode between Angie and Ellen, through verbal communication they came to a mutual agreement and employed a substitution strategy to end the conflict with a win-win ending. The resolution process demonstrates the higher intellectual ability and self control of the typically developing children. Angie and Ellen had enough self control to relinquish their goal and come up with an alternative solution. Through this comparison, it can be concluded that

the abilities of the children participating in conflict will affect the outcome.

Range of Abilities

The reason teachers intervened more in this integrated classroom, as compared to a typically developing classroom, was due to the wider range of abilities among peers. The following paragraphs will explore differences in aggression, communication, and motor coordination.

Aggression

Although aggression was rare in the conflicts between both children with developmental disabilities and typically developing children, the children with disabilities were more likely to use strategies which involved aggression than the typically developing children. Children with developmental disabilities were more likely than typically developing children to push, hit a person or an object, kick, taunt, name call, pull hair, or use hostile gestures (Table 4).

The following example illustrates the physical aggression which occurred during some conflicts. In this example, Brad and Dan, both children with disabilities, were playing in the block area. Brad was attempting to enter into play with Dan, but Dan did not want Brad's assistance in building his block structure.

Brad attempted to touch Dan's blocks. Dan pointed at Brad and said, "No, no." Brad moved. Dan pointed and then tapped Brad on the head. Dan said, "No, no." Brad touched the blocks and then

put a block on Dan's structure. Dan said, "No!" and pushed Brad. Theresa said, "Dan said no, Brad." Brad knelt down near the blocks. Dan placed his hands on Brad's back and pushed down. Brad fell down and Dan fell on top of him. After Dan kicked Brad, he informed Theresa, "I kicked Brad." Theresa said, "Dan, come here." Dan ignored Theresa and tapped Brad on the head. Brad put a block on Dan's structure. Dan said, "You get away." Theresa said to Dan, "Ask Brad to help" (Dec. 7, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

In this scenario, Brad wanted to enter into play with Dan, but Dan protested. When Brad ignored Dan and put a block on the structure, Dan became frustrated and began to be physically aggressive; he pushed, kicked, and knocked Brad to the ground. Only through the teacher's suggestion that Dan ask Brad to help him, were the children able to play together after the conflict.

The teachers must continually combat aggressive messages received outside of school. Television, cartoons, and even parents send children the message that violent strategies can be used to resolve conflicts. For example, Theresa commented that Mike's "home environment...may contribute to his behavior problem" (Mar. 26, 1993 interview). The following scenarios illustrate the message Mike was receiving from home.

As a means to increase parent-teacher communication, each child with disability had a notebook. On this occasion, Mike, a child with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), had just handed Theresa his notebook.

As Theresa was reading the notebook, Mike said referring to Dan, "Dad said if he hits me, I can hit

him back. My dad said." Theresa told Mike that his mother had commented on how well Dan and Mike were getting along. But Mike insisted, "If Dan hits me, I can hit him back. My dad said." Theresa replied, "We have to follow the rules when we're at school" (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes).

On another occasion, Mike said to the participant observer, "My dad showed me how to fight." To demonstrate his ability, Mike punched a piece of paper with his fist (Sept. 25, 1992 fieldnotes).

As illustrated in these examples, Mike was receiving messages from home that aggression is an appropriate means to resolve conflict. For an effective intervention, the teachers must combat and overcome the message that hitting is an appropriate strategy to choose in peer conflicts.

Mike was also receiving the message from television and cartoons that aggressive strategies are appropriate for resolving conflicts. Sometimes the children incorporated characters they have seen on television into their play. Typically developing children incorporated these characters during dramatic play when a make believe drama already existed and imaginary characters had already been invented, but Mike seemed to incorporate the characters at inappropriate times. He frequently used this tactic to become batman, inspector gadget, or a policeman to obtain perceived power and control over his peers during conflict episodes. Often using the character as a rationalization for his behavior.

On the first day of school, a rule was laid down that the children were not allowed to play with guns or pretend that

they had any kind of war toys.

