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CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT:

A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

A Dissertation Presented

by

NANCY CARLSSON-PAIGE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1992

School of Education

CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT:
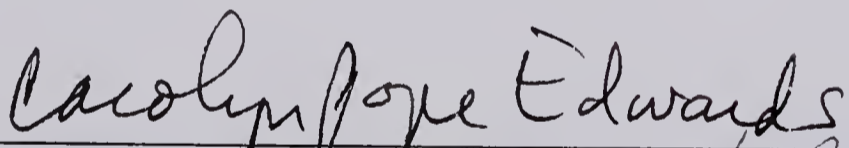
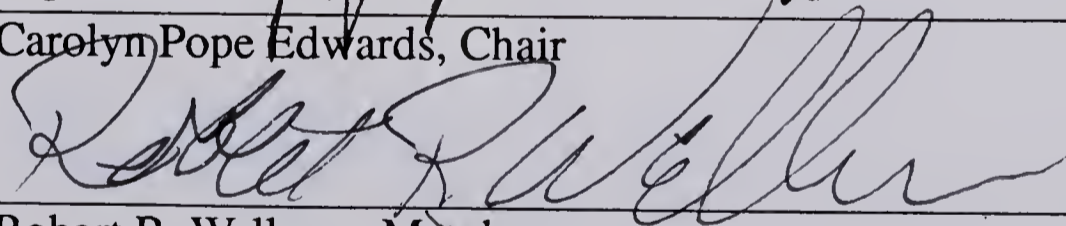# A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

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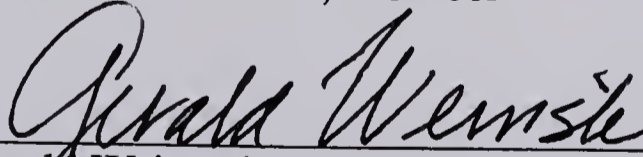
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Carolyn Pope Edwards, Chair
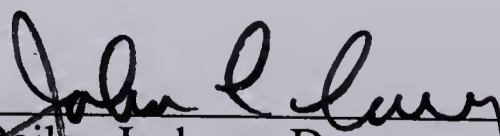
Robert R. Wellman
Robert R. Wellman, Member

Gerald Weinstein
Gerald Weinstein, Member

Warren Schumacher
Warren Schumacher, Member

John C. Curry
Bailey Jackson, Dean
School of Education

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ABSTRACT

CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT:

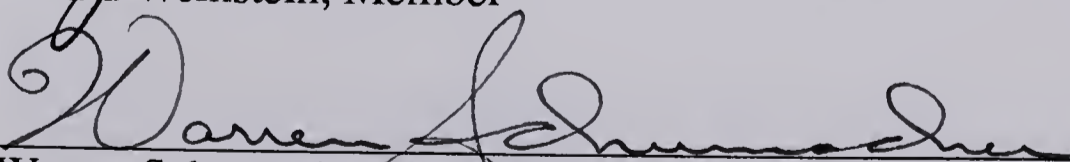A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

MAY, 1992

NANCY CARLSSON-PAIGE, B.S. SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

M.S.Ed., LESLEY COLLEGE

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor Carolyn Pope Edwards

The purpose of this study was to learn how children between the ages of five and nine construct their understanding of conflict and how to resolve it, how their cognitive development both reflects and shapes this understanding, and how their ideas about conflict develop over time. Open-ended interviews were conducted with two children from each of four grades (K-3) in a Boston Public School in order to elicit the children's ideas about conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation. Two drawings of conflicts were used, one in each of two separate interviews, one depicting a conflict over an object, the other an interpersonal conflict.

Five cognitive dimensions were used to analyze the interview data. Children's understanding of conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation, and the gradual changes in children's thinking over time were analyzed. The five dimensions were: concrete to abstract; from one idea to coordination of multiple ideas; static to dynamic thinking; transductive to logical causal reasoning; and, from one to more than one point of view.

The results of this analysis show that with age there was a general progression of the eight children's understanding of conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation as they advanced along the five cognitive dimensions.

Children's understanding of conflict progressed from more concrete to abstract, and from more discrete and momentary to increasingly embedded in a context of time and other events, ideas and feelings. Children's understanding of solutions to conflict also progressed from concrete to more abstract. In addition, there was an increasing capacity to think of greater numbers of possible solutions to conflict, especially positive solutions, as children moved along the cognitive dimensions. Children's understanding of negotiation progressed from concrete to more abstract, including increasingly complex psychological processes. Children showed a progression in their ability to understand negotiation as a complex process related to both conflicts and solutions. Gender and individual differences among children emerged from the data in addition to developmental differences.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

TEACHING CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN SCHOOLS

According to a 1991 Senate Judiciary Committee report, the United States is the most violent nation in the industrialized world (Weiner, 1991). Children in the United States are exposed to more violence than ever before. Many of the twenty percent who live below the poverty level experience the violence which directly results from poverty (Children's Defense Fund, 1990). In addition to this, almost all children are exposed to entertainment violence through the media and toys and the popular youth culture. This second-hand violence increased dramatically as a result of the deregulation of children's television during the Reagan years (Carlsson- Paige & Levin, 1987, 1990). With deregulation, violent cartoons marketed to children along with lines of violent toys appeared on the market for the first time in history. Today, the average child spends more time watching television than attending school (Singer & Singer, 1990), and will witness more than 13,000 killings on television before the age of 15 (Tuchscherer, 1988). Beyond this, social critics such as Barbara Ehrenreich (1990) assert that the United States is a warrior culture where national values glorifying war and militarism prevail. All of these factors taken together contribute to an overall climate in which children are taught that violence is an acceptable, even exciting way for resolving differences among people and nations.

The root causes of violence in the United States go far beyond the classroom and cannot be solved by what takes place there. Yet teachers have begun to ask what, if anything, they can do to stem the tide of violence that is erupting and worsening in schools. "I've been teaching for twenty years, and

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every year it gets worse and worse. There's more fighting. The kids seem to have such short fuses -- the least little thing sets them off. They see violence on the street and at home, and they don't know any other ways to deal with conflict" (*Harvard Education Letter*, 1991). Concerns such as these have led many educators to turn to programs in conflict resolution for help in counteracting the rising tide of violence in schools.

The Emergence of Conflict Resolution Programs

Beginning in the late 1960's, the field of mediation and dispute resolution, organized around finding non-adversarial forms of settling disputes of all kinds (e.g., labor, family, consumer, international), began to emerge in the United States (Folberg, Taylor, 1984). Gradually through the 1980's, a myriad of local, regional, and national organizations founded for the purpose of mediating disputes came into existence. Support and direction for these organizations came from the writings of many scholars, theoreticians, and practitioners in the field of social psychology (Deutsch, 1973; Filley, 1975; Fisher & Ury, 1981).

During the same period, Educators for Social Responsibility, the grass-roots teacher-initiated organization concerned with educating children for responsible citizenship, grew into a viable, national organization. Many of its members valued the teaching of conflict resolution skills to children and had developed curriculum to teach these skills in their own classrooms. They began to look to the dispute resolution field for programs which could teach children skills for resolving differences without violence and aggression. At the same time, teachers all over the country began to look for programs which might counteract the increasing violence in schools and neighborhoods.

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School conflict resolution programs grew rapidly during the 1980's (Cheatham, 1988). In 1984, fifty educators and dispute center staff members representing more than fifteen states came together to form the National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME), which has become the central clearinghouse for the growth and exchange of information on mediation and conflict resolution in education. By the end of the decade, mediation and conflict resolution in education had developed into a field of its own. NAME produces its own publications and newsletter; in addition, at least three journals publish articles in this emerging field: *Negotiation Journal*, *Missouri Journal of Dispute Resolution*, and *The Fourth R*.

Conflict resolution programs were implemented first in high schools, then were followed by programs in the upper elementary grades. But as violence in the country increased, educators began to see the need for intervention with younger children, and interest in conflict resolution programs for the early grades of elementary school began to grow.

Conflict Resolution: New Programs Raising Old Questions

In some school settings, educators have tried to add conflict resolution training to the existing school curriculum as a separate subject. Others have taken a more comprehensive approach in which conflict resolution training is integrated into a broader program which stresses cooperation and prosocial education (Harvard Education Letter, 1991). In either case, the concepts and values taught in conflict resolution programs have implications for the rest of the curriculum and for the social relationships that characterize schools.

Conflict resolution is not a self-contained, value-free method which can be added on to a school curriculum without having an effect on that curriculum.

Although it has come of age only recently as violence in American society has increased, conflict resolution is an approach which rests on a set of assumptions which have long been debated among educators.

First, the concept of conflict resolution begins with the assumption that conflict is a creative, positive force. Conflict is viewed as central and essential to learning. This view of conflict is compatible with a progressive view of education in which education is seen as an active process through which children interact with their environment and construct knowledge for themselves out of this experience (Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972). In this view, growth is the result of engagement with genuine, resolvable problems and conflicts. Teachers in this model of education set up situations which allow children to use conflict as they actively engage with materials and peers, and construct their own individual understandings.

The acceptance of the potential of conflict to produce learning is in opposition to a basic assumption of traditional education. In the traditional view of education, knowledge, skills, and moral rules are seen as fixed in society; education is the process by which teachers transmit these to children (Kohlberg and Mayer, 1972). In such a direct delivery model, children are seen as passive recipients, and conflict has no acknowledged role.

Second, the decision to teach children how to resolve their conflicts in school raises questions about what constitutes the basic school curriculum. In the traditional view of education, the school curriculum is defined by traditional academic disciplines and the acquisition of academic skills. Within such a curriculum, social studies is defined as subject matter content taught directly to children from books, workbooks, and the teachers.

The introduction of conflict resolution as a goal for school curriculum expands the traditional definition of what constitutes social studies content in

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school; it involves the acquisition of skills and attitudes along with knowledge. It makes such skills as the ability to listen and give feedback, the ability to take another person's point of view, and the ability to cooperate with others as part of the formal school curriculum.

While the question of what constitutes the basic school curriculum is an old one, it is being asked anew by some educators in light of the realities facing the modern world. Some voices, even among state and national teacher certification agencies (*Report of the Study Commission on Global Education*, 1987) express concern about the increasing obsolescence of school curriculum; there is concern that children need a broad range of skills and concepts for the 21st century currently not part of their school experience. For some educators, a conflict resolution curriculum is one attempt to equip children with skills that they will need in a world where the peaceful resolution of conflicts has become essential for survival. However, for other educators interested in maintaining a narrow definition of what constitutes school curriculum, the new curriculum poses a challenge.

A third assumption which underlies the teaching of conflict resolution in school has to do with school social relations, and particularly the power relations between teachers and students. The hidden curriculum of most schools, the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are communicated to students through the underlying structure of the curriculum and social relations, usually teaches competition, individualism, and authoritarianism (Giroux & Penna, 1981). Conflict resolution programs, in emphasizing cooperation and mutuality, challenge the traditional power relationships existing in schools.

Conflict resolution programs encourage children to find solutions to their conflicts within themselves rather than from teachers, and to enjoy the

satisfaction this brings. The programs are collaborative; success is experienced when everyone feels it has be reached. Further, children are usually encouraged to use the skills learned for resolving conflicts in all interactions where they might apply, including in a variety of school situations. Thus, conflict resolution programs have the potential to contradict some of the basic power relations which characterize many schools.

Finally, the teaching of skills for conflict resolution recharges the old debate about whether or not values and morals should be part of the school curriculum (Damon, 1988). Some traditional educators argue that schools should teach strict academic subjects only; that values can be separated from knowledge. Conflict resolution programs teach many values such as cooperation and respect for cultural differences, and do not claim to be value-free.

Progressive educators often argue that all curriculum is value-laden, that even what is omitted from the curriculum conveys values, and that knowledge and moral understanding are inseparable and part of any learning. According to Giroux and Penna (1979), all curriculum content, by its very selection and organization, conveys messages about its value to children. Conflict resolution programs, which make explicit the teaching of concepts and skills that are embedded in a context of values, pose a challenge to those who would argue for a curriculum comprised of objective, value-free subject matter.

Conflict resolution programs rest on basic assumptions about human relationships and learning which have the potential to contradict many assumptions underlying traditional education. Whether these programs are taught as separate from the overall curriculum or as an integral part of it, conflict resolution training could call into question many of the relationships and practices which dominate the traditional school landscape.

Designing Conflict Resolution Programs for Schools

There is an increasing variety of programs in conflict resolution being implemented in schools (*Harvard Education Letter*, 1991). Different programs stress different concepts and skills, but all programs seem to contain several basic elements: creation of a positive classroom community; development of communication skills; and a problem-solving approach to conflict. All approaches aim to teach specific skills to children which can bring about positive, non-adversarial relationships with others.

The problem-solving approach for resolving conflicts most commonly used as a basis for school programs is a method developed by Roger Fisher and William Ury (1988, 1981) of the Harvard Negotiation Project, often called "principled negotiation," or "Getting to Yes." This method stresses collaboration and mutual gain, and was developed for use in non-school contexts with adults.

The approach emphasizes understanding and defining problems in ways which include both parties in the conflict, brainstorming various solutions to problems, learning skills for negotiation, and finding solutions to conflict which are mutually satisfying to both parties. Educators adapting this method for use in schools have often tried to simplify it, but often without adapting it to the different conceptual understandings and developmental levels of children. While the method of "Getting to Yes" is supported by sound theory in social psychology, it is often not integrated with theories of developmental psychology when adapted for classroom use. Some teachers have attempted to teach the method directly to children without adapting it to their different cognitive understandings. As the popularity of conflict resolution programs grows, and teachers of children in the early grades of elementary school want

to implement them, the need for guidance in adapting programs to fit children's differing developmental abilities becomes increasingly important.

In her review of the literature on children and conflict, Shantz (1987) reports that most of the work by educational researchers on conflict and children has been descriptive rather than theory-driven, and that no coherent developmental framework for understanding conflict with young children has emerged. Since the time of Shantz' review, some work has been done that begins to look at conflict resolution among young children from a developmental perspective (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, in press).

The research study reported here builds on this beginning work and has as its purpose to describe how young children understand conflict and how to resolve it from a developmental perspective. It is a first step which can lead toward outlining developmental principles which can guide teaching practice in conflict resolution in the early grades of elementary school.

In the following chapter, we will look at the work that has been done on conflict and conflict resolution by developmental and social psychologists, and which provides the theoretical background for this study.

In chapter three, the research study will be described in detail, and the framework for analyzing the data explained. Chapter four will include the two interviews of each of the two kindergarten children, an analysis of each child's understanding of conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation, and a summary of the two children with key concepts highlighted.

Chapter five will comprise the two interviews of each of the first grade children, an analysis of each child's understanding as with the kindergarten children, and a summary of the main concepts for these two children and a comparison of these children with the kindergarten children.

Chapters six and seven will contain the same components as chapter five, but for the second and third grade children respectively.

Chapter eight will be a discussion of the findings of the study and of issues which relate to the research findings, and a discussion of implications for teaching practice in conflict resolution arising from the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Conflict and its resolution have been the subject of study in both developmental psychology and social psychology; each field has applied its own separate lens to the subject. From developmental psychologists, we gain insight into how children of different levels of development might view conflict and resolve certain kinds of conflicts. From social psychologists, we gain a fuller understanding of the role of conflict in human interactions and the process involved in resolving it. The separate lenses each field uses in looking at the subject overlap only slightly, but both are important to the background of this study.

This research study explores children's understanding of conflict and conflict resolution from a developmental perspective. In this chapter we will examine the work from both developmental psychology and social psychology which, taken together, forms the theoretical foundation on which this study is based.

Conflict as a Subject of Study in Developmental Psychology

Conflict is a central concept in the cognitive developmental theory of Jean Piaget (1928, 1932); it is seen as a primary source of cognitive growth and change. According to Piaget, conflict occurs when a discrepancy is created between the schemas (sensorimotor or mental) of an individual and the demands of external objects or events. Individuals are propelled to try to reconcile conflict through the mechanisms of assimilation (taking in information from the outside and using it according to current understanding)

and accommodation (changing current understanding to take into account new information). In so doing, first actions, and later ideas grow and change. This use of the concept of conflict goes beyond the more narrow definition of conflict as a dispute between individuals which is the conventional use of the term in social psychology. Piaget's theory incorporates the notion that any experience that challenges one's existing ideas creates conflict. For Piaget, social interactions play an important role in the creation of conflict. They provide children with the opportunity to confront one another's point of view. As the ideas of a child come into contact with those of another, the child is motivated to reconcile the differences in her own thinking with the ideas expressed by others. This contributes to a decrease in egocentrism (the tendency to interpret experience from ones own point of view), and gradually leads to a more advanced and complex level of social reasoning. These social interactions, according to Piaget, are necessary not only for the development of social understanding, but for the development of logic as well. In interactions with peers, the child is forced to confront other points of view and to coordinate them with her own. This coordination, which can include discussions as well as arguments, contributes to the development of increasingly coherent reasoning. To cooperate for Piaget literally means to co-operate -- to operate together by considering other perspectives in relation to one's own. Thus for Piaget, cognitive conflict in general, and the conflict generated through peer interaction are essential components of the learning process.

Some developmental psychologists have studied interpersonal conflict directly, albeit in relation to specific domains of children's development. Rather than looking at conflict in terms of its general role in cognitive and social development as Piaget did, they have used developmental theory to study

social conflicts in which children engage, as well as how children view these. This work can contribute to a general understanding of how developmental issues relate to children's understanding and experience of social conflict.

In *The Social World of the Child*, William Damon (1977) discusses conflict and conflict resolution as part of distributive justice, the problem of awarding resources fairly. He looked at how children between the ages of four and eight years conceived of and dealt with distribution-of-reward conflicts. According to Damon, positive justice reasoning is a developmental phenomenon which improves as children grow older. Studying conflict in this context, Damon found that children reason differently about it; he assigned levels to these different forms of reasoning. At level 0-A, children recognize conflict as that which occurs between their own desire and some obstacle to fulfilling it. They usually reconcile this conflict by assimilation. A child at this stage would typically assume that a resolution which favors her would please others as well. At level 0-B, the child realizes that she has to justify her desires on some grounds other than pure desire, and understands that others may not like her idea. She gives herself preference as she did at the first level, but now she supports it with some external or observable justification. The child advances her thinking at level 1-A to understand that a conflict occurs among equals who all have the same goal which is self-interest. As a result, the child now thinks that all contenders are equal, and bases solutions to conflicts of distribution on the concept of strict equality. Then at level 1-B, children begin to appreciate the ideas of merit and fair exchange, as well as reciprocity. Thus, when conflicts arise over resources at this level, the child feels that people should be treated differently according to merit, and should be paid back for their favors. Children are still quite inflexible and unilateral in their thinking at level 1-B, but the principle has changed from equality to reciprocity.

At level 2-A, thinking becomes more relative as children realize that there can be different justice claims which could each have validity. Conflicts become more complicated to resolve in the face of these disparate claims to justice; children begin to resolve them through mediation and compromise. Solutions are weighed and considered, often with the most of something being given to the person with the best claim. The child suffering from deprivation or having a special need is often the one that children at this stage think should receive the most.

An even further advance is made at level 2-B, when children become able to integrate their understanding of equality, merit, and need in different contexts. Now they try to balance the true claims and needs of everyone in the specific conflict situation. Damon's longitudinal studies show that the development of positive justice knowledge in young children is a long, slow process. Many children did not change their reasoning at all in the course of a year. While it would be impossible to predict conduct from a child's reasoning, Damon states that tendencies or patterns of conduct can be predicted from a child's reasoning. He found that children tended to show a higher level of positive justice reasoning when an imaginary story was used rather than a real-life situation.

Damon's conflict studies were carried out in a circumscribed domain, and this makes it difficult to generalize his ideas beyond the specific domain that he studied. In their book *The Roots of Prosocial Behavior in Children*, Eisenberg & Mussen (1989) state that developmental theories of moral reasoning consist mainly of children's verbalizations about laws, rules, authority, responsibility, equality, and justice; that there is no reason to believe these same ideas and judgements would be applied in resolving other kinds of social dilemmas or conflicts. Still, it may be useful to look for some general

conclusions from Damon's work which might contribute to a broader understanding of conflict in young children.

Damon's work on conflicts over problems of distributive justice may bear some relationship to other conflicts children have because most of children's conflicts are about the distribution or sharing of objects (Shantz & Shantz, 1985). Damon's theory might lead us to believe that children at the earliest level will favor themselves in conflicts, as did the youngest children he studied; also, they might tend to reconcile conflicts by assimilation (thinking that resolutions which favor them will please others as well).

As they develop a bit further, children might realize that others do not always agree with them; they might see the need for offering some justification for their egocentric desires. Then, children a bit older might begin to think that equal distributions are the best way to resolve conflicts over resources; they might want resources or rewards distributed equally to every child involved in a conflict. In conflict situations then, children at this stage might select one rule or solution and strictly apply it to each person regardless of individual circumstances.

In Damon's conflict levels, children progress beyond strict equality as they begin to take merit, need, and special circumstances into account. As the variety of possible resolutions grows, children have to find resolution through negotiation and compromise. Perhaps this shift might be seen in children's conflicts more generally than in the narrow domain Damon studied.

The children Damon studied were involved in conflicts over the distribution of resources in which they were involved, so their own self interest was part of their reasoning and no doubt influenced it. It is more difficult to apply Damon's findings to conflicts in which children are not directly involved.

Another developmental psychologist, Robert Selman (1980), has studied conflict resolution as part of his comprehensive study of perspective taking -- the understanding of how human points of view are related and coordinated with one another. Like Damon, Selman's assumption is that the child's conceptualization of self and social relations proceeds through an invariant sequence of qualitative levels by which the child progressively structures social experience. For Selman, issues such as conflict resolution are social concepts which develop as part of interpersonal relationships, which are organized at a deeper level of perspective taking. The levels give shape and order to the interpersonal conceptions which children express such as their ideas about conflict. Emphasis in the interviews is on the conceptual understanding which underlies the child's ideas rather than on what the child says should or would be done in a given conflict.

In his book, *The Growth of Interpersonal Understanding*, Selman examines five levels of a child's developing understanding of conflict resolution, as part of what he calls the friendship concepts domain (four of these will be described here). Conflict resolution in this context refers to children's ideas about how people maintain friendships through conflict situations, what methods they have for resolving disagreements with friends, and their ideas about what kinds of conflicts occur in friendships. The first three levels tend to extend through childhood, with levels 3 and 4 typically found during adolescence and adulthood.

In the first of the five levels, level 0, a child understands conflict primarily as not getting to do or act as she wants because of some action by the another person; conflict is not seen as the result of different perspectives on a situation. The solution to conflict at this stage is usually a physical one, found either through the use of physical force or removal from the situation. The

child thinks that physical solutions work because the conflict itself is seen as physical.

Children at Selman's level 1 develop the awareness that psychological effects of conflicts are important, but they can only manage to consider this principle for one of the participants. They see the problem as one that is caused by the negative actions of one person, and felt by the other, rather than as a mutual disagreement. The child is actually unable at this stage to conceive of a conflict as mutual; it is started by one person who has to reverse whatever activity has caused the problem in order to solve it. This can be done using strategies such as negation of the action, or doing something positive to comfort or please the unhappy other. This is a physical way of fixing the problem for the one who feels it, and it is not necessary that the fixer "mean it".