The participant observer was sitting at a table playing with legos. Mike and Janet were also at the table. Mike said that he made a gun. Janet said, "We don't play with guns at school" (Aug. 31, 1992 fieldnotes).

Because war toys were prohibited in the classroom, the children came up with very creative ways to incorporate some of the war toy ideas using other toys. In this classroom, the children would make transformers out of legos which could turn people into things. For a period of time the boys were having fun making the transformers and pointing them at some of the girls in the classroom.

Don is holding what looks like legos in the shape of a toy gun, but he calls it a transformer. Kris is inside the tunnel saying, "Someone is trying to shoot me." Dale tries to take Don's gun away from him (Sept. 11, 1992 fieldnotes).

Although war toys were prohibited in the classroom, fingers and legos became guns and were sometimes employed during conflict episodes.

Mike asked Dan, "Can I play with that?" Dan said, "Uh uh, uh uh." Mike said, "Uh huh, because, put your hands up." Mike shoots with his finger. Tom said to Niki as she was helping another child, "Mike said he has a gun for shooting." Niki, busy greeting a child at the door, said, "Oh, thanks." Sandy talked to Mike. Mike said, "Watch this." Mike pretends to shoot with the finger gun again. Finally Theresa said, "Mike, we cannot have guns in school" (Oct. 12, 1992 video).

In this episode, Mike turned his fingers into a pretend gun to obtain perceived power and control over Dan. Tom intervened by informing Niki that Mike was breaking the rule

regarding war toys. This episode also shows how the teachers worked together in the room to enforce the rules. Because Niki was busy with another student, Sandy talked to Mike. But, Mike ignored Sandy and again pretended to shoot the gun. Finally, Mike stopped shooting when Theresa, the head teacher, stated "We cannot have guns in school."

Timeout was one method of discipline, used in this classroom, when children did not follow school rules or were aggressive. The children were removed from the situation and placed in their cubbies, the bathroom, or accompanied by a teacher to the storage room, hallway, basement, library, or laboratory rooms. For example, one day Kris was taken to the storage room, because she was humming during large group, a time the children are expected to listen to the teacher (Sept. 25, 1992 fieldnotes).

In a conflict episode mentioned earlier, Mike was put in his cubby after he exhibited aggressive behavior. In this episode, Mike refused to put a car away. When Tom tried to grab the car, Mike kicked him. Theresa told Mike that Tom was trying to clean-up, but Mike continued kicking his feet. Theresa assured Mike he could play with the car another day. Finally, Theresa removed Mike from the cars and placed him in his cubby (Sept. 30, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

In the previous scenarios, the privilege of being part of the group or participating in the activities was taken away

from Kris and Mike. The children received the message that these behaviors would not be tolerated in this classroom.

Both Mike and Dan have behavioral disorders and were observed in a number of physically aggressive conflicts. Because of the frequency of conflicts and the amount of aggression they employed, the children in this classroom formed a definite impression about who Dan and Mike were in the classroom. They acquired the reputation of being "bad". For example, one day, Dan pushed Bill down. Tom said, "Dan pushed him down. Dan a bad kid" (Sept. 23, 1992 fieldnotes).

Another day Angie and the participant observer were watching Tom and Mike playing hide and seek outside on the playground. Angie said, "Mike is a bad guy." The participant observer said, "There are no bad guys." Angie said, "No, but sometimes there are bad guys when they hit and kick" (Oct. 7, 1992 fieldnotes).

The typically developing children often labeled the children with behavioral disorders as bad. The children in these examples define a "bad guy" as a child who is aggressive to another child. The teachers in this classroom tried to decrease aggression through timeout and encourage the children to use alternative strategies (e.g., "use your words", "ask a teacher for help").

Because this classroom contained three children with behavioral disorders, the teachers were more likely to

intervene in conflict episodes when these children were involved especially if they anticipated physical harm. In an interview, Theresa commented, "The teachers approach conflict differently depending on the child's disability." For example, "the teacher might step over faster" when children with behavioral disorders are participants in the conflict (Aug. 26, 1993 interview).

The amount of aggression actually exhibited by students with behavioral disorders was greater than the amount of aggression reported in this study, because the definition of conflict eliminates acts of aggression employed outside of peer conflict. The following example illustrates aggression occurring outside a conflict situation. In this example, Dan was upset and knocked over some dishes in the dramatic play area.

Mike said, "Now look what Dan did." Sandy said, "He can pick them up." Mike and Dan had already begun to pick up the dishes when Dan, for apparently no reason at all, threw one of the dishes. When Sandy came over to help pick the dishes up, Dan left the situation giving people the finger (Sept. 8, 1992 fieldnotes).

Because these episodes were not included as part of my analysis, the amount of aggression reported was lower than the overall aggression which occurred in the classroom.

Communication

Although the teachers worked together to decrease the amount of aggressive strategies the children employed, they

sought to increase the number of verbal strategies used. Both typically developing children and children with disabilities used a variety of verbal strategies during the conflicts, but typically developing children used the most verbal strategies and were more verbal than the children with developmental disabilities during the conflict episodes. Typically developing children were more likely to use a verbal protest, give directions, or provide a peer with information (Table 4). In the following example, Dan, a child with a disability, and Don, a typically developing child, had been playing cars together. Don's car fell apart and he was attempting to put it back together.

Dan pushed his car into Don's car. Don said, "Hey, don't Dan. I'm not done with it." Dan knocked into Don's car again. Don said, "Don't, don't Dan! I'm not done with it." Dan knocked into Don's car a third time. Don said, "Dan, Dan, Dan." Theresa said, "You know what Dan, you need your own space." Dan knocked into Don's car again. Don said, "No Dan, don't Dan. Dan, don't Dan. I'm not done with it. I'm not done with it" (Nov. 2 1992, video).

Dan was trying to enter into play with Don, but Don was not ready to play because his car was broken. When Dan tried to enter into play by pushing Don's car, Don informed Dan that he was not ready to play. Dan ignored Don's information and pushed into Don's car again. Dan protested again informing Don that he had not finished putting the car back together. Dan ignored Don a second time and pushed his car into Don's car again. Even when a teacher intervened informing Dan he

needed to stay in his own area, Dan ignored the teacher and pushed his car into Don's car. Finally, after Don protested and informed Dan for a third time, the conflict ended with a win-lose outcome when Dan withdrew from the conflict.

This scenario not only demonstrates the use of more verbal communication by the typically developing child, it also demonstrates ignoring, a strategy frequently employed by children with developmental disabilities. In the above example, Dan ignored all of Don's verbal protests and the teacher's information to stay in his own area.

The children and teachers often had a difficult time understanding Bill, Bob, Brad, and Luke because of their low verbal ability. For example, one day I was sitting at a paint activity with Don. Bob approached the table talking. Don and I could not understand what he was saying. Don listening to him said, "What him saying? I don't know what him's saying" (Sept. 4, 1992 fieldnotes).

A child with low verbal skills may need the teacher to interpret his intentions to the other children while still providing the child with the skills to communicate his wants and intentions. As the following description of conflict illustrates, teachers did communicate the intentions of children with low verbal skills to others.

Mike was picking up rocks and putting them into a round plastic container. Bill reached for Mike's rocks in the plastic container. Mike pulled the container away from Bill and covered the container

with his hands. Mike said, "My rocks." Bill reached for the rocks again. Mike said, "Mine!" and pulled the container closer to his body, covering the opening with his arms. Theresa said to Bill, "You know what, those are Mike's rocks." Then to Mike she said, "I think Bill just wanted to look." Theresa said to Bill, "So you could tell him you want to look, look. Here are some more rubberbands." After Theresa gave Bill some rubberbands, Bill sat down next to Mike and put the rubberbands on the rubberband board. Mike put the cover on his rocks (Sept. 2, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

In this example, Theresa, the head teacher, interpreted Bill's behavior to Mike. Theresa explained that Bill just wanted to look at Mike's rocks. Although Bill tried to communicate his intentions to Mike, his low verbal ability made this communication process difficult.