At level 2, children become more capable of understanding that a conflict consists of two psychological points of view and that a resolution must involve the participation of both. But the understanding now is more bilateral, rather than truly mutual. Children at this level think that each party to the conflict can be satisfied independent of the other whether or not they come to a mutual consensus. The child understands that each party needs to be satisfied, but not that each may care about the other person's sense of how well the issue is resolved. The conflict does not originate within the relationship itself, but some external circumstance. The child at this level also understands that someone may say or do something that he does not really mean, and also that one must mean what one says or does. Sometimes children at this stage suggest "getting away" from the conflict as a way to recollect thoughts and feelings rather than the out-of-sight-out-of-mind strategy of level 0.

At level 3, there is an advance in how children understand mutuality. Certain conflicts arise in the interaction between the parties; resolutions must be satisfactory to both even if they were to take one another's place. Now, conflicts can arise due to personality. Now that they can arise between people, they need to be 'worked through'. Emphasis now is on active interpersonal communication and sharing rather than on physical-action resolutions.

Selman developed this structural-developmental approach primarily from interviews with children which revealed their reasoning about social conduct. He has also studied conflict from the perspective of the role of understanding in conduct (1981, 1983, 1984). He has proposed a developmental model of interpersonal competence which incorporates levels in the strategies individuals use for interpersonal negotiation. These levels are less well-defined than the structural-developmental ones because strategies oscillate between more and less advanced levels. The level of interpersonal understanding is critical to the highest strategy level one can implement, but cannot determine which strategy an individual might choose from her repertoire in any specific context.

Selman has identified four components of an interpersonal negotiation level which are logically connected -- construal of self and other, intended method, affect, and self's orientation. Each of these must be considered simultaneously in assessing a strategy level, and together they form a structural level in a particular context that is amenable to developmental analysis. According to Selman, the aim of strategies for the child is to control the conflict situation in a way which can achieve inner and interpersonal equilibrium.

At level 0, the child does not think of self or other as having thoughts, feelings, or intentions, and thus treats the other as a means to serving his own

ends. The child expresses impulses directly, for example, impulsive rage (which is the assimilative mode), or its opposite, a state of no feeling or will (the accommodative mode). The child is ragefull or helpless and cannot be moved by reason because his own conduct is not modified by conscious intention. The other-transforming orientation is manifested in simple strategies such as grabbing or using physical force (assimilation). The self-transforming actions are flight or robot-like obedience (accommodation).

In level 1 negotiations, the child realizes that both parties have intentionality and will, and the capacity to make choices. The issue of control becomes very important, with the child tending to assert his will or to submit to that of the other. Negotiation is viewed as opposition, where one person controls the other. At this level of other-and-self-transforming, the assimilative strategy is to bully the other (for example, to use threats) versus the accommodative strategy of being victimized and submitting to authority.

At level 2, a new set of strategies emerges. The child realizes that minds can change because of psychological persuasion (such as bribes and manipulation). She understands that psychological deception can be used by either party. She is open to change though persuasion but is also aware of the other's capacity to persuade or deceive. The method of actions is to use barter, trading, reciprocity, or skills of convincing. Decisions are successful if they are acceptable to each party in terms of outcome; process is disregarded. She musters support for ideas through persuasion, bribery, and flattery, and resists through self-doubt, negative attitudes, and criticism of the other's ideas. Affect is experienced as feeling influential or self-consciousness. The self-other orientation shows an assimilative strategy of influencing or manipulating; an accommodative one of compliance or fawning to the other.

At level 3, mutual decisions are beyond the tit-for-tat self-interest. Self and other are seen as separate but interdependent. Negotiations involve collaboration which is sensitive to the needs of both, and focus is on both the process of negotiation as well as on the outcome. The goal is communication and mutuality rather than winning one's point. The affective tone empathic and collaborative; feelings of success come from the felt equilibration between the needs of the self and the other (a shared perspective). Both assimilative and accommodative modes are used in seeking simultaneous change in self and other toward some more equilibrated end.

Movement, then, from lower to higher levels is from interpersonally isolated to communicative, from unresponsible to autonomous and responsible, from using methods which cut off negotiation to those which facilitate it. As individuals develop, they are more able to stand up for their own perceived needs, feelings, and rights while at the same time appreciating those of others. As people construct their understanding of self and other as persons with deeper and more complex feelings, this opens avenues for advancing repertoires of methods, increases diversity of method, and differentiated affect.

The Selman model suggests that there is a limited developmental range of strategies which an individual can use to negotiate with another. Young children use egocentric demands, force, and physical reactions. These low-level strategies are normal and adaptive ones for young children, according to Selman.

While his model was developed from observations of children from ages 7 to 15, Selman suggests studying negotiation strategies of younger children ages 2 to 6, and hypothesizes that their strategies would be limited to the lower level. The differences among their strategies, he says, may be in the quantity of use of a strategy and orientation rather than in quality.

The general conclusions from Selman's work on conflict and negotiation might contribute to a broader understanding of conflict and conflict resolution in young children. His work showed that children tend to view conflict in physical, concrete terms in the early years, and that they look for physical solutions to conflicts. As they develop, they realize that people have motives, intentions, and feelings behind their physical actions. They become increasingly able to think about the psychological component within themselves and others and to coordinate perspectives. They move from viewing problems from their own point of view to seeing them as mutual.

In terms of negotiation strategies, Selman concludes that children will progress gradually from using strategies of physical force to verbal threats and bribes, to the use of persuasion and convincing, to finally the growing ability to collaborate; in this model, young children are typically confined to the lowest level strategies.

A rigid interpretation of Selman's work in conflict could lead one to conclude that younger children are incapable of participating in constructive conflict resolution. The social concepts that Selman studies are described in terms of universal stages, with less emphasis on the diverse ways that a concept might be constructed over time in different cultural and social contexts and in varying degrees of abstraction. For him, a child's understanding of conflict is structured and shaped by the deeper developmental level of perspective taking. In constructing the stages as he has, Selman emphasizes the qualitative shifts in perspective-taking ability, which he defines in a very restricted way, seemingly to maintain the integrity of the stage concept. Emphasis is not on the incremental, continuous, and often uneven development that leads up to these stage shifts or on the myriad of ways that human beings exercise their perspective-taking ability.

Not all developmental psychologists agree with Selman's view that perspective taking is a unitary, general ability which progresses through a series of stages (Damon, 1988). They argue that it is a multifaceted ability dependent on context and specific task requirements; they point for example, to research which shows how preschoolers can assume others' viewpoints in certain situations. These psychologists would not be likely then to view social concepts such as conflict from the deeper organizing lens of perspective-taking ability.

Selman's work on perspective taking can be contrasted with the earlier work of Flavell (1968) on role taking in young children. Flavell found evidence of role taking ability in very young children on a variety of tasks. His definition of role taking included a variety of activities from very concrete to more abstract, and included the use of this budding ability in a range of situations . Flavell concluded that an understanding by young children that perspective differences exist probably begins and slowly generalizes across a range of interpersonal situations over time.

Carolyn Edwards (1986) describes perspective taking as a multifaceted capacity that is embedded in many different social-cognitive skills. She says that children show uneven levels of skill in perspective taking, with the particular demands of the situation accounting for this diversity of performance. Even Piaget, in his later work, was moving towards a broader description of children' s perspective-taking ability, seeing it in terms of the context in which it occurred and the specific cognitive demands of particular tasks rather than as a general characteristic of early thinking (Damon, 1988).

It is not known how much of Selman's work on negotiation strategies might apply to children in a variety of contexts different from those which he studied. His data was drawn from direct observations carried out during three

projects, two of which were with troubled children. The aim was to gather samples of how children at different ages and levels of social development negotiate with each other. While these findings do provide a broad developmental map for understanding the negotiation strategies used by children in their own interactions, it does not tell us how children might behave in different situations, how they might reflect on these strategies, or what their thinking would be when considering possible strategies for use in conflicts in which they are not immediately involved.

The Relevance of Piaget's Theory to Children's Understanding of Conflict

Jean Piaget never studied conflict directly, but his general cognitive-developmental perspective can help explain the kinds of ideas children are likely to construct about interpersonal conflict and conflict resolution.

The children who are in Selman's stage 0 and Damon's stages 0-A and 0-B fall into the general stage of cognitive development which Piaget called preoperational. One characteristic of the thinking of children in the preoperational stage is egocentrism. Children at this stage tend to interpret the world from their own point of view; they often attribute to others the same motives and thoughts which they have, and often have difficulty focusing on more than one idea at a time. Thinking at this stage tends to be somewhat static in nature, like a series of frames on a movie strip, viewed one at a time. Children can have incompatible ideas side by side because each is part of a different frame. This kind of thinking makes it difficult for children to think about cause and effect. The causal relationships they form between events often do not conform to adult logic. Children make connections without

focusing on the transformation which occurs from the beginning to the end of an event. They do not have reversibility of thought, and can not reverse actions in their heads. They pay attention to the concrete rather than abstract aspects of situations, and usually notice salient and visible features of objects and experiences. Children at this stage tend to organize their experiences into broad, often dichotomous categories based on single, concrete characteristics.

This kind of thinking could lead children to view the conflicts they are involved in from their own point of view. If they were not directly involved, they might tend to focus on one aspect of the situation to the exclusion of others. Because of this, they would have a difficult time thinking about a problem or its solution as shared. It would be most natural for them to think of solutions in the dichotomized terms of winners and losers. They would also have a difficult time thinking about causes of conflicts or predicting consequences, and would focus on the immediate conflict instead. It could be difficult for them to see how negotiation related to solutions. They would think about conflict in concrete terms rather than in terms of more abstract internal states.

As children move into Selman's level 1 and Damon's levels 1-A and 1-B, they begin the transition into the stage of concrete operational thinking, as described by Piaget. This is a very gradual transition occurring over several years, as children's thinking begins to change. They begin to be able to think about more than one aspect of a situation at a time. Their reasoning becomes more logical, as does their understanding of cause and effect. Thinking becomes less static and more dynamic, as they begin to see transformations and develop reversibility of thought. Children become less drawn by the perceptual features of things, and begin to make their judgements on the basis of what lies below the surface of what they see. They begin to be able to

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consider the views of others, and to think about their intentions and motivations rather than simply their actions.

Children's views about conflict would likely change along with these general changes in their thinking. They would probably begin to view conflicts in more than purely concrete ways, and consider them beyond the immediate moment. They would begin to see conflict as a whole problem with component parts (different actions or point of view). They would begin to be able to think about what caused a conflict, and to consider possible solutions, thereby connecting the various aspects of the conflict resolution process. They might think at this stage that a good solution to a conflict would be to reverse whatever they saw as the cause of the conflict, using their newfound reversibility of thought. Probably with help, they would be able to consider several possible solutions to a conflict and begin to evaluate them.

As children move fully into concrete operational thinking, they enter the stages described by Selman as level 2 and Damon as levels 2-A and 2-B. At this stage children are leaving their egocentrism behind as they become able to think about multiple perspectives on a situation. They are able to think about a whole situation and how each of its parts relates to others and to the whole. They no longer make judgements based on how things look, but understand underlying logic and inner states. They are capable of logically connecting cause and effect. Their concepts are complex and differentiated rather than the simpler categories of the earlier years.

With these concrete operational abilities, children would be able to think about conflict resolution as a whole process with related aspects and a beginning-to-end sequence. They would be able to conceive of conflict as having dimensions below the surface, and therefore of solutions which were also more abstract than purely physical ones. They would be better able to

think of several different ideas and to examine specific ideas in relation to others and to a single criterion. They would begin to coordinate perspectives and move toward mutuality.

Piaget's theory of cognitive development seems to offer a broad framework for understanding how children might view conflict and how to resolve it. Some general predictions seem to follow from his theory, but research is needed which examines children's understanding of conflict and reveals the many details of their thinking and its progression.

Conflict Theory in Social Psychology

From a very different perspective than that of the developmentalists, social psychologists have also studied conflict. The most influential and perceptive analysis comes from Morton Deutsch (1973, 1982), whose book *The Resolution of Conflict* has profoundly shaped the movement toward mediation and cooperative conflict resolution (Folberg & Taylor, 1986). Deutsch views conflict as the root of personal and social change and growth, an inevitable aspect of life with the potential to be either constructive or destructive. His research and theory have focused on the conditions which encourage or inhibit constructive conflict at the interpersonal and intergroup levels, the insights from which Deutsch believes transfer to the international level (Deutsch, 1982).

Most basically, there is the underlying assumption in the work by Deutsch (1973) that conflict will be less destructive if the relations between the involved parties are cooperative rather than competitive. In addition, cooperative situations tend to produce more constructive conflict resolution and in turn they create more cooperative situations. In other words, the

characteristics of cooperative or competitive situations tend, as initiating conditions, to elicit the same processes that have given rise to them. According to Deutsch, it is possible to move a situation in one direction or the other by creating the typical consequences of effective cooperation and competition as initial states.

Destructive conflict is characterized by a tendency to escalate, with an increasing reliance upon a strategy of power and upon the tactics of threat and coercion. A competitive process tends to produce poor communication, efforts to win through exertion of power, and an exaggeration of differences between parties rather than similarities. The intensification of conflict can induce tension which may lead to an impairment of perceptual and cognitive processes. Excessive tension reduces the intellectual resources available for discovering new ways of resolving a conflict. Conflicts intensify as thought polarizes and participants view their alternatives in increasingly simplistic ways, as victory or defeat.

Deutsch (1982) believes that training in conflict resolution has profound importance for promoting individual and social well being; that students in schools should be taught how to manage conflicts more productively, and learn in a more cooperative school environment. Schools are, he believes, especially important institutions for training people in the skills of conflict resolution because of the advantages of learning these skills from an early age when they can be preventive rather than remedial, and therefore less costly to society and more effectively learned.

Deutsch has written extensively on the course of productive conflict, and much of this theory forms the backdrop for the more practical conflict resolution work which has directly followed from other social psychologists. The work of David and Roger Johnson (1975, 1982, 1984), which draws

heavily on the writings of Deutsch, incorporates conflict as one component in the much more expansive work they have done in cooperative learning. Johnson and Johnson emphasize that conflict is most likely to be constructive when it occurs within classroom environments that are cooperative, because students bent on "winning" will not be motivated to learn skills for resolving conflicts. They contrast cooperative classroom structures with competitive ones (in which students are working against each other), and individualistic ones (in which students are working separately).

According to Johnson and Johnson (1975, 1982, 1984), when students work cooperatively, disagreements are inevitable and in fact have valuable educational potential. Through cognitive conflict, students can deepen their understanding of issues, develop a rationale for their ideas, and think in more divergent ways. Johnson and Johnson claim that students are not born with interpersonal and group skills; they must be taught these skills and guided in practicing them. Therefore, they try to help teachers promote the constructive management of controversies rather than trying to eliminate them. Johnson and Johnson recommend: defining disagreements as problems needing solutions which can accommodate the needs of all group members; criticizing ideas but not the people who have them; bringing out and exploring all points of view before solutions are discussed; and, taking the perspectives of other group members. Of all of the skills involved in cooperative learning situations, Johnson and Johnson say that the skills for handling disagreements are the most complex and difficult to master.

In addition to Morton, Deutsch and his colleagues such as David and Roger Johnson, other scholars, such as Roger Fisher and William Ury, have also contributed to the theorizing and research in conflict resolution. As part of their work at the Harvard Negotiation Project, Fisher and Ury (1981) have put

forth a coherent set of ideas which promote positive conflict resolution, along with specific techniques and skills for fostering this process. Roger Fisher has also collaborated with Scott Brown (1988) to further elaborate the negotiation aspect of this conflict resolution process.

Fisher and Ury emphasize the importance of viewing a problem as mutual, rather than as a conflict which must be either won or lost. Understanding the problem as encompassing both sides in a disagreement is the first step in resolving a conflict. Negotiation is the back and forth communication process that occurs as a solution to the conflict is sought. Solutions must be found which respond to the interests of both sides; such solutions are called "win/win". They are contrasted with "lose/lose" solutions in which no one gets what they want, and "win/lose" solutions in which one side wins and one loses.

In his book *Interpersonal Conflict Resolution*, social psychologist Alan Filley (1975) explains the meaning of the strategies "win/lose, lose/lose, and win/win". Filley explains how the first two of these strategies involve a clear distinction between the parties (we-they) as opposed to an orientation of we-versus-the-problem. Individuals direct their energies toward either total victory or total defeat. In contrast, the win/win strategy involves positive gain for both parties. This involves a search for solution s which permit both sides to meet their needs, where energies are used to defeat the problem, rather than one another.

The writings of social psychologists on conflict and conflict resolution have been used as the basis for conflict resolution programs for adults and children alike. The concepts of "problem," "negotiation," and "solution" have been very useful to practitioners looking for a framework to use in teaching conflict resolution skills. Yet these writings are devoid of reference to

developmental structures and to the sequences that children might go through as they construct their own understanding of conflict. They do not address the question of how these conflict resolution concepts might be understood by children at different developmental levels.

The basic model for the resolution of conflicts put forth by Fisher and Ury assumes a certain level of cognitive ability. The model requires that participants be able to think of more than one idea at a time, take the perspective of the other person in the conflict, and coordinate and relate several ideas at once as they conceptualize their problem, begin to negotiate, and think of possible solutions. The model as a whole involves a process which occurs over time and is made up of parts that are integrated and proceed from beginning to end. Younger children, whose thinking tends to be static and momentary, would find it difficult to comprehend this model as a process, and would likely understand only fragmentary pieces of it at any given moment in time. Many conflict theorists argue that children should begin learning conflict resolution skills in their earliest years of school, yet the concepts involved seem to require cognitive skills beyond the abilities of young children. Very little is known about how these skills look in their early form and how they develop over time. Until very recently, no one has attempted to look at the conflict resolution concepts and skills defined by social psychologists from a developmental perspective.

First Steps in Integrating Conflict Resolution Theory and Development

While there is almost no overlap in the study of conflict by developmental and social psychologists, recent work by Carlsson-Paige and Levin (in press) has begun to use concepts from both fields to define a

framework for looking at children's understanding of conflict. Carlsson-Paige and Levin conducted research on conflict in young children (kindergarten through third grade) in which they use concepts from both conflict resolution and cognitive developmental theory. In their article "Making Peace in Violent Times: A Constructivist Approach to Conflict Resolution" (to be published in *Young Children*), they describe their findings from this research and the basic characteristics of their framework which integrates the elements of conflict resolution (defining the problem, using negotiation skills, and finding positive solutions) with developmental concepts. In this article, Carlsson-Paige and Levin describe how children go through a general developmental progression in learning to understand their conflicts. This progression is characterized by: (1) movement from concrete to a more abstract understanding of conflict; (2) an increasing ability to see conflict from more than one point of view; and, (3) an increasing ability to understand how words and actions have effects on a conflict.

They describe how the young children they studied understood solutions to conflict. They found that many of the children did think of win/win solutions, but that such solutions looked different among children of different ages. Younger children tended to offer global winning solutions, such as "they shared" or "they took turns". As children grew, their win/win solutions were more differentiated and increasingly took into account the two different points of view of the players in the conflict.

These authors also noticed that while most win/win solutions offered by children involved sharing or taking turns, there was also another kind of solution which a small but consistent percentage of children in every grade suggested. This was a winning solution which re-ordered the situation in some

novel way to allow for the participation of both players in the solution; they called this kind of solution "inclusive" (Gilligan, 1988).

Carlsson-Paige and Levin also report evidence of negotiation among the children they studied. They defined negotiation as the process of working out how to get from a problem to a solution, and they looked for examples of it in the conflict stories and observations they carried out. They found that the five year olds described conflicts and solutions but did not spontaneously mention behaviors relating to negotiation. With the older children (ages 7-9) however, ideas about how to negotiate began to appear.

The work by Carlsson-Paige and Levin is important as a first step toward integrating conflict resolution concepts with children's developmental understanding. They have described some of the basic elements of the conflict resolution process from a developmental perspective and have thus begun to develop a framework which synthesizes concepts from both fields. But their work is only a beginning. Much more research is needed in order to develop a map of what children's understanding of conflict and conflict resolution at different developmental levels might look like. Children's ideas about conflict, negotiation, and solutions must be studied from a developmental perspective in much greater depth.

Gender, Culture, and Conflict Resolution Research

The theoretical perspectives described in this chapter from the fields of developmental psychology and social psychology have been constructed by white males who represent the dominant Western culture. It is an issue of concern to consider in what ways their conceptions of this subject shape how it is studied and understood by everyone. We can consider several issues which

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are specifically related to the theories described in this chapter, how these theories may be gender or culture biased, and the possible implications of this for research in conflict resolution.

The work of Carol Gilligan (1988) has shown that theories of moral development, which have been largely developed by men and often based on all-male research samples, equate morality with justice. She proposes a second moral orientation, that of care, which addresses different moral concerns and suggests a different way of thinking about the moral domain and the moral judgements of both men and women.

The justice perspective is mainly concerned with problems of inequality and oppression. It holds up an ideal of reciprocity and equal respect, and values fair treatment of others. A care perspective focuses on problems of detachment or abandonment and values attention and response to the needs of others. Gilligan argues that both are developmental, in that young children universally experience both inequality and attachment in their human relationships. While both men and women use both orientations, Gilligan reports that people tend to focus on one set of concerns to the exclusion of the other; the care focus is more often found among women, and the justice focus among men.

The theories discussed in this paper on conflict and conflict resolution by developmental psychologists occur within the domains of distributive justice and perspective taking; both are rooted in the moral development tradition of a justice orientation. Both focus on a developmental progression characterized by increasing detachment. Both are rooted in concepts of reciprocity, justice, and equality.

It would seem very likely that both the justice and the care orientation would be present in the reasoning of children about conflicts and how to

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resolve them, although the care orientation has not been studied in relation to the conflicts that young children have. Gilligan points out that certain kinds of moral problems can draw out either the justice or the care orientation, and also that it is easy to overlook the care orientation if one is unaware of its existence.

It is not obvious how the care orientation might manifest itself in children's ideas about conflict and its resolution. Still, it is critical that researchers studying conflict resolution with young children be aware of the morality of care and do all that they can to invite this orientation to show itself.

The work of Carol Gilligan and her colleagues raises further questions about the approach to conflict resolution as conceptualized by male social psychologists. The conflict resolution model devised by Fisher and Ury seems to be based on a justice orientation to conflict. It emphasizes the individuality of each side, the point of view of each side, and explicitly uses the principle of fairness in working out differences. The model rests on an understanding of relationships as reciprocal ones between separate individuals.

This view of the individual as separate and of relationships as bound by constraint or cooperation presents a view of reality which is different from that described as salient in women's thinking by Gilligan (1988). The alternate way of viewing the world, according to her, implies a view of the self and other as interdependent and of relationships as networks sustained by attention and response. Interestingly, Gilligan uses a conflict episode from the play of young children to illustrate these two different perspectives on the self in relation to others. She describes a four-year-old girl and boy who want to play different games, and shows how the girl devises an inclusive solution of combining the games, whereas the boy thinks of the fair solution of taking turns and playing each game for an equal period. She emphasizes that not only do the two

approaches yield different ways of solving the problem, but that also each affects the quality of what happens in the game and the experience of the relationship between the two children. The fair solution leaves the identity of each person and each game intact, following a standard of equal respect and fairness. The inclusive solution, in contrast, transforms each game into a new one which results from combining the two. It does not maintain the individual identity of either. Gilligan ends by saying that different strategies for resolving conflicts convey different ways of imagining the self and perceiving connection . with others.

It could be argued that the Fisher and Ury framework for understanding conflict resolution is inherently biased in its very construction. The model frames conflict in a certain way and may lead toward certain kinds of solutions; that is, fairness solutions in which each individual view is maintained and some compromise is worked out which satisfies the interests of each position. Further, it could be argued that the Fisher and Ury model will draw out justice-oriented reasoning, discourage the full range of possible solutions to conflict, and resonate more with the inclinations of boys than with girls.

Researchers who use the Fisher and Ury model of conflict resolution in their studies will have to be very aware of how the model might bias behavior in a direction which favors boys. They will have to design techniques which invite girls to reveal their thinking and their ways of knowing to the fullest.

The Fisher and Ury conflict resolution model should be scrutinized for culture as well as gender bias. There is the initial question of whether or not the whole approach to conflict resolution reflects cultural values. In their book *Preschool in Three Cultures*, Tobin, Wu and Dickenson (1989) depict the American approach to conflict in classrooms as a reflection of the American system of justice; they call it a basically middle-class American approach to

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conflict resolution. There is a value on negotiation, with children often playing the roles found in the legal system, and teachers acting as judges. Fairness and justice are constantly negotiated, lobbied for, voted on, adjudicated. There is an emphasis on the rights and priority of the individual, and an emphasis on discourse as valued over fists. Given that conflict resolution practices found in American classrooms reflect the American culture and legal system, will conflict resolution research be a more comfortable and culturally familiar activity for children who come from the American middle class?

Furthermore, there is the question of cultural influence on the nature of the disputes that occur among children. Because the majority of research and theory in conflict resolution has grown up in the United States, this work reflects disputes which occur in an American context. Much of the conflict resolution literature deals with conflicts over resources, because among American children, these are the most common kinds of disputes. But this is not necessarily the norm for other culture groups. In a cross-cultural study of possession-related behaviors among Chinese and American preschoolers, Navon and Ramsey (1989) found that neither children nor teachers in Chinese classrooms were as concerned about personal property as were those in the U.S. classroom. They found that American teachers, who intervened more than their Chinese counterparts, focused on possession, while Chinese teachers tended to dismiss the issue as unimportant. Thus American children were reinforced for defending their property. It is important to question, then, how children from other cultures, where personal property has less of a central role, might relate to a conflict resolution approach which orients toward it.

Research on conflict resolution that is based at least in part on the Fisher and Ury model of conflict resolution may be culturally biased to some degree in ways described here or in ways not yet understood. Researchers will

have to be keenly aware that the subject of conflict resolution and the ways it is explored may be more or less comfortable for different children from varying cultural backgrounds.

There are many very important questions which remain about how conflict resolution research might interact with children's gender and culture. It is critical that researchers be conscious of how these issues might come into play in research studies on conflict resolution. Approaches will have to be designed that can make it possible for all children to participate and express themselves fully.

CHAPTER III

STUDYING CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT

Social psychologists have focused considerable attention on the concept of conflict among adults and on the processes adults go through in trying to resolve conflicts. However, we are only beginning to learn about the origins of these adult ideas in children and how this understanding is constructed over time.

There is a need for research which looks more closely at children's understanding of conflict and how it develops. Carlsson-Paige and Levin (in press) conducted a study of kindergarten through third grade children participating in a conflict resolution program. Using a constructivist approach, they studied the children's understanding of conflict and conflict resolution.

The research study described here is designed to continue the inquiry into how children construct their understanding of conflict and conflict resolution begun by Carlsson-Paige and Levin. I aim to answer the following three questions: (1) how do young children view conflict? (2) how does their cognitive development both reflect and shape their understanding? and, (3) how do their ideas about conflict develop over time?

Insights gained from this research should help define developmental principles which can guide teaching practice in conflict resolution training. It should provide direction for how to work with children in conflicts in ways that are meaningful, developmentally appropriate, and which facilitate the construction of their understanding and skill.

Conflict Resolution Theory

The descriptions from social psychologists of conflict and the elements that make up the conflict resolution process among adults can help us as we look at how these ideas begin to develop in children. In the model of conflict resolution developed by Fisher and Ury (1981), problems (or conflicts), solutions, and negotiation are all separate but interrelated parts of the conflict resolution process.

Fisher & Ury state that how a problem or conflict is understood and defined is crucial to how it is resolved. As a first step, the problem, they say, must be seen as a shared one that reflects the conflict from both sides. Thus, if two people want to travel together, but one person wants to travel by car and the other by train, then the problem they are having is that they cannot agree on what mode of transportation to use in order to travel together; not that "you won't travel on the train." Fisher and Ury say that a first step to resolving a conflict satisfactorily is that both parties see the problem as a whole, incorporating the views of both sides.

The outcomes of conflicts, which are solutions, are divided into win/lose, win/win, and lose/lose in the conflict resolution literature (Fisher & Ury, 1981). All solutions to conflict are also comprised of two sides, but win/win solutions are considered the goal of effective conflict resolution practice, because they are the only solutions which meet the needs of both sides in a conflict. In win/lose solutions, one side wins out over the other (e.g., one person gets a desired object while the other does not), and with lose/lose solutions, no one wins (e.g., two people fight, break the object, and hurt one

another). In each of these latter two types of solutions, the skills and concepts involved in bringing them about are different from, and less difficult than, those required in achieving mutually satisfying win/win solutions.

Negotiation is defined very broadly by Fisher and Ury (1981) as the process in which one engages in order to reach an agreement when two sides have some opposing, as well as shared, interests. Negotiation thus defined implies a give-and-take communication process; it is what is done in getting from one point (the conflict) to another (the solution).

These ideas from conflict theory apply to the resolution of conflicts among adults, but how do these ideas apply to children? Surely children do not understand these ideas as adults do; yet the roots of adult understanding must begin in the early years.   How do children begin to construct an understanding of these concepts?

A Constructivist Approach to Understanding Conflict

Young children do not think about the social world as adults do; they develop an understanding of the social world through a long, slow process of construction (Edwards, 1986; Kohlberg & Lickona, 1990). Individuals use what they see and do in their lives as a basis for constructing an understanding of how human beings interact and treat one other. New learnings continue to build on earlier ideas through a dynamic process in which increasingly sophisticated ways of understanding the social world develop.

Understanding conflict and how to resolve it is part of this long process of construction of social knowledge (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, in press). Children are at an earlier point in this construction process than adults. They organize and interpret information differently than adults do, and because

of this, they do not understand concepts such as problems, solutions or negotiation in the ways that adults do.

Yet we know very little about how children understand concepts such as conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation, and what process they go through in constructing these concepts before adulthood. Cognitive developmental theory can help us as we look for the precursors to the mature concepts described in their adult form by conflict theorists.

Piaget (1932, 1952) outlined characteristics of children's thinking and showed how these change over time. He described development as a continuous process, involving transformations and reorganizations of earlier actions and ideas into more complex ones. Piaget showed how characteristics of thinking exist beneath the surface of a child's actions and words, and how they help organize and shape a child's understanding.

These characteristics can be thought of as continuua, or dimensions, which help describe a child's thinking at any moment in time and which also capture the gradual changes in children's thinking over time. These characteristics play an important role in shaping what a child understands about conflict, and provide a lens for understanding how children's views change over time (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, in press).

<u>Dimensions of Cognition</u>

<u>Concrete to Abstract</u>

Children's understanding progresses from concrete and perceptual to an increasingly more abstract, conceptual understanding. Younger children make judgements based on how things look rather than on what exists beneath the

surface. They move from focusing primarily on physical realities that they can see to making inferences that go beyond what can be seen. This was evident in Piaget's conservation tasks, where young children thought, for example, that there was more water in a glass that was taller than in a shorter but wider glass that contained the same amount of water. As children grow older, they gradually realize that quantities do not depend on appearance but rather on amounts which remain constant regardless of how they appear.

From One Idea to Coordination of Multiple Ideas

Young children tend to center on a single aspect of a situation to the exclusion of others, while older children can gradually decenter and become increasingly able to think about several aspects of a situation at one time. Piaget also identified this characteristic of thinking in his conservation tasks. He found that young children tended to consider one attribute of the situation at a time, for example, the height of a glass, rather than coordinate attributes such as the height and the width of a glass simultaneously.

Static to Dynamic Thinking

Young children's thinking is more like a filmstrip with a series of static frames than like a continuous movie. They tend to focus on static states in succession and are not able to understand the meaning of the transformations that exist from one state to another. As children grow, they are increasingly able to see how things change and to think about how separate states or ideas are related.

Piaget saw this focus on states rather than transformations clearly in his conservation tasks. Children would notice the end states of the water in glasses, for example, without noticing the transformation that occurred when the water was poured from one container to another.

Transductive to Logical Causal Reasoning

According to Piaget, young children's thinking is characterized by transduction: the relating of two ideas when a relationship does not actually exist between them. Because of transductive reasoning, young children often assume illogically that one event has caused another. Conversely, they often do not see the logical causal relationships that do exist between events. As children develop, they become increasingly able to relate cause and effect in logical ways. In addition, the causal relationships they understand tend to progress from concrete to more abstract concepts. For example, a younger child may realize that hitting an object has a certain effect on the object (which can be seen), but find it difficult to understand that hitting a person could hurt the person's feelings (which cannot be seen)

From One to More Than One Point of View

Piaget (1952) wrote about the concept of egocentrism as the inability of young children to see things from another person's point of view. Egocentrism is a form of centering on one idea at a time; but the one idea that a child sees is her own or that of some one with whom she cognitively identifies. Very gradually throughout the early years of childhood, children develop the ability to think about events from the view of another person, and gradually to

coordinate multiple perspectives (Damon, 1977; Selman, 1980). There are many steps along the way as children realize that others have viewpoints that are different from their own, and different contexts in which children learn about other perspectives (Damon, 1988).

The Cognitive Dimensions and Conflict Resolution

These five dimensions can help us understand what is involved in understanding the elements of conflict resolution and how children construct this understanding. The mature concepts of problem, solution, and negotiation all require a certain level of attainment along these cognitive dimensions, but young children are at much earlier points in their understanding. Where a child is on the dimensions will influence her or his understanding of conflict and the conflict resolution process of which s/he is a part.

Understanding Conflicts

Seeing the problem as Fisher and Ury describe it requires being able to take the point of view of the other person in the conflict, to coordinate this view with one's own, and be able to consider the whole problem and its component parts simultaneously. In addition, it requires being able to think of abstract ideas which exist beneath the surface of observable reality, and to think about the causes of conflicts and where certain actions and words will lead. All of these cognitive abilities are acquired by children very gradually over many years time.

How young children view conflict will be shaped by the characteristics of their thinking. For example, younger children will be more likely to think

about conflict in physical terms (Selman, 1980). They will tend to focus on the parts that they can see, the tangible actions and physical objects, rather than aspects of conflict that are less concrete, such as feelings, intentions, and motives, which they will increasingly take into account as they develop. Other aspects of their thinking such as the tendency to focus on one idea at a time and transductive reasoning will also influence young children's understanding of conflicts. For example, they may have a different understanding of what causes conflicts or the role they play in making them better or worse.

One aim of this research is to learn more about how children aged five to nine understand conflict, how the cognitive dimensions are reflected in this understanding, and how what they know changes over time

Understanding Solutions

Understanding solutions to conflicts requires the cognitive ability to think of more than one idea at a time (i.e., being able to think of several possible solutions to a conflict), and to consider ideas in relationship to one another (i.e., choosing the best possible solution). Understanding win/win solutions, as they are defined by Fisher & Ury, requires the ability to take another person's point of view and to coordinate it with one's own.

How young children understand solutions to conflict will be affected by the characteristics of their cognition. For example, younger children may think of one solution to a conflict but not consider it in relation to other solutions. Or, young children might think of a solution, but not how a solution might affect both sides in a conflict.

Young children have ideas about solutions to conflict, but they are different from adult concepts, and reflect their developmental understanding

(Carlsson-Paige & Levin, in press). One purpose of this research is to look at how children understand different kinds of solutions to conflict as they use the cognitive abilities they have, and how these ideas change as children develop.

Learning to Negotiate

In conflict resolution theory, negotiation is considered to be a back-and-forth communication process which can lead to a positive solution to a conflict. It is the process that can lead from one state (conflict) to a different state (a conflict solved), and therefore always involves change. From a cognitive-developmental perspective, it is similar to the concept of transformation described by Piaget between two static states in his conservation task (Carlsson-Paige, Levin, in press). Thought of this way, negotiation would always involve dynamic thinking, and require that children begin to focus not only on the state of conflict or on a solution but begin to see how to move from one state to the other. It also requires a beginning coordination of two points of view, and the ability to see how different aspects of a conflict relate to each other.

How young children understand negotiation is shaped by their cognitive abilities. Just as conservation tasks are difficult for young children, negotiation is also very difficult for them because they tend to focus on static states rather than on the transformations between them (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, in press). As children develop more dynamic thinking, they should increasingly have ideas about the process of moving from conflicts to solutions. How this process occurs, and how other of the cognitive dimensions affect children's understanding of negotiation, will be a third area of focus of this research study.

Research Design and Procedures

For this research study, sixteen children between the ages of five and nine were interviewed in depth about their ideas of conflict and how to resolve it. The majority of the children were from a Boston Public School. They were selected by their teachers who were asked to choose children who represented a range of ethnic and racial groups to participate in an open-ended interview about conflict. The author of this study conducted all of the interviews, on two separate occasions, approximately two months apart.

Eight children's interviews were selected for analysis in the study, one boy and one girl from each of four grades (K-3) from the original sixteen who had been interviewed. The children were selected on the basis of having the two most complete interviews (many of the second interviews had been distorted by an incident that occurred in the school). Each child was interviewed on two separate occasions using an open-ended interview method.

The conflict pictures (see attached pictures) used for the interviews were designed to encourage all of the children to express their ideas. Every effort was made to lessen gender and culture bias as much as possible. The race and gender of the characters in the two pictures were not discernible in order to encourage all children to relate equally to the characters in the pictures. Two kinds of conflicts were pictured, one object conflict and one interpersonal conflict. This was done so as not to bias the research toward certain kinds of conflicts more familiar to certain gender and culture groups.

The Boston Public School where the interviews took place has a population of students which is 45% black and 45% Hispanic. Children from a variety of racial and ethic backgrounds were interviewed.

The interview questions were designed to probe the children's thinking about conflicts, solutions to conflicts, and negotiation, as well as to gain information about the conflicts they have in their own lives.

The open-ended interview method provided a general framework for questioning the children. The same basic questions were asked in each interview, although the timing of the questions and the emphasis each received was flexible and determined by the children's answers.

The basic aim of this clinical method was to follow the child's thinking without distorting it by suggestions and without imposing adult views on it. The interviewer tried to probe the child's thinking on each topic as deeply as possible. The child's language was adopted whenever possible, and the questions were phrased to fit the interviewer's sense of the child's understanding. Whenever possible, follow-up questions were asked or rephrased in order to draw out more information from a child or to verify what the child had already said.

The interview questions were planned to elicit the children's ideas about conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation. The conflict pictured was hypothetical, but the children were encouraged to bring their own experience of conflict to the discussion, for example, by imagining that the two players in the conflict were friends of theirs. In addition, the children were directly asked whether they had conflicts or problems in their own lives, and were encouraged to describe them.

The interview questions were as follows:

Conflict Picture #1

--What do you think is happening in this picture?

   (To get at ideas about conflict)

--Do you think they can solve this? How?

--Is there a way to solve it so they could both be happy?

   (To get at ideas about solutions)

--What could they say?

--What could they do?

   (To get at ideas about negotiation)

--If you came along and saw them fighting could you do anything to help them?

   (To get at ideas about negotiation, mediation)

--Let's pretend this is you, and you really want the ball. What could you do? What could you say?

--Do you have any fights like this? Tell me about them...

   (To get at own experiences with conflict)

Conflict Picture #2

--What do you think is happening in this picture?

--What is their problem?

--What is this one saying? And this one?

   (To get at ideas about conflict)

--How do you think they could solve this?

--Is there a way to solve it so they are both happy?

(To get at ideas about solutions)

--What could they say? --What could they do?

(To get at ideas about negotiation)

--If you were there do you think you could help them? How?

(To get at ideas about negotiation, mediation)

--Have you had any problems like this? Tell me...

(To get at own experiences with conflict)

Analysis of the Interviews

The sixteen interviews are analyzed using the elements from conflict resolution theory: Conflict[1]; solutions to conflict; and negotiation, through the lens of the cognitive dimensions described earlier. Each child's understanding of conflict, solutions, and negotiation are discussed in depth. Both the ideas that the child expressed about each area of conflict and the relevant cognitive dimensions revealed by what the child said are discussed. The aim is to show the relationship of the child's ideas about conflict and conflict resolution to the child's cognitive level of understanding.

The complete interviews for each child are included in the relevant chapter. An analysis of each child's understanding of conflict and conflict resolution follows the interviews for each child.   Following the two sets of interviews and analyses is a summary in which the two children are compared with each other and with the children of younger age groups.

Limitations of Study

One pitfall of the interview technique is its reliance on verbal information elicited from direct questions. Young children often express themselves most fully in spontaneous play situations when their words are expressed as part of their play activities (Piaget, 1952). The younger the child, the more difficult it is to separate words from spontaneous play and actions. Still, the interview can yield important information which may not be learned through other means. If the interview data can be considered alongside other kinds of data gathered on the same subject, it can contribute to a fuller understanding. The purpose of conducting these interviews is to get an in-depth picture about conflict from a small number of children which will add important insights to the other research being conducted on the same subject. Because of the small number of children in the study and the cross-sectional nature of the data, it would be difficult to make absolute developmental generalizations based on this data alone.

CHAPTER IV

THE KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

<u>Michael</u>

<u>First Interview</u>

      I: What do you think about this?

(1)   C: Ball. Playing beachball. They're fighting about the ball because the circle where they fight.

      I: So they're fighting about the ball?

(2)   C: He's trying to pull it and she's trying to pull it.

      I: What do you think will happen?

(3)   C: I don't know. I think one got it.

      I: And then what would happen for the other one?

(4)   C: She didn't have it.

      I: Is there some way they could both have it?

(5)   C: They could share it with them.

      I: How would that work?

(6)   C: Easy. Just play ball.

      I: But how could they make that happen? What could they say or do?

(7)   C: This mat is orange because if they fall they could do something about it if they hurt themselves. They're standing on it because they're fighting about the ball.

      I: Is there a way they could figure this out so they could both be happy?

(8)   C: Share it with everybody. And play ball with everybody.

      I: How would they start to do it? What would they say?

(9)   C: "Want to play tag with the ball?"

        I: Do you think they have a problem?

(10) C: Yes. They're fighting for the ball. Each one of them wants the ball. He does and she does.

(11) C: He wants the ball and she wants the ball too, because she put her leg on him to push him away off the ball. And then she can have it.

        I: Do you think that's going to happen?

(12) C: Yes. She's gonna push him.

        I: So she's gonna push him, and she's gonna have the ball. What's the best way to figure this out?

(13) C: They could share it with each one of them with some friends.

        I: How would that work?

(14) C: Because it's easy. They share with each one of them and because if they wanted to share they couldn't push each other.

        I: I wonder how they feel about this ...

(15) C: Well because he wants the ball because she does. So if they want to go in the water with it, they have to each let go of it so they can go in the water. She wants to have the ball to play on the beach.

        I: If you were helping them, let's pretend you are helping them what would you do?

        C: I was gonna stop them fighting.

        I: What could you say?

(16) Stop fighting. Don't fight over the ball.

        I: And then how could you help them?

(17) C: Because I could say each one you could share the ball.

        I: And then could you tell them how to do it?

(18) C: Yes

I: How?

(19) C: Watch me ... and I would have a friend

I: And what would that do?

(20) C: It would show them.

I: Let's pretend this is you, and you really want that ball, you are pulling on the ball.

(21) C: I could push her right to the gate. If I got the ball she might push me, and then I would push her.

I: Is there anything you could say to get the ball?

C: No.

I: Do you have fights with kinds like this? What happens?

C: I only have them at home.

I: What happens?

(22) C: I fight with David. He goes down and we all go down. He doesn't like me. He tries to beat me up.

I: What can you say to him? Anything?

(23) C: Don't punch.

Second Interview

I. What do you think is happening here?

(24) C: He's getting mad. He's pointing.

I: Uh huh. What else?

C: One is holding his hands in.

I: Uh huh.

C: Yeah. One is not.

I: And one is not.

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(25) C: That's different. This one has his mouth closed and this one doesn't.

      I: Uh huh.

(26) C: But they don't have the same teeth, but they look like that they have
         the same teeth, but not the same shirt. Or the same, but they don't
         have the same pants.

      I: Uh huh.

(27) C: Not the same pants. Or not the same things.

      I: Uh huh.

(28) C: Not the same nose. Not the same eyes.

      I: Uh huh.

(29) C: Not the same neck. And not the same stomach.

      I: Uh huh.

(30) C: Not the same hands. Not the same arms. Not the same back.

      I: Well, I wonder, what do you think is happening?

(31) C: He's pointing and he's getting mad.

      I: I wonder why?

(32) C: I don't know.

      I: Uh huh.

      C: I think he's pointing.

      I: Uh huh.

      C: And he's yelling.

      I: Yeah.

      C: I think he's telling him something, like he's yelling.

      I: I wonder what he's telling him.

      C: I don't know. Probably swearing.

      I: What do you think he's saying?

(33) C: I don't know. Can't listen!

I: Huh?

(34) C: Can't hear.

I: No, you can't. So I wonder, though, I wonder why he's mad.

(35) C: Probably because he's getting mad.

I: He's mad because he's getting mad.

C: Well, he's pointing.

I: Yes. He's pointing.

C: He's pointing to his chest but ...

I: Uh huh.

(36) C: They don't have the same feet.

I: No. They don't have the same feet.

C: But he's mad.

I: Yeah.

C: But he moved his right knee.

I: Yeah.

C: And he moved his right knee.

I: And he moved his right knee.

(37) C: And that means they're gonna get a fight.

I: What do you think will happen?

(38) C: [He turns over the picture to look on the back.]

I: What do you see on the back?

C: Them.

I: I wonder what will happen if they get in a fight?

(39) C: One will get a bleeding nose and ...

I: Oh.

(40) C: And one will get tangled.

I: Uh huh.

(41) C: And both of them will get tangled.

I: And they'll both get tangled. Well, I wonder. Do you think, there's some way they could figure it out so they won't get tangled?

C: No.

I: Is there anything they could do or say so they won't get tangled?

C: Yeah.

I: What?

C: They don't have to get tangled.

I: What could they do so they don't get tangled?

C: I think they might be mad at their kids or maybe they might be mad at something else.

I: They might be mad at their kids or mad at something else.

C: They might be.

I: Do you think there's some way they could work out this problem?

C: No.

I: No?

C: Well, yeah, but.

I: What?

C: Maybe try to stop it.

I: Try to stop it. How could they do that?

(42) C: One of you's have to stop talking and one of you's have to stop the fight.

I: Now how do they do that?

C: Well, one person comes, I mean, like my size, but how can he touch? He's going to push them away. One goes on that side and one goes on this side.

(43) I: You mean someone comes along and pushes them away?

C: Uh huh.

I: Oh.