Theresa suggested an alternative intervention after she watched this episode on tape. Instead of interpreting Bill's intentions for him, she could have offered the children with means to increase social interaction, such as "use your words" (Aug. 26, 1993 interview).

It was also observed that in an effort to communicate, children with low verbal ability were more likely to use crying and screaming as a means to call for help or to communicate their displeasure of some action taken by a peer.

Bill wanted a car Dan was using. Dan ignored Bill's pleads. Bill said, "Please, please, please." Bill cried and screamed. Bill walked over to Niki and pointed at Dan. Niki asked, "Please what?" Niki followed Bill over to where Dan was playing with the car. Niki said, "Oh, Dan's playing with that one. Can you find another one? Use your words Bill. You can play with one and Dan can play with

the other one" (Sept. 2, 1992 video).

"Use your words" was one strategy teachers used in this classroom to encourage communication between the children. Theresa mentioned that the strategy, "use your words" was "used as a cue" in the classroom to encourage "social interactions." Theresa explained that the teachers "try to allow the children to solve their own problems," but that special needs children may not be able to define the problem or even "know what the problem is" (Aug. 26, 1993 interview). Therefore, it is important that the teachers are in the classroom to facilitate the interactions, to help the children learn appropriate resolution strategies, by providing them with interpretations, cuing them to communicate, and modeling appropriate behaviors.

Motor Coordination

Three children with disabilities had poor motor coordination which caused peer conflicts when children misinterpreted their actions. For example, Bill, a child with cerebral palsy was observed losing his balance and exhibiting clumsy behaviors. One day during snack, Bill spilled his milk. Tom said, "He spills all the time" (Oct. 5, 1992 fieldnotes).

Because Bill's motor coordination is not as developed as the other children his age, some of the activities he participated in were modified by the teachers. For example,

during a small group activity we were cutting paper with a pair of scissors. Theresa explained that Bill was going to do something different. Instead of cutting the paper with a scissors, she had Bill rip the paper with his fingers (Sept. 28, 1992 fieldnotes).

Bill and Dan often came into conflict because Dan, a child with a behavioral disorder, seemed to interpret accidents as intentions to hurt him. This interaction took place during self-selection in the block area with matchbox cars. Brad's mom had just given Bill one of the cars.

While playing with the car, Bill accidentally bumped into Dan. Dan said, "You pushed me." Dan told Bill that he was being bad. Dan said, "Give me back my car." Dan took the car away from Bill (Sept. 30, 1992 video & fieldnotes).

This example shows Dan interpreting Bill's lack of motor coordination as an intention towards himself rather than a mere accident. Dan labeled Bill's behavior as being bad; therefore, entitling himself to Bill's car.

In summary, the wide range of cognitive, social, verbal, and motor coordination abilities, in this classroom, affected the social interactions of the children and their ability to appropriately resolve conflicts.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the conflicts occurring between children in an early childhood integrated classroom. A number of conflict variables were examined including, social goals, oppositions, strategies, and outcomes, in an effort to compare both the physical and verbal peer conflicts of typically developing children and children with disabilities. The main objectives were to examine social goals and resolutions of conflict as they occurred in the classroom culture.

The analysis and interpretations support previous research findings and contribute new information unique to an integrated environment. The main findings of this study are that children in this integrated classroom chose strategies according to their cognitive, social, verbal, and motor coordination abilities and that teacher interventions are necessary to facilitate appropriate conflict resolution.

Important differences were found in the frequency of verbal and non-verbal oppositions and strategies chosen by typically developing children and children with disabilities to resolve conflicts. Both typically developing children and children with disabilities used a variety of verbal strategies during the conflicts, but typically developing children used more verbal strategies than the children with developmental disabilities during the conflict episodes. Typically

developing children used a verbal protest, gave directions, or provided a peer with information.

Although verbal protesting was the opposition used most frequently by both the typically developing children and children with disabilities, typically developing children were more likely to give their peers information after a protest, whereas children with disabilities were more likely to use a non-verbal opposition such as grabbing, pushing, or holding back a person or object.