C: And one goes on that side and one goes on this side. Then they won't get into an argument.

I: Oh.

C: That was easy.

I: I wonder if it will work.

C: Well.

I: Think that will work?

C: Uh huh.

(44) I: What if you came along. What if these were friends of yours and you came along, could you help them solve this argument?

C: Yeah.

I: What could you do?

(45) C: Tell them stop. And if I tell them to stop they'll stop.

I: Could you get them to stop? Could you do something to make them stop?

C: No.

I: No?

(46) C: If one is pushing me away, I have to push him back on his knees. If I had another friend with me, one could push on that side and I could push him on that side.

I: Oh. Why would that be good if you had another friend?

(47) C: Easy. Because there's two of them so I can't take care of two.

I: Oh. Yeah. That would be hard. I see. So if you had another friend, the friend could push this one and you could push that one.

I: Could you say anything to them to get them to stop fighting? Instead of pushing ...

C: Well, first of all, one can push on that side but one has to push him on that side.

I: Could you say anything to make them stop arguing?

C: One could push him on that side, one could push him on that side. And I don't know.

I: Uh huh.

C: I don't know any more.

I: But you know a lot, Michael. Let's pretend this guy is you.

C: All right.

I: And you're in the argument and this one's pointing and yelling at you and you're like this. What would you do or say?

(48) C: Um. Push him.

I: Uh huh. You push him. And anything else?

C: And I'll get really mad.

I: And if you were this guy could you say anything to ...

C: Yeah.

I: What could you say?

(49) C: Um, I could say, "Let's be friends."

I: Let's ...

(50) C: Then he'll copy me. "Let's be friends." And then we agree to be friends. That's it.

I: Do you ever have arguments with your friends?

C: No. Not with two Davids.

I: You don't have arguments with your friends?

C: Nope.

I: Never?

C: Uh huh.

I: Do you have any arguments at home?

C: No.

I: So you don't have any arguments with anybody?

C: Nope.

I: I wonder what it would be like if this was you and you said to this arguing one, "Let's be friends."

(51) C: Then if they're friends we could be together or get a drink together or go to bed together sometimes or go to a school together, go home together and eat supper together. I don't know more.

I: So all the things that you could do if you were friends you're thinking of that and those are so many wonderful things.

Michael's View of Conflict

In trying to understand conflict, Michael bases his ideas on visible elements that he can see and on physical actions rather than on elements beneath the surface. As he looks at the first picture, Michael describes the conflict depicted in terms of the ball and the circle on which the two characters are standing (line 1). Because he is not logically connecting the visible information, he has the idea that the "orange mat" where the players are standing is important to the conflict (line 7). He does not introduce other ideas about why they might be fighting other than those he can see at the moment that he is looking at the picture.

Michael describes the second picture elaborately in terms of visible features. He puts forth a long list of observable items ---things which are the same and different about the two figures -- including teeth, shirts, pants, noses,

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eyes, necks, stomachs, hands, arms, and backs, but has a hard time figuring out how they might relate to the conflict (lines 25-30).

As Michael is trying to explain the conflict in the second picture, he turns it over at one point, searching on the back for more information about what is happening. He wants to answer the questions, but seems to need more information in order to do so. And at another point, when Michael is asked what he thinks the characters are saying, he says, "I don't know. Can't listen...Can't hear" (lines 33,34). In all of these examples, Michael is showing that it is the concrete, visible features of conflict that have meaning for him.

Michael has a tendency to center on one idea at a time rather than to think of ideas in relationship to one another, and this affects his understanding of conflict. In line 15, Michael says the players want to go in the water with the ball, and in the next line he says, "she wants to play with the ball on the beach." These separate but incompatible ideas about the nature of this conflict can exist side by side but one at a time in Michael's mind. Because of this tendency to center on one idea, Michael understands different parts of conflict at different times but does not seem to integrate the different ideas.

Michael does understand that a conflict is made up of two sides (line 11) but he sees these in terms of concrete actions. For example, he says of the first conflict that, "He's trying to pull it and she's trying to pull it" (line 2).

Michael's understanding of causality is related to his tendency to focus on one idea at a time. Even though he uses the word *because* a great deal, especially in the first interview, he is not relating two ideas in a logically causal way. When he tries to reason about what caused the picture conflicts, Michael shows transductive reasoning. He says with the first picture that "they're fighting about the ball because the circle where they fight" (line 1). And when he looks at the second picture Michael says, "He's pointing and he's getting

mad" (line 31). Then he is asked why he might be mad, and Michael says, "probably because he's getting mad" (line 35). Michael is never able to describe the conflict in the second picture, nor can he imagine what might have brought it about. In all of these examples, Michael seems to understand conflict as one idea at one moment in time.

Learning about Solutions

Michael has ideas about solutions to conflict, and they reflect similar characteristics of thought already seen in how he understands conflict. Michael's first solutions to the conflict pictures are win/lose ones; when he is encouraged to think of positive solutions, he can. He sees all his solutions in concrete, physical terms as actions rather than words. In discussing the first conflict picture, Michael has the idea that he could tell the players to share the ball (a win/win solution), and when he is asked if he could tell them how to share, Michael says, "Yes. Watch me...and I would have a friend." "And what would that do?" he is asked. " It would show them" (lines 19,20).

Michael's solutions to conflict also show an all-pervasive tendency to center on one idea or action at a time. His solutions are made up of broad categories comprised of a single idea; it is difficult for him to think about a solution and the two sides that make it up all at once. When asked what the players in the first picture could do, Michael answers "share it with everybody" (line 8). He does not describe sharing in terms of what each player does, for example each player having a certain time to do what s/he wants with the ball, nor does he mention the possibility of another solution.

Another example of Michael centering on one idea occurs when he is asked what he thinks will happen in the first conflict. Michael says "I think one

got it" (line 3). Here he does not mention either what would happen to the other player (i.e., the other player would not get it), or what besides this one solution might occur. Michael can think of different solutions to conflict when asked to, and these he considers one at a time. On his own, he does not think of different possible solutions when they are not specifically asked for.

Michael shows a lot of egocentric thinking when he talks about solutions to conflict. He tends to assume that others think as he does, and does not seem to realize that they might not agree with his solutions. For example, when asked how his idea of sharing the ball would work, Michael says, "Easy. Just play ball" (line 6). It seems to him at this moment that the idea of sharing is the only possible solution to the conflict and can therefore happen easily (i.e.. no one would disagree with it).

When Michael does mention another player, as when he is imagining himself fighting for the ball, he thinks about her only in terms of physical actions rather than in terms of her point of view. He says, "If I got the ball she might push me..." (line 21).

Learning to Negotiate

Negotiation, because it requires some understanding of transformation, is difficult for Michael. He tends to see static states rather than the transformations between states, and has difficulty understanding how things change from one state to another. He tends to look at negotiation as he does at conflicts and solutions, as one point in time. Michael is asked many times if the characters in the conflict pictures could say or do anything in order to find a positive solution. In the majority of cases, Michael answers, "no," or does not

answer the question at all. It is very difficult for him to use the dynamic thinking involved in suggesting an action that would lead toward a solution.

However, there are two cases during the interviews in which Michael does have ideas about negotiation. He is asked how the players would start the sharing in picture one, and Michael says, "Want to play tag with the ball?" (line 9). Here he offers a negotiating statement which states the solution in terms of concrete actions. Then, with the second picture, when asked what he might say, Michael says, "Let's be friends" (line 49). Both of these statements are responses to direct questions, and seem to exist as static thoughts in Michael's mind, unrelated to other ideas.

Michael's concept of negotiation, like his understanding of conflict and solutions, is characterized by concrete features and physical actions. During the second interview, Michael says that in order to stop the two friends from fighting, he would push them apart (line 46). While he is asked several times if he could say anything to get them to stop, he repeatedly says that he would have to push them. It is as if Michael is not thinking of what exists beneath the surface, or the ideas the two characters might be arguing about, and he therefore cannot think of a way to say anything to make them stop fighting. He has one idea about how to stop it [pushing], and it is based on a concrete understanding of negotiation.

Michael seems to understand that in order to resolve a conflict positively, the conflict first has to stop. He says, "One of you has to stop talking and one of you has to stop the fight (line 42). Because of his tendency to think of only one idea at a time, and his static thinking, Michael focuses only on stopping the conflict rather than on negotiation. It seems that he cannot both think of stopping the conflict and beginning to reconcile it at the same time. While it

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seems that this is the first step in negotiation, for Michael, stopping the conflict is the negotiation.

Egocentric thinking is also evident in Michael's ideas about negotiation. With the second conflict picture, Michael says that if he tells his two friends to stop [arguing], they will stop (line 45). His telling them seems to be enough, and all that Michael can think of in that moment. Michael clearly shows his tendency to think of one viewpoint at a time when he tells us that he would say to his friend during a conflict, "let's be friends", and that his friend would "copy him" (line 50).

<div align="center">Katie</div>

First Interview

     I: What do you think is happening in this picture?

(1)   C: Oh!!. They're playing soccer! And they're fighting over the ball.

     I: Oh really. How do you know that?

(2)   C: Because they're pulling it and they're angry.

     I: How do you know they're angry?

(3)   C: Because their eyebrows.

     I: So, what do you think will happen?

(4)   C: One of them is going to get it, and then, he's going to run away. I think that one's going to win.?

     I: Why is that one going to win?

(5)   C: Because he gots the arms around it. And he's gonna lose, because he's just got the hands like this.

     I: So then, he's going to run away (the one who gets it) and what will happen

C: He'll run after him. And when he gets closer to him, he'll jump on him, and then he'll get the ball.

I: Is there some way that they could figure this out so they would both be happy?

(6) C: They could figure out to cooperate.

I: How would that work?

(7) C: By just tellin' the other one to share the ball. They could kick it to each other.

I: How could they do that? How would it start?

(8) C: It would start like, um, he stops and says, "Share the ball, and I'll kick it to you, and you kick it back to me."

I: So what is cooperate? What does that mean?

(9) C: It means to share.

I: And what is to share?

(10) C: To play with the ball together.

I: Which way do you think will really happen here?

(11) C: That when he runs away, the purple guy will catch him, and then the blue guy will say, "Stop, let's cooperate." And then the purple guy will say, "I don't know how to do it."

I: Hu huh.

(12) C: And then, he'll show him how and then he'll tell him, "I'll kick it to you, and you kick it back to me."

I: And then the purple guy will say, "But I want to have it all to myself."

(13) C: Well then, he'll think in his mind and then he'll say, "I changed my mind, I'll do your idea."

I: Where do you think they are?

C: At a playground.

I: OK, so if you were at this playground, and they were fighting over the ball, and you tried to help them, what would you do?

(14) C: I would say, "stop, you share that ball or one of you will go home."

I: And how would you help them try to share; what if they didn't know how to do it.

(15) C: I would say, "you kick the ball to him, and you kick the ball back to him."

I: Can we pretend one of these is a girl like you?

C: Yea.

I: Which one?

C: Both of these are colors I like. I want two of them to be girls.

I: OK. Let's pretend they're both girls. So, this blue girl is named Katie; let's pretend it's you. And you really want that ball. You have your hands on it and you want to have it. What do you think will happen?

C: Let's pretend this is Shea fighting over it with me.

I: OK. This is you, you really want the ball. And this is Shea. Shea really wants the ball. And you're both pulling really hard.

C: But I'm pulling the hardest.

I: What will happen?

(16) C: What will happen is that I'll say, "Stop pulling it. Could I have a turn and then you have a turn.".

I: Does anything like this with the two people at the playground ever happen to you?

C: Sometimes.

I: Can you tell me about it?

(17) C: Sometimes when I'm home and I play with someone and I ask my sister something and my friend Michael up the street comes down,

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and he be's mean to me. She lies when Michael comes down. She always lies..

I: What does she do when she lies.? How does she lie?

(18) C Sometimes when I go away to go to the bathroom, she writes on my page that I'm coloring on, then when I come back she lies that my brother did it.

I: So what do you do?

C I just tell my mother.

I: Is there anything else you could do?

(19) C I could just say, "you writed in my book" and then she says. "uh uh".

I: So, is there anything else you could do?

(20) C I could trick her to go outside or something.

I: How would you do that?

(21) C I would fool her. There's a fire truck outside, and then she runs outside, and sometimes it really doesn't happen, and then I lock the door so she wouldn't come back in and color my page.

Second Interview

I: Tell me what you think of this picture?

(22) C They're fighting but I don't know what they're fighting about.

I: What do you think?

(23) C They look kind of angry.

I: What do you think they're angry about?

(24) C Probably of the color of their shirts or and he likes that color and he likes that color.

I: Oh.

(25) C: And probably he likes the color of his pants and he likes the color of

his pants.

I: Oh. yeah. So, I wonder what they could be saying to each other?

(26) C: Probably: I want that shirt and pants and you must be saying the same

thing.

I: Uh huh. I want that shirt and pants. I want that shirt and pants.

Yeah. That could be. And I wonder what's going to happen?

C: fight.

I: Do you think? Like, what will happen?

(27) C: She wants his hair and he wants his hair.

I: So I wonder what's going to happen.

(28) C: They're going to have a fight.

I: Do you think there's some way they could figure this out so they'd both

be happy?

(29) C: They could change their clothes.

I: They could change their clothes.

(30) C: And like take or cut their hair out and give it to him and he could give

his hair to him. [Laughs] And he likes the color of his face and he

likes the color of his face, and he cut their face off, and switch.

[Laughs] But they'll still have the both face with the same eyes and

same teeth and same nose and same mouth and everything.

I: Uh huh. You think they'd both be happy if that's what they did?

C: Uh huh.

I: Is there any other way they could figure it out?

C: Hm.

I: What could they do?

C: I'd say nothing else.

I: Nothing else? Well, Katie, let's pretend this. Let's pretend these are friends of yours and you come along and there they are having this fight and you're going to help them.

C: Uh huh.

I: What would you do to help them?

(31) C: I would say, "Stop fighting," and I'd tell their mother to buy the same clothes.

I: Uh huh. And could you say anything else to them?

(32) C: Um. Stop fighting and go home. And tell you mother what I said.

I: Uh hum. And what if they said, "We don't want to stop fighting."?

(33) C: Then I won't be their friend any more.

I: Uh huh.

(34) C: Uh huh. After I said that then they would stop.

I: Let's pretend that this is you.

C: OK.

I: And you're in this fight and this person's yelling at YOU really hard. Is there anything you could say or do?

(35) C: Nothing.

I: You couldn't say anything to stop this fight?

(36) C: Huh uh. Because I don't know where I could get anything.

I: Do you every have fights with your friends or in your family?

(37) C: Sometimes with my sister. She steals things from me.

I: Your sister steals things?

C: Yes.

I: So can you tell me about that?

(38) C: My mother says don't do anything or she'll break it. She breaks things too.

I: She breaks things. yeah? And so, what do you do, say to her?

(39) C: Well I say, "Stop".

I: Uh huh.

(40) C: And sometimes she doesn't. And that's all. And I want them back.

Katie's View of Conflict

Katie's understanding of conflict seems to be based on visible elements that she can see, but she is also beginning to use more abstract, less observable ideas. When Katie first looks at the conflict pictures, she describes the conflicts in terms of what is there. She thinks that the players in the first picture are fighting and angry because they are pulling on the ball and because their eyebrows show that they are angry (line 3).

In the second picture, where the subject of the conflict is not depicted, Katie first says that they are fighting, but does not know what about; she understands that there is a conflict and that conflicts have to be about something. Then Katie draws on the visible information available to help her; she says the two people are arguing over their shirts, pants, hair and faces. She does not look for a cause that is not in the picture, such as an object or an idea or incident.

Katie shows an even more abstract understanding of conflict when she describes the conflicts she has with her sister (lines 17, 18). "Sometimes when I go away to go to the bathroom, she writes on my page that I'm coloring on. Then when I come back, she lies that my brother did it" (line 18). This description involves much more than a dispute over concrete, visible things such as the paper Katie is coloring on; it involves an awareness of intentions and

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deceit. Katie is beginning to pay attention to inner states, and her understanding of conflict, at least in some cases, includes these.

In addition, Katie's description of these conflicts with her sister show that Katie can use logical causality, such as when she tells her sister that there is a fire truck outside, gets her to run outside, then locks the door and prevents her sister from returning to color on Katie's paper. This is a complex string of causal relationships which involves both concrete (i.e., locking the door to keep someone out) and more abstract (i.e., deceiving someone to achieve a goal) connections.

These descriptions of conflict also show Katie's waning egocentrism; she realizes that other people do not always do and say what she wants. Her descriptions of how her sister deceives her shows that she is beginning to understand that others have motives of their own which exist separate from her. However, her descriptions are about what her sister does (e.g., writes on her page and "lies") and not about the more abstract aspects of how her sister thinks or feels.

Understanding Solutions to Conflict

The characteristics of Katie's thinking which were revealed by her understanding of conflicts can again be seen in her ideas about how conflicts can be solved. Katie can think of many different kinds of solutions to conflict, and she has many ideas about positive solutions. Her first solution to the first conflict picture is a win/lose one, which takes what is in the picture to its logical, concrete conclusion (i.e., "One of them is going to get it" [line 4]). But she is able to think of a win/win solution when asked to think of a positive way to resolve the conflict (i.e., "They could figure out to cooperate" [line 6]).

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Katie's thinking about solutions is still strongly influenced by concrete aspects of experience, but she is also beginning to pay attention to what occurs beneath the observable surface. This can be seen in her interpretation of the second picture. Katie explains that a positive solution would involve two people engaged in a reciprocal action (e.g.,"...cut their hair out and give it to him and he could give his hair to him" [line 30]). She goes on to say that they can solve their problem by changing clothes and switching hair and faces. This idea makes Katie laugh, and she follows it by saying that they will still have the same face and facial features, which she then lists.[2]

Katie is beginning to move away from static thinking and to be able to think about more than one idea at a time. Her understanding of solutions to conflict goes beyond simple, singular solutions. A solution to a conflict for Katie is differentiated into two parts involving visible elements and reciprocal actions, such as two players who each kick the ball, or two people who switch faces. In response to the first conflict picture, Katie repeatedly explains that sharing would mean one person kicking the ball to the other, and the other person kicking it back (lines 8, 20).

Katie often expresses more than one idea at a time, such as what will happen next or what else will happen, introducing ideas that go beyond the question that was asked. For example, when she suggests a win/lose solution with the first conflict picture, she adds that he will run away after getting the ball: "One of them is going to get it, and then he's going to run away. I think that one's going to win" (line 4). Regarding picture one she says, "He's going to lose because he's just got the hands like this" (line 5). She shows in these comments a beginning realization that solutions to conflict occur in relation to other actions and in a sequence, and are part of a larger, more dynamic process.

Katie understands that other people affect conflicts and solutions, and while she does not comprehend their point of view, she does understand their actions. In response to the two pictures, Katie can think of positive solutions that involve both parties in the conflict in some concrete way such as sharing the ball or changing clothes and trading faces. She does not seem to think about the inner thoughts or feelings of the two parties in the conflict, but rather to think about them in terms of their actions.

In the conflict with her sister, Katie's solution is to lock her sister out of the house. In trying to do this, Katie thinks about her sister in terms of how Katie's concrete actions will affect her sister's actions, but not how her sister will feel about being locked out, or even what she might do in response.

Learning to Negotiate

The beginning of the transition from purely static to more dynamic thinking can be seen in Katie's ideas about how to negotiate. She has many ideas about how people involved in a conflict can get from a state of conflict to one of solution.

Repeatedly Katie shows that she understands that it is necessary to stop the action of the conflict and to say something that would change the direction of the interaction. In line 8 she says, "It would start like, um, he stops and says, 'Share the ball, and I'll kick it to you, and you kick it back to me.'" And in line 13 she says ,"He'll think in his mind and then he'll say, 'I changed my mind, I'll do your idea.' And in line 16, she says, "What will happen is that I'll say, 'Stop pulling it. Could I have a turn and then you have a turn.'" Here Katie shows that she is moving toward being able to think of several ideas and to relate them to one another.

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In these many examples of negotiation, Katie shows that she has a range of ideas for what to say in order to work out the conflict positively. The words she uses to negotiate have to do primarily with the concrete actions involved in carrying out a solution such as "share the ball, and I'll kick it to you, and you kick it back to me."

There is still plenty of egocentric thinking evident in Katie's ideas about negotiation. She suggests with the first conflict that a positive solution can be brought about "by just telling the other one to share the ball" (line 7). And with the second conflict, Katie finds another positive solution: "Tell their mother to buy the same clothes" (line 31). In both of these cases, Katie negotiates by telling other people what to do; she does not seem to be thinking about opposing viewpoints in these examples.

Summary: The Kindergartners

Michael and Katie are in the same kindergarten class. Their interviews show us how children who are at the early point along the dimensions of cognitive development understand conflict and how to resolve it. Each child is constructing his or her own unique understanding of conflict, and the characteristics of each child's thinking plays an important role in this. Michael and Katie also show us how developmental differences in children who are the same age can play a role in their different understandings of conflict and how to solve it.

We see similarities and differences in how Michael and Katie understand conflict. Michael's understanding of conflict is based on visible elements that he can see and on concrete actions. He can see that a conflict is made up of two players that do something or want something concrete. Katie, like Michael,

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tends to focus on concrete, visible information in understanding conflict, but she has moved beyond Michael as she begins to pay attention to things which go on beneath the observable surface. These more abstract elements can be seen when Katie talks about the conflicts that are part of her own immediate experience. Both Michael and Katie understand that conflicts are made up of two sides engaged in concrete actions.

Similar patterns can be seen in how Katie and Michael look at solutions to conflict. Both Michael and Katie think of positive and negative solutions one at a time. Both think of negative solutions first, and positive solutions later, when encouraged by the interviewer. Both children show us that five-year olds are capable of thinking of positive solutions to conflict, and that these solutions are compatible with their developmental understanding. But Katie and Michael also reveal differences. For Michael positive solutions consist primarily of a single idea such as "sharing," while for Katie they are solutions differentiated into two parts which consist of concrete, reciprocal actions.

Understanding negotiation is more difficult for Michael than Katie. He tends to see negotiation as a one-step process; he knows that a conflict has to stop, but he has a hard time knowing what has to happen after that. When he does have ideas, they are rooted in single, concrete actions, such as pushing people apart. Michael can think of some of the words to use in a negotiation when directly asked, but these seem to exist for him as static thoughts unrelated to other ideas.

Unlike Michael, Katie is beginning to have ideas about how to negotiate in conflicts; she is beginning to see negotiation as a multi-stepped process. She knows the conflict has to stop as does Michael, but she also has ideas about what to say next. Her idea of what to say consists mainly of spelling out the concrete actions which make up the solutions to the conflict. Katie's negotiations, often

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one-way statements telling other people what to do, do not usually incorporate the point of view of others.

We can see differences in Katie's and Michael's ability to talk about their own conflicts. Michael does not have very much to say about these conflicts. Perhaps, because of his static and egocentric thinking, it is difficult for him to think of them when they are removed from the immediate moment. Katie, on the other hand, shows her most advanced thinking when she talks about her first-hand experience with conflict. It is in regard to the conflicts she has with her sister that Katie shows her most abstract and least egocentric thinking.

We also see differences in the nature of the conflicts that Katie and Michael describe. Michael's conflict's involve physical actions, and frequent mention of physical aggression. He talks consistently about "pushing," as well as "bleeding noses," "getting tangled," and "fighting" and "going down" with his friend David. Michael says that when someone pushes him, he has to push them back. In contrast, Katie's conflicts have to do with her relationships with her sister and her friend Jason. The main problem for her is in the nature of these relationships, that Jason is mean to her and that her sister lies when Jason comes over. Michael does not mention any of the same kinds of issues in his relationships as Katie describes in hers, and Katie does not mention physical aggression as an ingredient in any of her conflicts.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST GRADE CHILDREN

<u>Derrick</u>

<u>First Interview</u>

    I: What do you think is happening in this picture?

(1)   C: I don't know. Playing basketball, but it looks like they are fighting over a little ball.

    I: You think so. How do you know they are fighting over the ball?

(2)   C: Because they both have the ball and he has his foot on him and they both have their arms and hands on the ball.

    I: Anything else? [pause] What do you think is going to happen?

(3)   C: They can take turns having the ball.

    I: How would that work?

(4)   C: Like first one must let go of the ball and then say, "Let's make up."

    I: Really, and then what would the other one do?

(5)   C: Say, "OK," and start making up.

    I: How do you start making up?

(6)   C: By saying like first you get into a fight and then they say stuff and then they say, "I'm sorry," and then they say, "Let's make up."

    I: So do you think that there is a way that these two can solve this problem so that they would both be happy?

(7)   C: I don't know.

    I: Well what do you think?

(8)   C: Just let go of the ball and say, "Let's make up."

I: Any other way?

C: No.

I: I have an idea. Let's pretend that these two guys are friends of yours, and this is the playground here, and they're fighting like this over the ball like you said and then you came along, could you help them?

(9)   C: I'd say, "Come on guys break it up," and then say, "Be friends."

I: Could you help them do it?

(10)   C: Ya by like, I'd say, "Let go of the ball," and I'd take the ball, and then I'd say make up and then if they make up I'd give them back the ball.

I: And if you took the ball and said, "Make up," what if they did not know how to do it, could you help them know how?

(11)   C: Ya, by just saying, "Just make up."

I: Ah.

(12)   C: And just make up.

I: So you would say...

(13)   "Stay friends again".

I: What if this one was you, let's pretend this was you pulling on the ball and you really want it, what could you do?

(14)   C: I'd keep on fighting.

I: Ya, anything else? Is there anything you could do if you really want it?

C: No.

I: Do you have any fights or conflicts with people? Can you tell me about them?

(15)   C: Ya, only one because I forget all the other ones. Well, when I was playing today, just right now when we were over there, this guy his name is Amun and he wanted to fight me, just because I started something. At first I was on the swings on the middle. He got the ball

and he threw it at me and he missed and then he hit me and tried to get me.

I: So he threw the ball and you ducked and you jumped and he tried to get you, but why did he try to get you?

(16) C: He wanted to beat me up I guess.

I: What did you do?

(17) C: I just ran away, but I didn't do anything but he just stopped.

I: Is there anything you could do to get him to stop?

(18) C: Run away because I could make him lose his breath because I'm fast.

I: Is there anything you could do if you stayed there and didn't run away?

C: No

I: Is there anything you could say?

(19) C: No.

I: No you don't think there is any way you could get them to stop?

(29) C: No.

I: Any other fights that you have had?

(21) C: At Amun's house we got into a fight and we threw rocks at each other and dirt balls.

I: And then what?

(22) C: We made up.

I: Now how did you do that, how did you make up?

C: I don't remember.

I: Did you do anything or say anything to get that to happen?

(23) C: No, we just got an idea, we said, "Let's throw rocks at other stuff," and then I was throwing it at something and I said, "Move," and he didn't hear me, so I just threw it and he didn't hear me, and he started to try and hit me.

I: So you threw it and it hit him and he started to try and hit you. Ya, and how did it switch into making up?

C: I don't know, I just got tired.

I: Can you think of anything you could do to stop it to make it switch into being friends?

C: No.

Second Interview

I: I brought a picture for you to look at.

C: Another fight.

I: What do you think is happening?

(24) C: They are using their words fighting.

I: Uh huh. What do you think they are saying?

C: I don't know.

I: Have any idea what they are fighting about?

C: I don't know.

I: Can you take a guess?

C: No.

I: I wonder what this one is saying. I wonder what this one is saying.

(25) C: That one is probably just mumbling.

I: Uh huh.

(26) C: Because he doesn't have any kind of mouth like he does.

I: Well, I wonder what they are mad at? I really wonder what this fight is about. Must be about something. I wonder what they are saying.

C: You...

I: You what?

C: You little...

I: You little..

C: I don't know...animal.

I: You little animal. What did this one do to make the other one mad?

(27) C: I don't know. Break a window.

I: Oh. And what is this one saying?

C: I don't know.

I: What do you think when this one says, "You little animal," what does the other one say back?

C: He mumbles back.

I: I wonder if they could solve this problem somehow. Think they could?

(28) Yea, he would have to pay for the window.

I: So do you think that they could solve it so that they would both be happy?

C: No.

I: And why wouldn't he be happy about paying for the window?

C: Because he doesn't want to pay so much for a window.

I: So is there some way that they could solve it so they both would be happy?

(29) C: I don't know. They both use their money and pay for the window.

I: Do you think they both would like that? Would this one feel OK about that?

C: Yes.

I: Why?

C: Because he is using his money and hers.

I: So how could they start solving the problem? Like what could they say to start solving it?

(30) C: Can you please pay for the window and I'll use my money and yours.

I: And what would this one say?

(31) C: Agree.

I: Let's pretend these two are good friends of yours, and this whole thing happened about the window, and they were saying these words about, "You little animal," and you came along, could you help them?

C: Well, I don't know.

I: Do you think you could say anything to help them with this conflict?

C: No.

I: Nothing to help them?

C: I don't know.

Derrick's View of Conflict

Derrick's view of conflict involves both physical actions and tangible elements as well as some ideas that are more abstract. While he says that most of his conflicts involve fighting and pushing (line 34), he also talks about feelings and friendship. At times he seems caught between what he can see and his own growing understanding of what exists beneath the surface.

When Derrick looks at the second conflict picture, he says there is a fight using words. He has a very difficult time figuring out what this fight is about; he seems to be struggling to imagine what they might be fighting about because he cannot see it. He tries to think of what the players might be saying, but because he cannot, he invents an appropriate response: they are "probably just mumbling," he says (lines 25). Finally he decides that the conflict was due to

one of them having broken a window. Thus, Derrick realizes that there is a cause for the conflict; it is a concrete one, but is not seen in the picture, and has resulted with some effort, from Derrick's own invention.

Derrick expresses a fuller and more abstract understanding of conflict when he describes conflicts in his own life as opposed to those he sees in the pictures. He describes his own conflicts, at least in part, in terms of inner states such as feelings and motives, as well as in the visible, concrete terms he uses to describe the conflict pictures. Derrick talks about what causes the conflict he has with Amun in the first interview. He says that Amun "wanted to beat me up" (line 16). And in the second interview, Derrick makes it very plain that the conflicts he has are more like those in the first picture; that is, they are conflicts which involve "fighting", kicking and punching". But Derrick also mentions that people are "mean" and that when they are mean, he starts "getting mad" (line 39). Thus, there are also feelings and motives behind physical fighting that have meaning for Derrick.

Derrick is beginning to move away from static toward more dynamic thinking. We can see this in how he understands that conflicts with his friends involve a process in which different elements are related and sequenced. In describing how the conflicts he has with friends occur, he says, "It works like first somebody gets mad at you and then they get mad at you for a long time, and then they feel sorry" (line 43). Derrick is beginning to see how conflicts are more than momentary, static events, but involve feelings that exist over time and in a logical sequence.

When Derrick describes conflicts with his friend Amun, we can see both logical causality and some beginning ability to see things from Amun's point of view. Derrick says that Amun wanted to fight him, to "get him"; that Amun had wanted to "beat him up" (lines 15,16). Here he recognizes that Amun has an

intention of his own and that this affects the conflict. It is a concrete intention rather than a more abstract one of thought or desire; Derrick never mentions *why* Amun wants to "beat him up." In his other conflict with Amun (line 23), Derrick describes how the conflict came about, and uses a series of causally related events to do so. They were throwing rocks, and Derrick said "move" to Amun, but Amun didn't hear him, which led to Amun trying hit Derrick. This description also shows an understanding of how causally related events lead to conflict, and how another person is involved who, while their thoughts and feelings may not be understood, experiences things differently from oneself.

Learning about Solutions

Derrick has some ideas about solutions to conflict. On his own he thinks of a way to solve the first conflict picture positively where both players win -- by "taking turns" (line 3). But overall, Derrick does not talk much about solutions to the conflicts depicted in the two pictures. Derrick does think of a solution to the conflict in the second picture, and it is a concrete solution which is compatible with the concrete problem that he defined as the problem. Derrick's solution for the broken window is to "pay for it" (line 28).

When Derrick is directly asked about how conflicts can be solved, he offers suggestions for what to do in order to reach solutions (this may show the beginning of the ability to negotiate), rather than a description of the solutions themselves. For example, Derrick thinks the conflict in the first picture might be solved by "taking turns" (a win/win solution); but when asked how this solution would work, instead of describing the solution, Derrick talks about how one player must let go of the ball and then say, "let's make up" (line 4). Talking about how to work out a solution rather than how the solution would work

occurs again when Derrick is asked if he thinks that the two can solve the problem so that they would both be happy (line 8).

Perhaps it is the change from static to more dynamic thinking which draws Derrick's attention to the area of negotiation. Perhaps he forgets about the solution as he thinks about negotiation; it may be too much for him at this point to pay attention to both a solution and how to reach it.

Derrick shows egocentrism in his solutions, as with his understanding of conflicts, but he is also beginning to realize that there can be more than one point of view about a solution. In trying to find a positive solution to the broken window conflict in the second picture, Derrick has a difficult time thinking about a solution which would encompass both points of view of the two characters. Derrick suggests that both of them pay for the window (even though only one broke it), and that both would agree to this.[3] He shows that he understands that people need to agree to solutions (line 29), but at the same time, it seems too difficult for Derrick to hold both points of view of the players in mind at the same time.

Derrick's ideas about solutions to conflict from his direct experience are more advanced than those he thinks of in response to the pictures. For example, Derrick thinks Amun wants to beat him up, so he decides to run away (a solution); Derrick thinks he can make Amun lose his breath because he is a fast runner. Derrick's thinking here shows logical causality; he understands how this solution (running away) affects Amun, by making him lose his breath.

Learning to Negotiate

Derrick's interviews show that his thinking is becoming more dynamic, and that he is understanding what negotiation is; he realizes that when there is

a conflict, something must occur that will make the conflict change. Repeatedly Derrick says that the conflict must stop (i.e., "let go of the ball;" "break it up"), and that something must be said to move out of the conflict state: "Let's make up;" "Be friends;" "Stay friends again (lines 4,9,13). The words Derrick uses for negotiation do not have to do with concrete actions, but rather with less tangible things like mending the relationship and being friends. These words reveal the beginning of dynamic thinking. They capture the notion of negotiation, but at the same time they retain a static element. They reveal that Derrick thinks about being friends more as a fixed state than as an ongoing process.

While Derrick is very focused on the words to use in negotiation, he does not relate these to the conflict that is occurring or its solution. "Staying friends again" is what he seems to care most about, rather than the nature of the particular solution for a particular conflict. Derrick suggests these words as ends in themselves; for example, he does not mention how his idea to "be friends" might actually relate to solving the problem.

Derrick is able to incorporate the point of view of others into his ideas about negotiation. When he imagines helping friends who are fighting, Derrick seems to realize that they might not do what he tells them to. If his friends were fighting over the ball , he says, he would take the ball and then he would say, "make up;" "And then if they make up I'd give them back the ball." The phrase "if they make up" implies the possibility that his friends might *not* make up.

Then with the second picture, when Derrick is asked if these were two friends of his arguing over the broken window could he help them, he says that he would draw them a picture of them making up so they "Could see the difference of how they are right now," and that this would help them get out of

the fight. Here Derrick shows an understanding of what his friends need, of the fact that conflicts are not static states but involve change, and of how to bring about that change. His idea for bringing about this change is a concrete one. It captures Derrick's thinking which is leading him to understand that much occurs beneath the surface of what he can see, but which is still bound by concrete actions and visible features. While it is possible that Derrick thinks of the idea of the picture because he is looking at one himself, it is also an idea which captures his interest because it fits with his cognitive developmental level.

Toward the end of the second interview, Derrick talks about how he and his friends solve their conflicts. He describes a complicated process used by his peer group in which a certain structure for negotiating conflicts operates. In the negotiation process one guy says, "friends" and then the other guy says "friends." But Derrick might or might not say "friends," depending on whether someone is really "mean" to him. Also, he could say, "no," but not actually mean it.[4] This negotiation process used by Derrick and his friends shows their increasing ability to understand other points of view. They have developed a protocol for negotiating their conflicts which shows their developing ability to understand a structure which applies to more than one person, and which incorporates their different points of view.

<u>Tanya</u>

<u>First Interview</u>

I: What do you think of this picture?

(1)   C: They are fighting over a ball.

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I: How do you know that?

(2) C: 'Cause they both have the ball, and they look mean.

I: They look mean.

C: And he is kicking.

I: Uh huh

C: And his neck is leaning back.

I: Ya. What do you think is going to happen?

(3) C: They are going to hurt each other.

I: What will happen do you think?

(4) C: They are probably going to talk it out.

I: You think, you think they will talk it out, or do you think the will hurt each other?

C: I don't really know.

I: Well if they talked it out, how would it work?

(5) C: Like if one of them said, "Let's talk it out."

I: And then what might happen?

C: They probably will.

I: So one of them said, "Let's talk it out," and then what would the other one say?

C: They would say, "We both could share the ball with each other."

I: So they might say, "Let's talk it out," and then they might say, "Let's share the ball." How would it work if they would share the ball, how would it work if they shared the ball?

C: Like if he did something with it and give the other person a turn.

I: So he would do something with it and give the other person a turn. What if this person said, "I don't want to share it, I want it and I don't want to wait to have a turn."

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C: Well the teacher could talk it out with them.

I: What might the teacher do?

(6) C: Give another ball to the other one.

I: Oh so the teacher could give another ball, that is an interesting idea. Do you think if they worked it out, thinking about your idea of saying let's share, and if you take a turn and you take a turn, do you think they would both be happy with that?

C: Yes

I: You do think that will work so that they would both be happy?

C: Uha

I: Let's pretend that they are friends of yours, that they could even be girls, because you can't really tell if they are boys or girls.

C: This one looks like a boy and this one looks like a girl.

I: Let's pretend that they are friends of yours, and they are fighting like this, and you see them like this and they are tugging on the ball and you come along, could you do anything to help them?

C: I'll take the ball so that they can't fight over it.

I: Oh, so you would come along and take it.

C: I will ask them if I could have it because you guys are fighting over it.

I: And then what would happen then if you took it?

C: They would come chasing me, but I give it to the teacher.

I: Is there a way that you could help them work it out so that they would both be happy?

(7) C: Ya, get a ball for the other one.

I: So you would go get a ball for the other one. Any other way?

C: If they were playing basketball they could have a turn, and if they missed they could give it to the other one.

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I: Let's pretend for a minute that this one is you, that you are pulling on it, and you really, really want that ball.

C: I could just ask them if I could please have it.

I: Really, what could you say?

C: Can you give it to me?

I: Any other way that you would help them?

(8) C: By saying you guys could share it, only if you guys wont fight over the ball.

I: Do you have any problems or conflicts at all yourself?

C: Sometimes

I: Could you tell me about those?

(9) C: One day when me and my friend were playing on the swing and my other friend wanted to be next to me and somebody else got it and we had to talk it out.

I: What was it, a friend got what?

(10) C: A friend wanted to sit next to me on the swings, but they couldn't because another person was sitting there, and then I had to move, but they first talked it out.

I: So somebody else was sitting there and someone came along and wanted to sit next to you. So what happened exactly?

(11) C: We really are best friends, we all have a lot of best friends, but we fight over somethings, but what she wants to do with me, I let her and I let my other friend have another partner.

I: Have another partner?

(12) C: So everyday we take turns with a partner.

I: So do you have fights about who is going to be whose partner?

(13) C: Sometimes, but I make list down.

I: Tell me about that? You make a list. How does that work?

(14) C: They listen when I tell them that it is their turn, but sometimes when I don't let my other friend have a turn she gets mad. And then I let her, she could be behind me in line with my partner.

I: With your partner. So is it that they want to be ahead in line or that they want to be next to you?

(15) C: They want to be next to me.

I: So could you tell me how the list works?

(16) C: We just talk about it, and then we make it.

I: What is the list that is what I mean. What is it like, what does it look like.

C: It is a paper, I draw on it people's names.

I: Oh so you might say to a kid your name is on it so you are my partner today? Yes. So any other kinds of fights?

C: With my sister.

I: Can you tell me about one of those?

C: When ever I scare her she hits me on the head.

(17) C: She hits me instead of saying something mean back to me. She should use your words.

I: Can you figure out a way to keep her from hitting you?

(18) C: When we get our own room she won't be able to hit me anymore, because we are moving.

I: You are in the same room together? What do you say that makes her hit you?

(19) C: I just say something mean like I'm not your friend any more and she hits me. When I kid around with her.

I; You think you're kidding?

(20)   C I do play with her but she thinks I really mean it.

Second Interview

I: I've got a picture to show you, ready?

(21   C Talking mean.

I; Uh huh.

C They look mean. That looks like a girl to me.

I: You think they are girls?

C Looks like his hair is sticking up but it isn't.

I: What else?

C The pants, it's curved. And she is pointing at herself, not good to point.

I: So I wonder what is happening.

(22)   C They're going to have a fight.

I: Really, I wonder what they are fighting about.

C This is what I wonder.

I: Do you have any idea?

(23)   C I think they are fighting about their friends, because they don't have anything in their hands.

I; What about their friends?

(24)   C Like if they want to sit next to her and the other one doesn't think so, after lunch they probably get into a fight.

I: So you think they get into a fight?

C Probably they want to sit next to her because they like her.

I: And who wants to sit next to her, that one? And what does that one want?

C: She wants to sit on the other side but somebody else is.

I: Do you think that they could solve this problem?

C: Yea, but if they let the other person sit next to her the next day.

I: Do you think they could work it out so that they would both be happy?

(25) C: Somebody else saved two seats for them and the other one, they could sit on the other side.

I: Uh huh.

C: They could trade seats with a different person.

I: What do you think they could say to each other to work it out?

(26) C: "Let's trade seats with somebody else so we could sit next to each other;" or, they could go to another place where there are seats that nobody is sitting at.

I: Then what could they say?

C: They could say that I could sit on the other side.

I: And what if there is only one side?

C: They could move. The other person could sit on the other side of the table.

I: So then what might happen?

C: They both would be sitting at the table.

I: So I wonder if you came along, let's say these are friends of yours, and they were having this fight.

(27) C: I would tell that to stop.

I: What would you say?

(28) C: I'll say, "If you don't stop you won't sit next to me at all."

I: Could you help them try to solve the problem they are having?

C: Ya, but I'd tell them "Stop," because you guys could sit next to me.

I: And what could they say to get that going, to make that happen?

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(29) C I'm sorry.

      I: And what would this one say?

      C That is OK.

      I: Does this make you think of any other kinds of problems that you have had with your friends?

      C No.

      I: Or with your sister?

(30) C She hurts me.

      I: What happens?

      C I get my father.

      I: Uh huh.

      C And I get my father and then she goes, "I'll get my mommy."

      I: And then what happens?

(31) C I go get my father first and then she will kill me. But then I'm going to get my own room and she won't have to bother me.

      I: When you are fighting with her, how does it happen?

(32) C When I step on her bag by accident and she says, "Don't step on my bag," and she hits me.

      I: Uh huh.

(33) C And she'll go, "I don't care because you know you did it on purpose."

      I: What does that mean by accident; what does that mean on purpose?

      C It means that I didn't really mean it.

      I: Oh. Is there anything you could say to keep her from getting mad?

(34) C She don't listen to my words.

      I: Did you ever try it?

(35) C Ya, but she goes, "I don't take it." And she always uses her hands instead of her mouth.

I: What did you try to say?

(36)   C   I try to tell her, "I'm sorry," and she goes, "Nope, I don't take that."

I: Why doesn't she take it?

C   I said, "I'm sorry," but she goes, "I'm not going to take it."

I: Do you think that there is anything that you could say that she would take?

(37)   C   She won't take anything except if I go get my father, she will go, "I'm sorry." She always does something mean to me, and I don't get mad, I just lay down or else I'll go in the kitchen and watch TV.

I: If you step on the bag is there anything you can say to keep her from hitting you?

(38)   C   And if she wants me to play with my dolly and I tell her I don't want to, I go in the kitchen or else she will throw my things out.

I: So when that happens is there anything you could say so she wouldn't throw your things out?

C   "Don't throw my things out."

I: And what would happen if you said that?

C   She would. She'll make me go into the kitchen.

I: What if you told her I'm not going to do it.

C   I could tell her I'm not going to do it.

I: And what would happen, how would that work?

(39)   C   She would say, "Fine. I'm not your friend," and I'll tell her, I'm not hers either.

I: And then how would that feel to you?

C   I'll feel mad.

I: Is there anything you could say to her her to be your friend right then?

(40)   C   If we have one night away from each other.

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I: What happens then?

C: It will be better because we won't have to talk to each other.

I: Did you ever have a time when you said something to your sister and it made it turn good?

C: Just once.

I: Tell me about that.

(41) C: When I told her I wanted a candy and she gave it to me.

I: What made her give it to you?

(42) C: I told her I am not going to give her any of mine. I was going to get some from my father, a candy cane.

I: So what happened?

(43) C: I told her I'd give her the candy cane.

I: So then what happened?

(44) C: She took my answer and I did give her the candy cane.

I: And that meant she did what?

(45) C: She listened to me.

I: And then you got the candy cane...

C: And I gave her some of it.

I: So that one worked.

(46) C: That is the only thing that will work on her.

I: Why did it work?

C: Because she knew I was going to give her some.

I: I wonder if you could make any of the other ones work out like that?

C: Unless I tell her I'm going to give her candy.

I: Is that the only thing?

C: Because she likes candy more than anything else.

<u>Tanya's View of Conflict</u>

Tanya's view of conflict is bound up in her ideas about relationships and interpersonal dynamics. Her understanding of conflict often involves concrete actions but at times less tangible aspects such as verbal exchanges, feelings, and intentions enter in.

Tanya was able to think of a conflict for the second picture right away. She said, "they are fighting about their friends." She goes on to describe a conflict not about different internal states or ideas, but about a more concrete topic: where friends will sit. It is a conflict about relationships expressed in concrete terms.

The descriptions Tanya gives of conflicts with her sister show her most abstract understanding of conflict. She describes how she tells her sister, "I'm not your friend anymore," but that she is only "playing with her," though her sister thinks she "really means it" (lines 19,20). And in another conflict, Tanya says that she steps on her sister's bag by accident, her sister thinks she did it on purpose, and then the conflict becomes an argument between them about whether or not Tanya intended to step on the bag (lines 32,33). The subjects of these conflicts have moved beyond tangible issues and involve intentions, feelings, and motives.