This analysis supports Kugelmass' (1989) assertion that a lack of verbal skills impede the interactions and integration of typically developing children and children with disabilities. The findings suggest children with disabilities lack the verbal communication skills necessary to successfully resolve conflict.

Again, differences were noted in the choice of strategies used by typically developing children and children with disabilities. Although five of the most frequent strategies, including verbal protesting, informing peer, directing, moving, and informing an adult were commonly used by both typically developing children and children with developmental disabilities, children with disabilities used strategies, including aggressive strategies, which were never used by the typically developing children. Children with disabilities were more likely to push, hit a person or an object, kick,

taunt, name call, pull hair, or use hostile gestures than typically developing children. In contrast, affection and removing the object of conflict were strategies used only by the typically developing children.

Although withdrawing, avoiding further conflict and leaving the situation, was the most frequent behavior observed among all children resulting in a win-lose outcome (Wilson, 1988), children with disabilities often chose to ignore the situation to a higher degree than typically developing children. Rather than resolving the conflict, ignoring the situation often resulted in further peer conflict.

Through this comparison, it can be concluded that the children with disabilities in this classroom were more likely to choose strategies, particularly aggressive strategies, which are not positive, appropriate, or productive in resolving conflicts.

Implications for Practice

The findings demonstrate the need for active teacher involvement when children with disabilities participate in conflicts in integrated early childhood classrooms. Teachers may need to utilize different intervention strategies for typically developing children and children with developmental disabilities according to their levels of aggression, communication, perceptual motor ability, and cognitive understanding. The findings describe how children with

disabilities differ in their strategies of conflict resolution when compared to typically developing children and show how teachers are a necessary component in the classroom to facilitate positive social interactions.

In the previous literature on conflict (Dawe, 1934), the typically developing children were more likely to resolve conflicts themselves and teacher interventions were rarely needed. In contrast, teacher intervention was frequent in this integrated classroom. Adults often intervened immediately after an opposition and were most likely to give a child directions, information, or tell the child to "use your words." Because children with disabilities were in more conflicts than typically developing children and the majority of conflicts were between a typically developing child and a child with a disability, teachers were needed to interpret the intentions of children with low verbal, motor, or cognitive ability and provide these children with skills needed to communicate more effectively. Teachers were also a necessary component in decreasing the level of aggression exhibited during conflict episodes.

Although the analysis and interpretations support Laursen & Hartup (1989) finding, conflict most frequently ended in a win-lose outcome and separation of participants, the findings revealed children with disabilities were more likely to lose in conflict situations whereas typically developing children

were more likely to win. How teachers intervened influenced the outcome of peer conflicts. For example, a win-win outcome was most likely to occur when teachers chose substitution or sharing as methods of intervention. In contrast, a win-lose outcomes often occurred when a teacher removed a person or object from a conflict situation. Win-lose outcomes were also found to be most prominent when the teacher intervened by giving directions or providing information, but a minority of these conflict did end with a win-win outcome. Similar to Wilson (1989), a lose-lose outcome was often the result of a teacher intervention and occurred only when a person or an object was removed in the conflict situation.

According to Carlsson-Paige and Levin (1992), the majority of intervention strategies (offering a solution, "use your words", remove the object or child) employed by the teachers only solved the immediate problem but did not provide the children with long-term problem solving skills. Carlsson-Paige and Levin (1992) suggest teachers should be teaching specific problem solving skills for conflict resolution. Perhaps teachers in an integrated classroom should model and encourage problem solving, but adapt their intervention strategies to the abilities of each child.

Implications for Future Research

This study compared typically developing children to children with disabilities, further research is needed to

compare the conflict strategies, resolutions, and interventions of children with specific disabilities to determine how teachers should intervene in conflicts of children with different types of disabilities.

Because the results of this study are limited by the types of disability in this classroom, this study may reveal more aggressive strategies and teacher interventions due to the presence of children with behavioral disorders in the classroom. Future research, using qualitative methods, is needed to examine conflict in special education classrooms and typically developing classrooms. Qualitative methods may also be useful in future research to describe the emotions, postures, gestures, and facial expressions of children during conflict episodes.

Summary

These detailed descriptions of the culture reveal the complexity of interactions involved in the conflict process and provide the researcher with a deeper understanding of peer conflict strategies and resolutions in the everyday life of the children in this classroom.

The examples demonstrate the need for active teacher involvement when children with disabilities participate in conflicts in integrated early childhood classrooms. Teachers may need to utilize different intervention strategies for typically developing children and children with developmental

disabilities according to their levels of aggression, communication, perceptual motor ability, and cognitive understanding.

Finally, this study shows how children in an early childhood integrated classroom interact when trying to achieve incompatible social goals and demonstrates the importance of teachers facilitating positive social interactions.

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APPENDIX A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What role do you see teachers play during conflicts?
2. What do you see as the positive and negative behaviors of teachers during conflict episodes?
3. Have you verbally stated rules to the teachers or children that they should use when confronting a conflict situation? If so, what are these rules?
4. How do the teachers interact differently with the typically developing children as opposed to the children with disabilities when intervening in a conflict?
5. Do typically developing children and children with disabilities participate in different types of conflicts? If yes, explain the differences you have observed.
6. What strategies do the children use in this classroom to resolve conflict? Are these strategies different or the same for typically developing children and children with disabilities?
7. How do the children resolve conflict?
8. What areas in the room is conflict most likely to occur?
9. What activities and materials in the classroom are most likely to be an issue in conflict episodes?
10. The teacher viewed a selection of conflict episodes. After each episode, the teacher was asked each of the following questions.
 - a. What goals are the children trying to achieve in this conflict?
 - b. What strategies are the children using to resolve the conflict?
 - c. If there was a teacher intervention, how did the teacher intervene?
 - d. How did the conflict end?

APPENDIX B. LETTER

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Heidi

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August 27, 1992

Dear Lab B Family:

I am a new faculty in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies. I would like to conduct research in the Lab school this year.

I am interested in the culture of an integrated early childhood classroom. In other words, I want to explore the meaning of being a participant in this classroom, including the roles and rules as well as the expectations and responsibilities of each of the participants.

A research team of 5 to 8 students and faculty will be involved in the collection of data. One member of the team will be videotaping the daily activities of the classroom for a total of 16 weeks during the 1992-93 school year. In addition, two participant observers (a graduate research assistant and myself) and the laboratory school teachers will be taking daily notes on their observations of the classroom. Also, the team may be interested in conducting informal and formal interviews with teachers, children, and/or families. The study will begin on August 31, 1992 and end on May 14, 1993. The videotaping and the presence of the participant observers will be explained to the children. Due to the fact that your child will be observed during daily classroom activities, as they are occurring, he/she will not be placed at risk or discomfort. There will be no direct intervention in the classroom.

The data collected during the year will be used for research, supported by a University Research Grant, publications, presentations, and educational purposes. Your child will be identified by a pseudonym (false name) whenever he/she is discussed in published articles or in oral presentations. When short sequences of the videotapes are shown in a public forum, every effort will be made to protect the identity of your child. The videotapes, observational notes, and interviews will be available for faculty and students in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies on a limited basis. Any persons using the data collected in this study will be asked to keep all of the information confidential.

I would very much appreciate your child's involvement in this project. Please complete the form below and return it to me, 101 Child Development Building, or Terrie Sue Maschoff, your child's teacher. You are free to discontinue your child's participation in the project at any time. If you have any questions or concerns about the project, please contact me at 294-0795. I would be happy to discuss the project with you or clarify any of the aforementioned procedures. If you decide that your child should not participate in this project, then we will need to discuss your options with Dr. Albert D. King, the Child Development Laboratory Schools administrator.

Thank you for your help.

Paula McMurray, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor

cc: Albert D. King, Administrator
Terrie Sue Maschoff, Teacher
Dianne Draper, Department Executive Officer

I (give / do not give) my permission for my child

Child's Name

to participate in the research conducted by Professor Paula McMurray which has been approved by the Department of Human Development and Family Studies and the University Human Subjects Committee.

Family Member's Signature

Date