Tanya is able to think of several ideas at one time, and thus can see how some aspects of conflict are related. She understands that conflicts have a cause, and how they involve actions of two people who say and do things which affect one another. For example, with her sister she says, "if she wants me to play with my dolly and I tell her I don't want to, I go in the kitchen or else she will throw my things out" (line 38). Tanya realizes that at least some conflicts have causes and are made up of specific actions which have effects.

Tanya is beginning to understand that there are points of view other than her own in a conflict. In her descriptions of conflicts with her sister, Tanya shows her most advanced understanding of another point of view. She talks about how her sister's actions in the conflict affect her, such as "she hurts me"; but also she has some idea that her sister thinks differently than she does, as shown by comments such as, "I do play with her [kid her] but she thinks I really mean it" (line 20).

In describing the conflicts she has with her friends, Tanya expresses their views mostly in terms of what they want to do, such as to sit on the swing next to her. In her description of the conflict in the second picture, where she says the characters want to sit next to their friend, Tanya describes the cause of the conflict from one point of view: "they want to sit next to her because they like her." She does not describe two separate, differentiated viewpoints, such as that one wants to sit next to her and the other also wants to sit by her; or, that either of them says or does something in the conflict. Throughout Tanya's description of this conflict, she talks about the two other parties as if they had a single point of view.

Understanding Solutions to Conflict

Tanya has many ideas about how to resolve conflict, and she has many suggestions for finding positive solutions. Her solutions tend to be concrete ones that involve taking some kind of action. When her friends argue over sitting next to her, she thinks of making a list or trading seats. When she fights with her sister, she thinks of physically moving away from her sister. When she tries to think of how to resolve the first conflict picture, she suggests they get another ball.

Tanya's ability to think about more than one idea at a time shows up when she thinks about solutions to conflicts. In response to picture one, she first says, "They are going to hurt each other." But then she quickly says, "They are probably going to talk it out." This ability to think of more than one possible way to solve a conflict is cognitively more advanced than thinking of only one solution at a time. In addition, one of these solutions is a positive one, showing that Tanya is able to imagine a solution that is different from the conflict she sees pictured in front of her (i.e., she is not completely bound by concrete, perceptual information).

Tanya's growing ability to understand the point of view of another person is evident in how she thinks about solutions to conflict. Her solutions to her conflicts with her sister are based on her perception of what her sister will do. Her solution to get away from her sister is based on the idea that her sister wants her to do something she does not want to do. This solution comes from an understanding that there is another person involved in the conflict who has intentions and actions separate from hers.

When Tanya's friends argue about sitting next to her, she thinks of making a list to help solve the problem. But she does not mention anything about how her friends might feel about the list as a solution, whether or not they agree to it or might have views about it. Also, it is Tanya who implements the list, who is in charge of telling her friends when it is their turn. So while her solution takes their needs into account in some ways, she is a long way from taking their perspective fully into account.

Learning to Negotiate

Tanya's thinking is becoming more dynamic and thus she is beginning to understand that negotiation is a process which can bring about change in a conflict. Tanya inserts many ideas which show that she is understanding this concept. She does not just describe the concrete actions of a solution (i.e., "She could be behind me in line..."), she also uses words which refer to the more abstract concepts of negotiation. Numerous times she uses the phrase "talk it out" to capture the idea of negotiation. But Tanya's understanding of negotiation, while incorporating the notion of change, is still very much based in concrete actions. For her, "talking it out" mainly means talking about the concrete actions which go on in her relationships, such as trading seats and sharing a ball.

Tanya is moving beyond static thinking and can begin to relate different aspects of the conflict resolution process together. She understands that a conflict has to stop and then something must be said to move out of the state of conflict. She also understands that the process of negotiation leads to solutions. Tanya says how her win/win solution of making a list to solve a problem is part of a process: "We just talk about it (negotiation), and then we make it" (the solution) (line 16).

Tanya's understanding of negotiation incorporates her growing understanding of the point of view of another person. In her conflicts with her sister, Tanya is involved in complex dynamics. Tanya describes her efforts to communicate (negotiate) with her sister, which seem to her to be ineffectual. Tanya says, "I try to tell her I'm sorry and she goes, 'Nope, I don't take that'" (line 36). Tanya says, "She don't listen to my words" (line 34). Tanya, however, has discovered a negotiation strategy that works with her sister: She can bribe

her sister into listening to her.[5] Tanya gives her sister some candy and says, "That is the only thing that will work on her" (line 46). Here Tanya shows that she understands her sister's behavior, can predict it, and is able to think about how a behavior can have an effect on her sister which brings about a certain end (her sister listening to her if she gives her candy.)

Tanya's negotiations with her friends also show her increasing ability to understand the point of view of others. She describes how her friends all argue over who sits where with whom, and how she works this out by making a list which tells people whose turn it is. Tanya says, "Sometimes when I don't let my other friend have a turn she gets mad. And then I let her; she could be behind me in line with my partner" (line 14). Here Tanya shows that she can consider the point of view of her friend, take it into account and change her behavior accordingly. Also, Tanya and her friends seem to be using a structure for negotiating their conflict about seating arrangements which applies to everyone and thus shows their developing ability to understand how "rules" or structures can apply to different people in the same situation.

Summary: The First Grade Children

Both Derrick and Tanya are constructing their own understanding of conflict and how to resolve it. Their interviews show us how two children who are moving beyond the first points along the dimensions of cognitive development are making sense of conflict in their own ways.

Derrick is beginning to realize that conflicts are made up of aspects of experience which are not concrete and observable, but he still primarily thinks about conflicts in concrete, physical terms. Tanya also thinks of conflict in both concrete and more abstract terms. She was quicker to think of a conflict for

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the second picture than was Derrick, and hers was a more abstract cause (having to do with her relationships) than was the cause Derrick named (to do with a concrete object).

Derrick has some ideas about solutions to conflicts, and he is able to think of a positive solution to the conflict in the first picture without being specifically asked for it. But Derrick is interested primarily in negotiation. Repeatedly, this is what he focuses on when talking about how to solve conflicts. Tanya has many ideas for solutions to conflicts; mostly they are concrete solutions which involve taking some kind of action. She thinks of two alternative ideas for how to solve the conflict in the first picture; and, like Derrick, she can think of a positive solution for this conflict without being specifically asked for it.

Derrick knows that conflicts have to stop, and he has ideas about words to say which can begin negotiation. The words he suggests do not refer to concrete actions, but they do describe negotiation in somewhat static ways. Derrick does not yet relate his ideas about negotiation to finding solutions to conflicts; he concentrates on the negotiation rather than on how it relates to the conflict resolution process as a whole. Derrick realizes that negotiations may involve points of view different from his own.

Tanya shows that she is also understanding that negotiation is a process which brings about change in a conflict, and her understanding is largely based in concrete actions. Like Derrick, Tanya knows that a conflict first has to stop, and must be followed by some actions which change the situation. She shows that she understands that negotiation is part of a larger process which leads to a solution to a conflict, which Derrick did not do. Like Derrick, Tanya realizes that others in a negotiation may have different points of view from hers.

Both Derrick and Tanya show their most advanced thinking about conflict when they talk about the conflicts in their own first-hand experience. Both have

much experience with conflict and many ideas about it. The conflicts which Derrick talks about from his own life all involve physical action and aggression. And, as he says, physical aggression is an important part of the conflicts he has. When he looks at the second conflict picture, Derrick says that he mostly fights like in the first picture; that he is most familiar with conflicts that involve "fighting like kicking and punching and other stuff" rather than conflicts where people use "their words" to fight, such as in the second conflict picture (lines 36, 37).

In contrast, Tanya is constructing her ideas about conflict and how to resolve it in the context of her relationships, and is learning very different concepts and skills than is Derrick. She sees her own conflicts with her friends in the second picture, and is the first child in the interviews to directly introduce conflicts from her own personal experience when she looks at this. At one point when Tanya is imagining helping to resolve a conflict, she says she would say to her friends, "If you don't stop, you won't sit next to me at all" (line 28). For Tanya, relationships are so valued as to have the power to change behavior. She is at a developmental level where coercion and bribery make sense to her and the reward she uses here is her friendship.

Both Derrick and Tanya seem to be finding ways to structure their social relationships through negotiating conflict. Derrick does it by a protocol used among friends which prescribes how to "make up" when there is a conflict. Tanya does it by lists and taking turns with seating arrangements. While such structures probably vary with different subcultures of children, the emergence of such structures in children's social relations is probably related to their cognitive developmental level. Both children seem interested in thinking about how a structure or a rule can apply to several different people at the same time.

In Comparison with the Kindergartners

Both Tanya and Derrick have a more abstract understanding of conflict than either Katie or Michael. Michael saw everything in the second picture as concrete, and Katie said that she knew they were fighting, though she did not know what about, and then finally decided it was about things that she could see in the picture. Derrick, with some difficulty, comes to a concrete cause for the conflict which is not shown in the second picture, while Tanya thought immediately of a cause for the conflict which was a concrete one occurring in a dispute among friends.

Tanya is the first child interviewed to think of more than one possible solution to the conflict in the first picture, and one of her solutions is a positive one. Derrick also thought of a positive solution to the conflict in the first picture without being specifically asked for it, while Michael and Katie thought first of losing solutions, and had to be asked if there were a way to work the conflict out positively before they could think of win/win solutions. Both Michael and Katie were pulled more by the visual information in the picture in front of them which led them to think of losing solutions to the conflict; Derrick and Tanya, being less rooted in concrete, perceptual information, were able to imagine a solution farther removed from the conflict depicted on the page.

Derrick and Tanya both show an understanding of negotiation not seen with Michael or Katie. While Katie negotiates by saying *how* to share the ball (i.e., "You kick it to him and he kicks it back to you"), Derrick and Tanya negotiate by using words which would shift away from the conflict (i.e., "Let's make up;" "Talk it out"). In addition, both Tanya and Derrick are beginning to realize that there are points of view other than their own in negotiating. While Michael and Katie offer examples in which they would *tell* their friends to

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share, Derrick and Tanya seem to realize that friends might not do what they tell them to.

Michael and Derrick are similar in at least one important way, as are Katie and Tanya. For the boys, physical actions and aggression figure prominently in their understandings of conflict. Many of the ideas they are constructing are shaped by their experience of conflict as something which involves physically aggressive acts. By contrast, Katie and Tanya are learning about conflict as something embedded in relationships; the concepts they are constructing are shaped by this context where how people relate to each other and treat one another is the primary concern.

CHAPTER VI:

THE SECOND GRADE CHILDREN

<u>Kathiel</u>

<u>First Interview</u>

      I: What do you think is happening in this picture?

(1)   C: I think it's a picture of them fighting over a ball, kicking each other.

      I: Uh huh...

(2)   C: He's kicking him, and they're fighting over a ball.

      I: What do you think will happen?

(3)   C: I think that they will talk about it themselves and see if they could share it instead of fighting. Or if they continue fighting, they will hurt each other. Because for one, he's kicking. And for two, it's a ground and he could fall down and hurt himself.

      I: So, you said that you thought they could try to share it. Do you think that could happen?

      C: Yes

      I: How?

(4)   C: If they talk to each other and decide to think it over, they might decide to share it with each other. And they won't fight anymore over anything. Because if they keep on fighting, one of them is going to get seriously hurt and go to the hospital.

      I: What could they say to each other to start the sharing?

(5)   C: They would say to each other, "Let's talk...so we could share it." And they would say, "Maybe it will be better if we shared it." And the

other person would have to decide if they agree with him or not. If they don't, then they'll have to decide if he agrees with the one because if he doesn't agree with him, that means they're going to have to fight all day.

I: So you think this one could say, "Let's share it..."

(6) C: And that one doesn't agree so this one says, "Let's not share it," and that one won't agree and that means they're going to keep on fighting over it.

I: Could this one do anything else? Or say anything else?

(7) C: He could say that, "Let's share. Because it's more better than fighting. It's a lot, lot better because if you keep on fighting we might hurt each other and one of us might have to go to the hospital, like you or me."

I: And then what might this one say when he says that?

(8) C: He might say, "You're right. We have to share or else we're going to be fighting and then we'll hurt one another."

I: So, if they decided to share, I wonder how they would do it. How would that work?

(9) C: He would get a turn to bounce the ball to the basket, and he would get a turn too to do what he wants with the ball. And they would be sharing all day until it's time for them to eat supper.

I: So they would be sharing...

(10) C: One would throw it to the other person and they would catch it, and then the other person would throw it to the person and they would catch it.

I: So do you think that is a way it could work out so they both could be happy?

C: Yes.

I: Well, I wonder, where are they anyway?

C: They're on the basketball court.

I: If you were there, and the two of them were fighting over this ball, and there was no one else there but you, and you wanted to help them, what would you do?

(11) C: I would tell them they would have to share it or else they would be fighting all day and one of them would get hurt and then they will be crying because they can't come out of the hospital because they might have a sore on their leg or they might break one of their bones or they might break their leg and have to have a cast on it and stay in the hospital until it gets better.

I: And could you help them share?

(12) C: Yes. I could say, "Well maybe you could get a turn and he could get a turn, or you can throw it to him and he can catch it, and he can throw it to you and you can catch it. And I think they would share and they wouldn't fight anymore. And he would agree, and he would agree with me, and they wouldn't fight anymore.

I: Let's pretend that one of these is you.

C: Yeah.

I: And let's pretend you have your hands on the ball and you want it very much. What could you do?

(13) C: I could take it away from him. Or, I could say, "I'll tell my mommy if you don't give it back." Or, I'd say, "Let's share it." Or, I'd go in the house and play by myself with my little sister.

I: That's a lot of different things you could do.

(14) C And if he wouldn't share, I'd say, "Well give me my ball because I'm going in the house since you don't want to share. I'll have to go play by myself because you don't want to share it." And them him and his friend could play instead of playing with at boy who didn't want to share with him. And then he can play by himself with another boy that he likes, that he doesn't like to fight with. So they both can be playing with a different person and not with each other.

I: Do you have any situations like this?"

C Uh huh.

I: Can you tell me about them?

(15) C Because once, me and my cousin had a argument about my uncle and his friend was doing firecrackers, and my cousin thought he heard it, and he said, "That's the firecrackers," and I said, "No, it's not," and we kept on arguing, "Yes it is," No it's not," "Yes it is," "No, it's not," and then I hit him in the back with my fist. He was littler than me and he told my mommy and she said, "Don't do that because he's littler than you and then we played together."

I: When you were arguing, "Yes it is, no it isn't, yes it is, no it isn't," I wonder if you could have said anything then?

(16) C I was mad so much that I didn't say anything. I just kept saying, "No it's not." I was so mad that I didn't say it.

I: Yes...when you think about it now, I wonder, if you could think of anything.

(17) C I would say, "Let's stop fighting over it," or, "Let's play something else maybe that will be better." And he would say, "OK, let's play something else." We could play house, or jump roping, or basketball.

And we wouldn't fight anymore. Because my cousin, although he's a
boy, but after we fight, we make up.

I: So, are there any other situations you have had with kids -- problems
or disagreements?

(18)   C   Uh huh. One time I was with my cousin Ernest, you know, the same
boy. This boy, Mark, was picking on Ernest. And I said, Don't pick at
my cousin." And he didn't listen to me. He pushed me. So I kicked
him. And I told my mother, and I told her why I did it so she didn't
care. And he went in the house and he was messin' with my cousin,
and my cousin is only five, and he's in the first grade and he knows
better and his mother put him on punishment.

I: When Mark was messin' with Ernest, could you have said anything to
him before you went to the grownup?

(19)   C   Yea, I did. I said, "Don't bother him, don't hit him, just play with
him." But he acted like he wanted to fight. He didn't listen. So I
kept on fighting him, and he told my auntie, and he had no right to
just keep on fighting. I didn't get in trouble, he got in trouble.

I: Now do you think there is anything else you could've said to Mark that
might've worked?

(20)   C   I could've said, "Well, if you want to fight him, you might as well go
ahead and then tell you mother why you did it." Because he obviously
did it for no reason because he wanted to beat him up because he
knew he was littler than him, and he did it on purpose just for
nothing. I don't know why. He just picked at him. And I got so angry
I kicked him.

I: Yeah.

C   I was really mad cause he was picking on my cousin.

I: I wonder...before you kicked him, if you could've said anything that would've worked...

(21)   C: I was mad. I was so mad. So I didn't say anything to him. I beat him up. Because my grandmother said, "If you ever have a fight, you help your cousin because he's smaller than you."

I: It's great that you take care of your cousin. I just wonder if there is anything you could think of now, when you're not so mad...if anything would've worked to make Mark stop.

(22)   C: I would've said, "Hey look, if you want to fight him, you're going to have to go in your house because I'm not going to let you do that. If you want to fight Ernest, you're going to have to fight me or go in your house." I wanted to help my cousin. and when I kicked him, he was crying. I hate to make him cry, but he shouldn't pick on my cousin.

I: Did you talk to him afterwards?

(23)   C: Yeah. I said, "Next time when you want to fight my cousin, let me know because I'm not going to let no big kid fight my cousin. You all know he's in kindergarten and you all know better because you're much bigger than him."

I: If you wanted to help Ernest share with another friend his size, what could you say?

(24)   C: I would say, "You'll have to share," and Ernest would share the ball with him. And they would start playing. Because Ernest is the type who will get mad and hit you and then you will hit him back and then he will tell somebody on you and they we will say, "Well, let's make up." First he's mad, then he's happy. that's they way he is.

I: So you would say, you have to share...

C: Yes, I would say, "You have to share, Ernest," and he would share.

(25) C: I could help them do it. I could tell my cousin how to do it because he's littler than me. And he can understand me.

I: What would you say?

(26) C: I would say, "Ernest, you have to share because it's one ball, it's not like it's two balls," and he would share.

I: How would you tell him how to do it?

(27) C: I would say, "You throw it to your friend and he would catch it, or he throws it to you and you would catch it. He gets a turn fist and you get a turn second." And he would understand. He would do it. And I would talk to his friend and I would tell him the same thing and I'm

(28) not sure he would do it or not because he's not my cousin, my cousin understands me. Because he knows if he doesn't listen to me, I will tell his mother. And he listens to me because he doesn't want to get in trouble with his mother. I hate for him to get in trouble, so sometimes when he doesn't respect me, I try to give him one more chance.

Second Interview

I: I have a picture to show you today.

(29) C: OK.

I: What do you think's happening in it?

(30) C: I think he's telling her that, "Well, I, it's my ball and if I say you can't play with it you can't play with it." And then she says "Well, your mother said I can play with it. Now let me have a turn with it." Well,

(31)   no, I don't want you to. Now get out of here, go home, you little, you

        little wimp." She says, "No, I don't want to go home and I'm not a

        wimp. You're the one that's a banana head."

    I: Wow.

(32) C And then she says, "Well, I'm going home and I'm gonna go get my

        cousin, the one that you always want to play with. And she's not going

        to play with you." And then he says, "Oops. I'm sorry.

(33)   I'll let you play with my ball and your cousin can play with my ball and

        we'll all have a nice time on the swing. And maybe my mother will let

        us go on a picnic in the park and we can have a nice time.

    I: OK, Well then what would she say?

(34) C She would say, "OK. But you've got to remember to be nice to me

        tomorrow and every day or else I won't be nice to you. I have a best

        friend named Jamal and he's a nice boy. So, if you can be like Jamal

        then you can be my second best friend and we can always play

        together.

    I: Is there something she could say to get him to be nicer, so they

        would both be happy that wasn't the thing about the cousin.

(35) C Well, she could say that, "If you will let me play with your ball, then

        we could probably ask my mother to go on to the park and play on he

        swings and you could have the first turn on the swing and I'll push you

(36)   way high like you always liked it, if you let me play with your ball."

        Then he says, "Well, I'll let you play with my ball but you gotta promise

        that you'll never ever ever call me a banana head. And then I will let

        you play with my ball." "Well, you called me a wimp first." "Well, I'm

        sorry and I'll never do it again. And then, after me, you can go on the

        swing and I'll push you as high as you want me. If you want me to

push you slow, I'll push you slow. And then we both can go down the slide and then both can get on the swing and maybe your cousin will push us. Then after that we can all take turns on the swing and I'll take turns on the slide. And I can go down the pole and you can play on the boat."

I: Let's pretend that these two kids are friends of yours. And you see them. And they're really mad, having this fight. And you come along. Could you help them?

(37) C: Yes. I would say, "You two work it out." And they would say, Well, how can I work it out?" Then I would say, "You can play with the ball first and you can play with it again. Then she can go to the park. She can probably go in her house and get you a juice and you could go in your house while she plays with the ball. And while she's playing with the ball you can go in your house and you an get you big sister's ball.

I: And you think that they'd be happy with that, both of them? Have you had any conflicts like this?

(38) C: Yes, with Kimberly. Every time I say something and we become friends, then she comes over to Jessica and be's mean to her. And me and Jessica are close best friends. We try to stick up for each other. And when somebody bothers her that really ticks me off.

I: Could you say anything to Kimberly, do you think, that might work?

(39) C: I try to say stuff. I say, "Well, we can be friends and let's be friends 'cause last time we got into a big argument and we got into a fight and she was hurt. And then we went to the principal and she accused me of stuff that I didn't even do so that she could win and that Mrs. B. wouldn't yell at her. And I don't think that was fair because I was in tears. And I was sad for the whole day.

I: How did she feel?

(40)   She feeled happy and joy for when I was bad off. We were friends, it was like we were best buddies, but until today she comes over to Jessica and bothers her. And I don't like that. I do not like that. And she better stop it because that really makes me so mad.

I: Yeah.

(41)   C It makes me want to beat her up.

I: What could you tell her so that she knew that? Could you say anything to her?

(42)   C It's not fair for her to act so smart and for her to tell Jessica what to do?

I: Uh huh.

(43)   C ... because I don't like that.

I: Right. Could you say anything to Kimberly, do you think, that might work?

C I try to say stuff and then we make friends. She comes and bothers Jessica for no reason. She could say something polite of stuff, but she just doesn't do it and that makes me mad when we're together.

I: Sure. When you try to say something, what do you say?

C It makes me want to beat her up.

I: What could you tell her so that she knew that? Could you say anything to her?

(44)   C I would say, I would say, "Please don't bother Jessica because she wants to be a friend. All she wants to do is be nice." But if I would say that, she would say, well, "OK" and then the next thing you know, I come over to look and Jessica's crying because she's bothering her.

I: So you're saying that you could say something but it doesn't ...

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C: Well, she says that Jessica cut and Jessica was in front of her before and Jessica gets in trouble by the teacher. And that really ticks me off. 116

I: I see. Uh huh.

C: And then I said, "I'm going to kick her butt the next time she does that." and then when I do she tells the principal and her mother. And the last time her mother was talking about me to the teacher I didn't like that. That's not fair.

I: Right. How would you like it to be?

C: I would like it to be nice and simple for her to be nice to Jessica like she be's nice to me. But that doesn't happen.

I: I wonder if you could make it happen though? If there's anything you could do to make it happen.

(45) C: I could make it happen by Jessica talking to her and they working it out, or ...

I: Uh huh.

C: ... or all three of us work it out.

I: How could ...

(46) C: But we could all like, we could have like a talk about how things are going between me and Jessica and her.

I: Yeah.

(47) C: And after that we could, we could read some books together and do some other nice stuffs and maybe she could come sit with us at our table and we could do that mostly every day to see how it's working out. And so we see or we decide that she shows us that it's working out we will stop doing that and we could be friends. We will see how she acts when we do that.

I: Have you ever tried it? Do you think you'd like to try it?

(48) C: Yeah. But except it I try it, it might not work out like that.

I: It might not?

(49) C: Yeah. But it's not that easy because if you be nice to Kimberly one second and keep on being nice to her, the next day you come to school it's like you're talking to the wall because she'll ignore you, she'll pretend that she doesn't hear you. It's like I'm talking to a stone wall.

I: So she's not the same.

(50) C: Yes. that's what she does. And I've got this friend named Amy, and I go over to her house and she plays with me and then she gets smart with me and she starts arguing with me and stuff and afterwards

(51) I start crying, she says, "I just wanted to do that to see what you would do if we got into an argument." And that's not fair to me because I'm all mad and sad because she did that. That's not fair. It's like picking on me and then saying she's sorry.

I: Uh huh.

C: Yes. She always does that to me. We go playing like we're best buddies but she does that every day.

I: Uh huh. I wonder if there is anything you could say to her before you say that you're going to tell your mother, anything you could say that would make her stop doing this.

(52) C: I would say something nice, she would say, "Well, if you don't want me to be mean to you, then why are you being mean to me?" And I don't be doin' that to her, I be like, "Well, can you be nice to me?"

(53) And she like, "Well, if you don't be mean to me I won't be mean to you." and I don't be mean to her.

I: You mean she thinks you're being mean to her?

C: Yes.

I: Wonder why she thinks that?

(54) C: I don't know. She's just like, she's not telling the truth.

I: Is there anything you can say to each other, like in a case like this, to try to work this problem out?

(55) C: [Sigh} We could both say to each other, "Wow. We had a fight and I don't think it makes sense to have a fight, because a fight is boring. All you do is sit there and talk and hit each other and argue and that's really boring. All friends are supposed to do is work it out by playing with each other and being nice and polite to each other, saying "thank you" and "thanks" and "you're welcome" even if you're Spanish or English. Say it in Spanish, English, anything you are. If you are African, say it in African, just say something and be polite and be nice to each other. And that's how you can make friends and that's how you can always be together forever, like me and Jessica.

I: Then what could you say next?

(56) C: I could say, "Well, Kimberly, it's definitely worth a try for me, you, and Jessica to be friends -- for me and Jessica to be your friend and you be me and Jessica's friend. And it's only fair because it's really boring to sit there and argue and fight.

Kathiel's View of Conflict

Conflicts for Kathiel are embedded in relationships and involve the dynamics of how people treat each other and work out these relationships. While Kathiel talks about some concrete aspects of conflict, she is most

concerned with aspects beneath the surface, with the feelings and the intentions which motivate actions.

This can be seen in the second picture when she quickly turns a dispute over a ball to one over a relationship where how people treat each other is the central concern. In describing this conflict, Kathiel moves from saying, "Well, it's my ball and if I say you can't play with it you can't play with it" (line 2); to saying , "Well, I'm going home and I'm going to go get my cousin, the one that you always want to play with. And she's not going to play with you" (line 4).

For Kathiel, it is not merely what is on the surface, but what goes on underneath which is at the center of conflict. She shows that she knows behaviors are motivated from within when she talks about Mark, the older boy who picks on her cousin Ernest: "Because he obviously did it for no reason because he wanted to beat him up because he knew he was littler than him, and he did it on purpose just for nothing. I don't know why. He just picked at him. And I got so angry I kicked him" (line 20).

Kathiel's ability to think about what causes conflict is developing as her cognitive abilities advance. She is able to understand cause/effect relationships which involve motives, such as the boy who wanted to pick on her cousin Ernest, and her friend Amy treating her in a certain way to see what reaction she would get. Many of Kathiel's conflicts are involved with complex human dynamics such as these.

Kathiel is also beginning to see conflict as not always specific to the moment, but in a context of ongoing relationships that exist over time. She talks about her conflicts with Kimberly as if they are more continuous than finite: "But it's not that easy because if you be nice to Kimberly one second and keep on being nice to her, the next day you come to school it's like you're

talking to the wall because she'll ignore you. She'll pretend that she doesn't hear me. It's like I'm talking to a stone wall" (line 49).

Kathiel talks about two points of view in a conflict; she mentions the point of view of each player in the first picture and the notion of agreement. In line 5 Kathiel says, "And they would say, 'maybe it will be better if we shared it.' And the other person would have to decide if they agree with him or not. If they don't then they'll have to decide if he agrees with the one because if he doesn't agree with him, that means they're going to have to fight all day."

With the second picture, she describes the point of view of each side in the conflict through a dialogue. This dialogue shows that the problem has two sides and that Kathiel realizes that two sides participate in creating the conflict.

Kathiel's growing ability to understand that others have viewpoints different from her allows her to see people in a conflict as separate from her with characteristics of their own which affect the conflict. For example, she talks about her cousin Ernest: "My cousin understands me. Because he knows if he doesn't listen to me I will tell his mother. And he listens to me because he doesn't want to get in trouble with his mother" (line 28). And of her dispute with her friend Amy, she says, "...she starts arguing with me and stuff and afterwards I start crying, she says, 'I just wanted to do that to see what you would do if we got into an argument.' And that's not fair to me...It's like picking on me and then saying she's sorry" (lines 50,51). Here Kathiel shows that she realizes that other people have motives and take actions which affect her and affect the conflicts in which she is involved.

It is an important advance over earlier understandings of other points of view to realize that others have motives that affect a conflict the way that Kathiel understands Amy's motive in their conflict. However, Kathiel seems to

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understand Amy's motive mainly in terms of how it affects her and from her own point of view, rather than understanding Amy's view fully. When Kathiel is asked why it is that Amy thinks she is mean to her, Kathiel says, "...she's not telling the truth" (line 54). It seems that because Kathiel does not agree with Amy, she assumes that she is lying.

Understanding Solutions

Many of the characteristics of Kathiel's thinking which are apparent in her understanding of conflict are also evident in her ideas about solving it. And just as she understands conflicts in terms of her relationships with others, her ideas about how to solve them are also embedded in this same context.

First, Kathiel's ability to think of more than one idea at a time shows itself in her ability to think of several possible solutions to a conflict. In the first interview, as she imagines that she is fighting over the ball, she spontaneously suggests four different ways that the conflict might be solved: "I could take it away from him. Or I could say, 'I'll tell my mommy if you don't give it back,' or I'd say let's share it, or I'd go in the house and play by myself with my little sister" (line 13). Here Kathiel shows that she has the cognitive capability to think of one solution, then switch her thinking to a contrasting idea, and to do this several times.[6]

Using her ability to think dynamically and of several ideas at one time, as well as her understanding of cause/effect relationships, Kathiel thinks of a win/win solution for the conflict in the first picture without being prodded to do so, and she chooses it from several solutions with an awareness of the causal consequences of each. For her the positive solution is better because it does not lead to getting hurt. She says, "I think that they will talk about it

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themselves and see if they could share it instead of fighting. Or if they continue fighting, they will hurt each other." Kathiel is showing that her understanding of solutions to conflict is embedded in a larger context where solutions can be chosen from a range of options which have differing consequences.

Kathiel seems especially interested in causal relationships, particularly what happens when conflicts are not resolved and people continue to fight. She mentions repeatedly the physical consequences of fighting. We see this early on when she looks at the first picture and says: "I think that they will talk about it themselves and see if they could share it instead of fighting. Or if they continue fighting, they will hurt each other (line 3)...Because if they keep on fighting, one of them is going to get seriously hurt and go to the hospital" (line 4).

Kathiel's growing understanding of other points of view affects how she sees solutions, as well as how she understands conflicts. She realizes that in order to reach a win/win solution, both participants need to agree. In thinking how she would help friends if they were fighting over the ball she says, "And I think they would share, and they wouldn't fight anymore. And he would agree, and he would agree with me, and they wouldn't fight anymore." Kathiel's understanding that the views of others are differentiated from her views in finding solutions to conflict is further illustrated when she talks about helping her cousin Ernest and his friend share a ball. "I would say, 'You throw it to your friend and he would catch it, or he throws it to you and you would catch it. He gets a turn first and you get a turn second.' And he would understand. He would do it. And I would talk to his friend and I would tell him the same thing, and I'm not sure he would do it or not because he's not my cousin, my cousin understands me" (line 28).

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Many of the solutions that Kathiel thinks of for conflicts are not simply ones that involve sharing or taking turns with an object in some fair way as in the above example; they often involve finding a way to include everyone in the solution at the same time.[7] For example, with the conflict in the first picture over the ball, Kathiel says, "She can play with the ball first and you can play with it again. She can probably go in her house and get you a juice and while she's playing with the ball, you can go in your house and you can get your sister's ball and you can play with your big sister's ball" (line 37). Here Kathiel is paying attention to what one player will do while the other has the ball, and to ways that they can take care of each other while they work out a solution for using the ball.

Learning to Negotiate

Kathiel's dynamic thinking, her ability to think of several ideas at once and to coordinate them, and her growing understanding of other points of view are nowhere more evident than in how she thinks about negotiating conflicts. Kathiel's understanding of negotiation, like her understanding of all aspects of the conflict resolution process, is embedded in the dynamics of her relationships with others.

Kathiel's understanding that negotiation is a process characterized by change is captured by her phrase "work it out," which she uses several times in the interviews. She shows what these words mean to her with some of her descriptions of negotiation: "Well, Kimberly, it's definitely worth a try for me, you, and Jessica to be friends" (line 56); and, "Well, if you don't want me to be mean to you, then why are you being mean to me?" (line 52). These kinds of

statements show Kathiel's dynamic thinking and her understanding that relationships are negotiated in a back-and-forth dialogue between people.

Kathiel's dynamic thinking, and her understanding that negotiation and solutions are related elements in the conflict resolution process, can be seen in her response to picture one: "If they talk to each other and decide to think it over (negotiation), they might decide to share it with each other" (solution).

Kathiel's ability to coordinate several ideas can also be seen when she says, "I would say, 'Let's stop fighting over it or let 's play something else maybe that will be better.' And he would say, 'OK, let's play something else. We could play house, or jumproping, or basketball.' And we wouldn't fight anymore..." Here Kathiel lists several different options for what to do as part of the negotiation and as a way to stop fighting and preserve a positive relationship with her cousin. She is using and coordinating many different ideas here while she tries to maintain her relationship with him.

In addition, Kathiel also negotiates about how relationships will be over time, and not just in the immediate moment of a conflict. For her relationships endure and negotiation is part of ongoing relationships. She says, "'Well, I'll let you play with my ball but you've got to promise that you'll never ever call me a banana head. And then I will let you play with my ball.' 'Well, you called me a wimp first.' ' Well, I'm sorry and I'll never do it again'" (line 36).

Kathiel's understanding of other points of view is evident in her thinking about negotiation as it has been with other aspects of conflict resolution. Just as she understands that two sides comprise a problem or a conflict, she also realizes that two people who each have a point of view are involved in negotiation. In looking at the first picture, she says, "They would say to each other , 'Let's talk...so we could share it...' And the other person would have to decide if they agree with him or not" (line 5).

Daniel

I: What do you think is happening here?

(1) C: I think it's two boys fighting over a ball.

I: Anything else?

(2) C: They're fighting about who had it first and one of them thinks it's his turn and the other one doesn't.

I: What do you think will happen?

(3) C: I think that one of them's going to slip off because he's holding it like that with his arms to he's probably going to slip back and fall, or one of them's going to let the other go first and they'll share.

I: So what might they say to do that?

(4) C: That you can go first and then I'll go after you.

I: Is there any other way they could work this out so they'd both be happy?

(5) C: I think this way would work.

I: What if this one said, "No, I want the ball."

(6) C: Then they'll have to sit down and talk. Talk about it.

I: What could this one say?

(7) C: He could say, "I'll let you have a turn and then next time it will be my turn." And then he would say, "You can have a turn," and then he'll say, "OK, next time it'll be your turn," and then they won't fall back, because they'll just let go easy.

I: So do you think that one of those is better?

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(8)   C: The second one. Because none of them will get hurt, and they'll both get a turn. But in the first one, they'll both fall back and won't have a turn and both be in the hospital.

      I: So, how to you think they could start that second way? What would they say to start it?

(9)   C: While they're pulling, one of them would say, "Let's stop fighting, and you can have a turn. And the other guy says, OK."

      I: Where do you think they are? What is this place?

      C: It's a park.

      I: Let's pretend you're there and these two guys are pulling really hard and you came along. Could you help them?

(10) C: Yeah.

      I: What could you say or do to help them?

(11) C: I could say, "One of you go over here, and one of you go over here, and you kick it to him." [He describes a game they can play.]

(12) I: That's a really good way. Would there be some other way to work it out?

(13) C: I would probably say, "You should stop fighting and you should both have turns. And I would say probably, "You two sit down and you two make up your plans and when you're friends again and you make up your plans, you can come back."

      I: So, you'd have them sit down and make up a plan.

(14) C: By theirself...and if that didn't work, I'd say, "Sit down and wait until the next game."

      I: Now what would this plan be like do you think? What might they come up with?

(15) C: That's tough.

I: I wonder what they would think of after they had been sitting there...

(16) C One of them might say, "You can have a turn."

I: Uh huh. Is there any other thing that you would do to help them?

C I can't think of any other thing.

I: Let's pretend that this one is you. You're there and its you with your hands on the ball and you want it very much. What would happen?

(17) C Me and the guy would get into a fight. No, I'll let him go first.

I: Really. Even though you have your hands on it and you really want it so much? What would you say?

(18) C I might ask him, "How much do you want it?" and he might say, "Just a little bit," and I might say, "I want it a lot," and he might say, "OK, I'll let you have a turn first because you want it more."

I: What if you said, "How much do you want it," and he said, "I want it a lot!"

(19) C Hmmmm. Well, we're fighting. And I might say something like, "How much do you want it?" and he says, "A lot," and if he had it a lot of times before, we got in a lot of fights before, I would say, "Well, you already had the ball many times we fought, so I get to have the ball because you had it more than me. And I had it only once when we were fighting." And he might say, "OK, fine."

I: What if he says, "No, you've gotten it just as much as I have."

C I don't know...hmmmm. I would probably say, "OK, I'll let you have it," even if I wanted it. "And then the next time I'll have it, OK?" And he'll say, "Yeah."

I: In your life do you have situations like this, conflicts with people at home or at school?

C Yeah.

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I: What happens?

(20) C: Not at school, but at home, yeah, with my sister. And sometimes when we got these Nintendo cards, and Jesse was looking at my stickers in my room, and she pretended she was looking at it and she took it and put it in her sticker book. And when I looked in her sticker book, I said, "That's mine," and she said, "No it isn't." I said, "Yes it is," and she wouldn't give it back. And when she was sleeping

(21) and I was awake, I got up; I knew where her sticker book was, I took it out of her sticker book, and I put it on the back of my sticker. And my mom came, and Jesse said, "He took my Mario sticker," and she said, "It's his," and she couldn't get it back. And my mom said, "Don't tell her where it was or we'll get in a big fight."

I: So, if she had the sticker, and you wanted it back, is there anything you could say to her to try to get it back?

C: No. Even if I said we could both share it, she'll say no.

I: So there's no way to work out sharing with her?

(22) C: No. there isn't. I tried so many ways. I tried almost like twelve times, about 50 times, but it never works. And after a while my mom's going to know; she'll see Jesse go into my room.

I: Are there any times that you can work things out with Jesse so that you are both happy?

(23) C: No. Well, I can think about one time.

I: I wonder what made it work?

(24) C: I don't know. You know sometimes when you see something in the store and you think you're going to love it, but when you get home and you don't really love it. Well, I think that's what happened to Jesse. I

said, "Can I have the toy?" And she said, "Sure." Because she didn't really care about it anymore. She had it for a long time.

I: Do you think there's anything you say that helps her share with you?

(25) C I don't know.

I: I wonder about that.

(26) C It could have been both of them. That I said it nicely, and that she didn't really care about it anymore.

Second Interview

I: What do you think is happening here?

(27) C I think he is mad because he don't want him pointing at him. He thinks it is not nice to point.

I: Aha, and that is why he is mad. Tell me more.

(28) C And I think that he is mad for no reason.

I: Yeah...

(29) C Or I think that he's trying to start some trouble.

I: Now what does that mean to start some trouble?

(30) C To hit somebody, and hit back, and then you start fighting. You do it on purpose.

I: So what do you think is going to happen?

C I don't know.

I: I bet you do know what is going to happen. He is pointing, this guy is getting mad.

C He is going to push him back.

I: Push him back and then he is going to...

(31) C And then he might say, "Let's not fight."

I: Oh...

(32) C: And then the other man is going to say, "I don't care I'll still fight," and then he will say, "OK, fight," and then he will be bothering him...

I: Tell me that again,...

(33) C: He is going to say, "No, let's not fight," and he is going to say, "I'll fight if I want to," and then he will say, "OK, you want to fight?" and then he will push him.

I: But this one tried to say, "Let's not fight"?

C: But he said, "No."

I: Is there some way that this can get worked out without fighting, how could that go?

(34) C: They would say, "Stop, and let's work this out."

I: And what would that mean to work it out?

C: It means don't fight anymore.

I: What if one of them said, "Stop, let's work it out," what would happen next?

C: Maybe they'll say, "We'll work it out."

I: How would they do it, what if they said, "Let's work it out," what would they do?

C: Talk about after that.

I: So what could they say first?

(35) C: They could say, "I'm sorry that I hit you," and the other one would say, "I'm sorry I pointed at you." And then they will be friends again.

I: So was there some problem that started this whole thing in the beginning or not, do you think a problem might have caused it in the beginning?

C: Somebody pointing.

I: Do you think that he was pointing for a reason, or not.

(36) C: He was pointing just to start trouble.

I: Let's say that you know these two kids, and you come along. Could you say or do anything to help them?

(37) C: I go to stop them from fighting, and if they keep fighting, I'll say, "Why don't you all stop and sit down and talk about it, talk it out."

I: Has anything like that ever happened to you?

C: Uhum

I: Can you tell me about that?

(38) C: One kid had a ball and the other kid wanted to play with it and then he let the other kid play with it and then he was playing with it and when he started, "Aren't you going to help him with it?" and then he came back out and he was using the ball and he said, "OK, let's play ball," and the other said, "No, I don't want to."

I: And what did you do?

(39) C: I said, "Why don't you all sit down and talk it out?"

I: And then what happened?

C: I didn't stay with them.

I: Do you know if they sat down and talked it out?

(40) C: I stayed with them 'till they sat down and talked it out and then I left.

I: Have you yourself had a problem like this, where you are in an argument something like this with another kid?

(41) C: I had something, a kid pushed me. He didn't push me on purpose. But I thought he did it for real. And I said, "Look I don't want to fight, let's talk it out."

I: And then what did you say?

(42) C: "Let's sit down and talk it out."

I: What happened?

C: We talked it out.

I: So what happened when you sat down, what is the first thing that you said?

(43) C: I said, "We should not fight like that."

I: Uh huh.

(44) C: "You should fight when you are little and you'rr big and have a wife you will fight with her."

I: Then what?

C: He said, "OK, I won't fight nobody for now."

I: And then what happened?

(45) C: He said, "Thanks for helping me."

I: How did you feel about that?

C: Good.

I: Have there been any other times that this has happened, a situation like this where you had an argument with someone?

C: No.

I: Or have there been any other times when you have tried talking things out? Can you tell me about any more?

C: Not any more.

Daniel's View of Conflict

Daniel's understanding of conflict incorporates both concrete elements such as conflicts over objects and physical aggression, as well as underlying motives, thoughts, and feelings. In his interpretation of the second conflict picture, Daniel still looks for a visible aspect of the picture to explain the

conflict: He says that one character is mad because he does not want the other pointing at him (line 27). But then he goes on to say that "he is mad for no reason," or "is trying to start some trouble" (lines 28,29) . Starting trouble for Daniel means "to hit somebody" and to "start fighting." It is something intentional; "You do it on purpose, " he says. The phrase about being "mad for no reason" makes explicit Daniel's growing awareness that actions are motivated from within. And the phrase "on purpose", which Daniel uses several different times in the interviews, shows the importance of the concept of intentionality to him.

Daniel's ability to understand the causes of conflicts is developing as his cognitive abilities develop. He thinks about the cause/effect relationships that bring about conflict and how inner motives as well as actions play a role. In telling about the conflict over the sticker book with his sister, Daniel recounts a complicated story in which he relates many events that create a conflict (lines 20,21). For Daniel the cause of this conflict is that his sister pretends to look at his sticker book (i.e., she deceives him) and then takes a sticker. Daniel's growing cognitive abilities make it possible for him to think about conflict in a larger context than the immediate moment and to see how it can come about through a series of events over time.

This example reveals Daniel's growing awareness that others have points of view that are different from his. While the dispute is over a concrete object, Daniel describes it not only in terms of his sister's behavior ("she took it and put it in her sticker book"), but also her underlying motive ("she pretended she was looking at it" [line 20]). Daniel realizes that other people have motives and take actions which affect him and affect the conflicts he has with them.

Daniel is also recognizing that conflicts are made up of two people who each have a point of view. In the first conflict picture, he represents the point

of view of each player: "They're fighting about who had it first, and one of them thinks it's his turn and the other one doesn't" (line 2). In the second picture as well, Daniel describes the conflict in terms of the points of view of each participant as told through a dialogue: "He is going to say, 'No, let's not fight,' and he is going to say, 'I'll fight if I want to...'" (line 33).

Understanding Solutions

Advances in Daniel's cognitive development seen in how he understands conflict also are evident in his understanding of solutions to conflict. Daniel is showing that he can think of and coordinate more than one idea at a time. He spontaneously suggests more than one possible solution to the conflict in the first picture. He says, "I think that one of them's going to slip off because he 's holding it like that with his arms so he's probably going to slip back and fall, or one of them's going to let the other go first and they'll share." And again, when Daniel is imagining that he is one of the people pulling on the ball, he says, "Me and the guy would get into a fight. No, I'll let him go first" (line 17). In both of these examples, Daniel suggests two different kinds of solutions to the conflict, and in both cases one of the solutions he suggests is a win/win. This shows that Daniel has the cognitive capability to think of one idea, then to switch his thinking to consider a contrasting idea, and to consider the two ideas in relation to each other.

The dynamic thinking evident in Daniel's understanding of conflict is even more obvious as he reasons about solutions. Daniel' s understanding of solutions is becoming part of a larger context in which other solutions and the logical consequences of each become important. He says in response to the first picture that a sharing solution would be better "because none of them will

get hurt and they'll both get a turn. But in the first one, they'll both fall back and won't have a turn and both be in the hospital" (line 8). Here Daniel spontaneously describes the negative consequences of physical fighting, and seems especially interested in showing how the negative effects of physical fighting play a role in choosing solutions.

Daniel shows us how his growing understanding of other points of view affects his thinking about solutions to conflict. He realizes that people need to agree on solutions to conflict. He says that in order to help the players in the first picture, he would say, "You two sit down and you two make up your plans" (line 13). Implicit in this statement is the notion that the two players must agree on their "plans" (i.e., the solution).

When Daniel talks about trying to solve conflicts with his sister Jesse, Daniel describes her point of view in some depth. He remembers only one positive solution to a conflict with her and he explains why it occurred: "You know sometimes when you see something in the store and you think you're going to love it, but then you get home and you don't really love it. Well, I think that's what happened to Jesse. I said, 'Can I have the toy?' and she said, 'Sure.' Because she didn't really care about it anymore" (line 24). Here Daniel thinks about his sister's point of view; he imagines how she felt about the toy and what motivated her to share it with him.

Learning to Negotiate

Daniel's understanding of negotiation reveals how he has moved along the cognitive dimensions; it shows his ability to coordinate ideas, to think dynamically, and to consider points of view other than his own.

First, Daniel's dynamic thinking makes it possible for him to understand that negotiation is a process characterized by change. He shows that he understands this concept with the phrases "work it out," and "make up your plans." Daniel uses the phrase "work it out" when he talks about how to solve the conflict in the second picture, and in his own conflicts, and it seems to mean for him a back-and-forth process of communication.

Second, Daniel's dynamic thinking makes it possible for him to see how the process of negotiation leads to solutions to conflict. He says that if one of the players says he wants the ball, "then they'll have to sit down and talk, talk about it" (line 5). Daniel's recognition that different elements of the conflict resolution process are related can be seen again when he says that in order to help the conflicting parties, he would say, "You should stop fighting and you should both have turns...You two sit down and you two make your plans and when you're friends again you can come back" (line 13).

Third, Daniel's dynamic thinking and ability to coordinate several ideas at once, shape the quality of the negotiations that he has. Daniel is able to enter into a negotiation using all of these cognitive abilities. When he imagines himself wanting the ball in the first picture, he says to the other player, "'How much do you want it?' and he might say, 'Just a little bit,' and I might say, 'I want it a lot,' and he might say, 'OK, I'll let you have a turn first because you want it more'" (line 18).[7] We can see here how Daniel uses and coordinates many different pieces of information together as he tries to negotiate a solution to this conflict. As this scenario continues, Daniel's cognitive abilities are further revealed: "I would say, "Well, you already had the ball many times we fought, so I get to have the ball because you had it more than me. And I had it only once when we were fighting" (line 19). Here Daniel coordinates many ideas together including previous experiences with conflict. Not only is Daniel

comparing how much each of them wants the ball (comparing degrees of desire), but he is also considering how this conflict relates to the solutions of their previous conflicts, and using this information as he negotiates.

Daniel's understanding of the perspective of another person in a negotiation is revealed in the above scenario. He shows that he realizes that the other player desires the ball and that he is able to ask the player about that desire (i.e., "How much do you want it?").

In both his responses to the conflict pictures and in the descriptions of his own conflicts, Daniel repeatedly shows that he understands there are two sides in a negotiation. For example, he says "While they're pulling, one of them would say, 'Let's stop fighting, and you can have a turn.' And the other guy says,'OK'" (line 9).

Summary The Second Grade Children

There are many ways that Kathiel and Daniel are progressing similarly in their understanding of conflict and how to resolve it, and there are also important differences in their individual understandings. Their interviews show us two children who are moving along the cognitive dimensions into dynamic and less concrete thinking, into the ability to coordinate multiple ideas, and toward a greater understanding of other points of view; the interviews reveal how each child, using her/his own cognitive abilities, is constructing a unique understanding.

For both Daniel and Kathiel, understanding conflict now involves the realization that behavior is motivated from within; that people do things for internal reasons which can cause conflicts. Both of them mention the words "on purpose", indicating their realization that in conflicts things are done with

intent. Further, both Kathiel and Daniel are seeing conflicts in a context which includes events and interpersonal dynamics which can occur over time. While Daniel's conflicts often center around physical aggression and disputes over objects, Kathiel's have to do almost exclusively with interpersonal relationships. Issues involving the feelings, motives and intentions of others pervade her descriptions of conflict, and are present but far less prevalent, in Daniel's descriptions.

Both Kathiel and Daniel understand that a conflict is made up of two sides which they both represent in at least some of their descriptions. In discussing the conflict in the second picture, both Kathiel and Daniel represent the two points of view through a dialogue.

Both Daniel and Kathiel think of win/win solutions to conflict without being directly asked for them, and both spontaneously think of more than one solution to the conflicts presented. Beyond this, both children think about solutions to conflict in the context of other possible solutions and compare solutions based on their logical consequences. Both children seem very interested in spelling out the negative consequences of physical fighting; both use these consequences as the reason for choosing positive solutions. Both Kathiel and Daniel show that they realize that in order for win/win solutions to be chosen, both people in the conflict must agree.

Both Kathiel and Daniel understand that negotiation is a process characterized by change. Each child uses the phrase "work it out" to capture the dynamic nature of negotiation. And each child talks about negotiation as a process which leads to solving conflict. In addition, both Kathiel and Daniel are able to think about negotiation as occurring over time rather than as a single event. This larger context for Daniel includes other conflicts which have occurred and how they bear on a negotiation. But this larger con text for

Kathiel has to do with how people treat each other as part of their ongoing relationship.

Kathiel is learning about conflict and conflict resolution in the context of interpersonal relationships. Daniel is learning about it in the context of interactions primarily characterized by disputes involving objects and acts of physical aggression. The experiences each has with conflict and the concepts s/he is constructing are different because of these different contexts.

Kathiel and Daniel each think of win/win solutions, but their views of these are different. Daniel's win/win solutions tend to involve sharing an object in some fair way, such as the ball in the first picture. But for Kathiel, a win/win solution means every one participating at the same time and people doing things for each other.[9]

In negotiation too, there are differences in meaning for Daniel and Kathiel. Both use the phrase "work it out," but for Daniel, this means in situations where there is physical aggression, while for Kathiel it has to do with figuring out friendships and how people relate. For both children, all aspects of conflict and the conflict resolution process have become more contextual and integrated: Conflicts with others can occur over time and be caused by events removed from the immediate moment; solutions occur in a context of other solutions and in which consequences are compared; negotiation can include both past and future experience.

Comparison With the First Grade Children

There is an important advance in the thinking of the second graders over the first graders in terms of moving toward a more abstract understanding of conflict. Both Kathiel and Daniel think about conflict more in terms of inner

states, intentions, acting "on purpose" or "for reasons," and much less in terms of concrete actions than do Tanya and Derrick. In addition, for Kathiel and Daniel, conflicts can be caused by a series of events beyond the immediate moment or by the motives and intentions of others. For Tanya and Derrick, conflicts are more specific events in time and less a part of an ongoing coordinated series of events and interactions .

Tanya showed that she could think of more than one way to solve a conflict, and we see the same abilities in Kathiel and Daniel . In addition, both first grade children and second grade children could think of positive ways to resolve the conflicts pictured. The important difference between these two groups is in their ability to think about and choose solutions from a broader context in which a range of solutions and the consequences of each are compared. One particular aspect of this context, the negative consequences of physical fighting, seems of particular interest to both second grade children, but was not mentioned by either of the first graders.

Both Tanya and Derrick understand that negotiation leads to solving conflicts and they have some beginning ideas about how to negotiate (i.e., "Let's make up"). However, their understanding of negotiation is more static than that of Kathiel and Daniel. Both second grade children are recognizing the dynamic nature of negotiation, can coordinate many different pieces of information in a negotiation, and can understand negotiation in a context of events or relationships over time. Both children use the phrase "work it out" to mean a process which involves communication and a back-and-forth dialogue which leads to resolving conflicts.

Neither Tanya nor Derrick mention two different points of view in a negotiation, and instead talk about negotiation from a single perspective.

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Daniel and Kathiel, on the other hand, mention the two sides in a negotiation repeatedly, and at times elaborate on the dialogue between the two sides.

Both Tanya and Derrick were able to show their most advanced understanding of conflict in discussing their own first-hand experience with conflict rather than when looking at the conflict pictures. But this same discrepancy was not apparent in the interviews with Kathiel and Daniel. Perhaps this difference indicates that, at least for these children, developmental advance has made it more possible for them to apply their own experience to hypothetical situations.

The gender differences and similarities now evident so far in this study continue here with the second grade children. The difference between Kathiel and Daniel in terms of their experiences with conflict and the different contexts in which they are learning about it is dramatic. Daniel is concerned about physical fighting throughout the second interview. And all of his ideas about conflict and conflict resolution in both the picture conflict and in his own conflicts exist within this context. By contrast, Kathiel is constructing her knowledge about conflict and conflict resolution in the context of her many relationships, and the concepts she is learning grow out of this context.

CHAPTER VII:

THE THIRD GRADE CHILDREN

Jenelle

First Interview

      I: What do you think is happening in this picture?

(1)   C: They're fighting over a ball.

      I: Yeah.

(2)   C: One person's trying to get the ball and the other person too...

      I: Yeah...

(3)   C: And she is kicking him...or her.

      I: What do you think is going to happen?

(4)   C: One of them's going to get the ball, or, they're going to bust it. Or, if they don't bust it, somebody else will come and take the ball because they're fightin' over it...or they'll just split the ball in half, down the middle.

        (Interruption)

      I: So, what did you say about somebody coming along?

(5)   C: Someone might come along and take the ball, or someone might come and throw millions of balls there and they won't know which one, so they'll just take one.

      I: Is there some way they can work this out so they'd both be happy?

(6)   C: They could take turns.

      I: How would that work?

(7)   C: Well, first she could use the ball. She could take the ball and play with it, and then he chases her until... um...when he catches her he use the ball till she catches him...

        I: So how would that be if they did it that way, do you think?

        C: I don't know.

        I: Well, is there something they could say to each other to make that happen? How would they start that?

(8)   C: Oh I know, "Why don't we share balls? And play a game with the ball. You catch me...I'll use the ball, then you catch me and then when you catch me, use the ball, and I'll catch you."

        I: And is there any other way they could work it out?

(9)   C: Let me see...One of them give up.

        I: Yea, and is there any other way?

        C: No.

        I: So... where do you think they are right now?

        C: In the park.

        I: Let's pretend that you are there. And they're good friends of yours. And they're fighting over this ball. How could you help them?

(10)   C: I know. If they're crossing at the light, I say, "Hey look look over there," and then I take the ball from them. And I could run away with the ball and throw it in the dumpster or something.

        I: And is there some way that you could help them so that they were both happy?

(11)   C: Yes. Play a game, or... it's hard, this is hard.

        I: It is hard. It's hard to think of these things, isn't it?

(12)   C: I know another way. They could give me the ball, I could throw

another ball in there, and say, "Why don't you use that ball and then

pass it to her when you finish, and you give her that ball."

I: So you'd throw another ball in there...

(13)   C: I would say, "Hey look over there! Look at Whitney Huston or

something, and then when they look, I would say, "Now you have to

figure out which ball it is." And then I'd say, "We'll go to your house

and take the ball. You take this ball, and you take this ball."

I: Let's pretend that this is you. And you're at this park, and these are

your hands on the ball, and you want it very much.

(14)   C: I wouldn't pull it really hard, cause if they let go, I would fall back.

I: So what would you do?

(15)   C: Well, I would try to get it, but I wouldn't pull it too hard.

I: So how would you try to get it?

(16)   C: I would psych them. I would say, "I'll give you ten dollars if you let me

have the ball" and when they let go, I would run home with the ball.

I: What is psych them?

(17)   C: It means like trick them. Like, I'll give you ten dollars, or, I'll give you

fifty cents. And when they let go of the ball, I would run home. Or I

would blindfold them, and say you gotta find me.

I: How would that work?

(18)   C: It would be hard for them to find me, cause I would tip toe; they

would try to hear me tip toe.

I: And what would happen?

(19)   C: I would blindfold them, and say, now you find me and you get the ball.

And you know those things on television for baseball, I would put

them all around. And they would bump into one and think it was me, but it wouldn't be me, 'cause I would be home playing with the ball.

I: Do you have any fights with kids, or conflicts at all like this one?

C: No..

I: At home or at school? You don't have fights with kids?

(20) C: No, just with Danisha. She wants to fight me, because I told Takar not to be her friend. Angela told me not to be her friend and I'm not her friend, and she thinks I told Angela not to be her friend.

I: So what happens when she says she's going to fight you?

(21) C: I go home and tell my mother, and my mother go over there and talk to her mother.

I: Is there anything you can say to her without the mothers?

(22) C: No.

I: If she says, I'm gonna fight you. Is there anything you can say to her?

(23) C: I don't know. I can't think of it. Can I ask you some questions?

I: Sure

(24) C: Why do you ask me all these questions?

Second Interview

I: What do you think is happening here?

(25) C: They're probably made at each other.

I: Yeah.

(26) C: Because they knew one was talking about the other so then the other one started talking about her, and they're mad at each other now. They might get in af fight. They look really made.

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I: Do you think there is some way they could figure out this problem where they both wouldn't be so mad?

(27) C: Maybe. Maybe they could decide not to talk on each other any more.

I: How could they do that?

(28) C: Like one of them could say, "We shouldn't be doing this. We shouldn't fight. Once I was going to play Nintendo and then my brother said, "No, you can't play with it." And I say, "Please" and then he say, "No, so then I said I wanted to and then he hitted me.

I: Then he hit you.

C: And then I told my mother.

I: Is there something you could say to him to get him to share with you?

C: I don't know

I: So are there any other arguments you have with anybody?

(29) C: Yeah. Once me and my sister we just had one Barbie doll. She wanted to play with it and then I wanted to play with it. And then I took the doll and she started chasing me, running around hitting me.

I: And then what?

(30) C: My mother say, "Stop it." And then I gave her the doll and then my mother said, "Why don't both of you play with the doll?"

I: So what happened then?

(31) C: She started playing with the Barbie doll 'cause sometimes I get bored like that, with Barbie dolls.

I: Uh huh. So you weren't too interested in playing with it anyway. But you and your sister both want the doll, you're both fighting over it and you both want it. And if your mother is not there to say something, what can happen?

C: The whole house will be wrecked.

I: Oh.

C: And we had an argument 'cause you know where it, where you put your clothes in?

I: A dresser?

(32) C: Yeah. The drawer. First you have to jump off the drawer and jump off your bed. I was too scared and my brother keep on telling me to jump off.

I: So what did you do?

(33) C: I didn't go. I just went over here and I told my mother if I could have some tea.

I: Sounds like in that case you just went away from it. Is there any way you could stay there and say something to him?

(34) C: No. He'll start hitting me.

I: So there's nothing you could say?

(35) C: I just don't go near my drawer. I only go up there to get my clothes.

I: And when you're fighting with your sister about the Barbie, you both want the Barbie doll, let's say. Can she say something to you or can you say something to her or can you do something to make it work out so you are both happy?

(36) C: I think we should play together with it.

I: Can that work?

C: Uh huh.

I: Did you ever try it?

(37) C: I said, "Why don't we just play Barbie both of us together?"

I: What did she say when you said that?

C: OK.

I: What if she said "No, I want it all to myself."

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(38) C: I'd probably just not talk to her, and ask my mother for a new doll.

I: Uh huh.

(39) C: Oh my God, what if she gets jealous of the other doll? Oh gosh. I think I should get the old one. No, what if she wants both dolls?

I: Is there some way you could get her to let you use them too?

(40) C: When she's sleeping, I'll take the doll away and hide it.

I: And what would hiding do?

(41) C: She won't see it. I"ll just put it in the basement. the place is junky.

I: Is there any other way you and your sister could both use the dolls so you were both happy and both using them?

(42) C: Maybe I could use it for a minute and she use it like about for two minutes or three.

I: Would that work out?

(43) C: Yeah. Because then she'll watch, every time when she watches TV and I'm playing with the doll, she doesn't care about the doll. She only cares about the TV.

I: Oh. So, could you say anything to her to get that to work?

(44) C: I'll say, "Kathea, you're not using the doll. Let me use it."

I: Do you think that would work out? What would she say if you said that?"

(45) C: I think she'll say, "No," and take the doll away. I'll just tell my mother. She's always afraid of my mother when I tell her and I just tell my Mom and she lets me use it.

I: What will you tell your mom?

C: That she wants the doll all for herself.

I: So that sounds like it works for you, to go to your Mom. What happens when you tell your Mom; what does she do?

(46)   C And if she wasn't there, I'd rather just take a nap and forget about the doll. That's what I would do.

Jenell's View of Conflict

Jenelle's understanding of conflict is rooted in the psychological dynamics of her relationships with friends and with her sister, and has grown as she has advanced along all of the cognitive dimensions. In the only conflict which she describes that has to do with an object (a Barbie doll), Jenelle is primarily concerned with the inner emotions and thoughts that characterized the conflict rather than with the doll itself.

Jenelle is gaining an understanding of how other people think and reason in conflicts, and how they will act. She understands that there are often not single causes to conflicts, but events which can bring about and escalate conflicts. For example, in her interpretation of the second conflict picture, Jenelle describes how the conflict arose because one person talked about the other and then the other started talking about her, which led to their being mad at each other, which could lead to their getting into a fight. Jenelle's increasingly dynamic thinking and increasing ability to coordinate ideas may help her to understand that conflicts are dynamic processes characterized by continual change.

Jenelle is able to see the problem and its parts as an integrated whole, which can be seen when she says that the two people in the second conflict picture are "probably made at each other" (line 25). Her description of this conflict mentions each of the sides involved: "Because they knew one was talking about the other so then the other one started talking about her, and they're made at each other now" (line 26). This is a description of a problem

which includes two sides and implies that the problem is shared. To think of a problem in this way requires the ability to coordinate several ideas at once, to think about the views of others, and about the causal relationships involved in human dynamics.

Jenelle can predict how others might react to various situations and she uses strategies in conflict situations which take the possible future reactions of others into account. She recognizes that others feel emotions such as jealousy and have thoughts of their own, and this awareness plays an important role in how she views the conflicts she has. She understands that conflicts are not fixed in time but arise out of human interactions which can be ongoing. She offers repeated examples of how she would deceive people, trick and "psych" them; she shows how she can avoid conflict altogether by using her understanding of how others think to predict their actions in advance and adjust her behavior accordingly.

Jenelle's conflict with her sister over the Barbie doll is a good example of how she understands conflict. She imagines one solution to the conflict with her sister (getting another Barbie doll), and then right away imagines a new conflict growing out of this solution: "Oh my God, what if she gets jealous of the other doll? Oh gosh. I think I should get the old one. No, what if she wants both dolls?" (line 39). Jenelle's many cognitive abilities -- the ability to coordinate ideas, think abstractly, understand points of view and causal relations -- make it possible for her to understand conflict in this way. As seen in this example, not only does Jenelle understand that conflicts can be caused by events and feelings which occur over time, she also understands that the resolution of a conflict can even lead to the development of a new conflict.

The characteristics of Jenelle's thinking revealed through her understanding of conflict are also present in how she thinks about solving conflicts. Jenelle's dynamic thinking, her ability to coordinate many ideas at once, and her developing understanding of the perspective of others pervade her ideas about solutions to conflict. This dynamic thinking and her ability to coordinate ideas can be seen in Jenelle's ideas about how to solve the conflict in the second picture. Jenelle's solution encompasses both sides of the problem. She says, "Maybe they could decide not to talk on each other anymore" (line 27). Here she sees the solution as a joint decision in which each person would change her behavior. The agreement has to do with what kind of relationship the participants want to have with one another rather than about objects, actions, activities, or some other more tangible subject.

When she looks at the first picture, Jenelle shows how she can think of many ideas at once. Right away she names four possible solutions to the conflict in the first picture. She says, "One of them's going to get the ball, or they're going to bust it. Or, if they don't bust it, somebody else will come and take the ball 'cause they're fighting over it... or they'll just split the ball in half, down the middle." Jenelle goes on to suggest that the players in picture one "take turns," and she describes a game in which the two players could chase and catch each other, while sharing the bass as part of the game (line 7). This solution is different from a strict definition of taking turns in which each person has the ball for a period of time. And Jenelle suggests a similar kind of win/win solution when describing her dispute with her sister over the Barbie doll: "I think we should play together with it," she says (line 36). Both of these

solutions create a way that enables both children to play together and use the disputed object at the same time (i.e., inclusive solution).

Jenelle's developing understanding of the point of view of other people pervades her ideas about solving conflicts. She thinks of three possible ways to help the players solve the problem in picture one. Her solutions involved complex maneuvers based on her understanding of the views and behaviors of others in response to her actions. First, Jenelle thinks of deceiving the players. "I say, 'Hey look over there,' and then I take the ball from them" (line 10). Next, she thinks about throwing another ball to them, and then of a way to deceive them into looking away while she adds another ball. "I would say, 'Hey look over there! Look at Whitney Houston,' and then when they look I would say, 'now you have to figure out which ball it is.' And then I'd say, 'We'll go to your house and take the ball. You take this ball, and you take that ball'" (line 13). In creating this second solution, Jenelle uses her newly developing understanding of how others see things to trick the participants into a win/win solution.

In the problem that Jenelle has with her sister over the Barbie doll, this same understanding of the behavior and thoughts of others affects the strategies she employs to bring about a solution to that conflict. She thinks of taking the doll and hiding it while her sister is asleep. And when asked if there is a way that they could both use the doll, Jenelle suggests that they use it while they watch TV because her sister will not care about the doll while she is watching TV. Both of these strategies involved finding a solution that will work for Jenelle by deceiving or by manipulating her sister. In all of these approaches, Jenelle's understanding of how the perspective of others effects solutions to conflicts plays an important role.

<u>Understanding Negotiation</u>

Jenelle's dynamic thinking is evident in how she understands that negotiation leads to solving conflicts and is a part of the ongoing process of conflict resolution. Jenelle's understanding of negotiation seems inseparable from her growing understanding of the perspectives of others and the human dynamics which provide the context for her learning.

Jenelle has techniques to use in negotiation which make use of her ability to understand points of view other than her own. She imagines herself tugging at the ball in the first picture, and says she would "psych them" in order to get the ball (line 16). Jenelle's descriptions of how she would do this include what would happen and the role of the other people, and show that she can use her understanding of the motives and behaviors of others skillfully to get what she wants. When she talks about negotiating the conflict with her sister over the Barbie doll, Jenelle again shows how she can predict her sister's behavior in order to get what she wants: "You're not using the doll. Let me use it" (line 44).

Some of the words that Jenelle uses in negotiation provide a view into her understanding of what negotiation is. She asks the questions: "Why don't we share balls?" and "Why don't we just play Barbie together?" (lines 8,37). These questions show Jenelle's understanding of the problem and how to solve it as shared. These "why" questions imply that she knows that the other person has a point of view which she does not know, but which she wants to coordinate with her own. She makes statements such as, "We shouldn't be doing this," which is also a single statement incorporating two players and shows that she can stand back from the situation and look both at herself and the other person at the same time.

First Interview

    I: What do you think is happening here?

(1)   C: They're fighting.

    I: What else do you think is happening?

(2)   C: They're fighting over the ball, 'cause one person had it, and he wants to take it back.

    I: So what do you think is going to happen here?

(3)   C: They're going to end up in a fight, like the other one.

    I: Do you think there is some way they could figure this out so they could both be happy?

(4)   C: No.

    I: Is there anything they could do so they wouldn't be fighting or so they both would be happy?

(5)   C: If they fight over the ball, someone's going to get hurt. If they bust the ball...they fight over the ball.

    I: So what is their problem anyway?

    C: Silence

    I: If you were there, and these two people were fighting over this ball, could you help them?

(6)   C: I would tell them not to bust it.

    I: Is there anything else you could say?

(7)   C: No.

    I: Or anything you could do?

(8) C No.

I: Let's pretend one of these guys is you. Which one do you want to be?...OK, this one is you, and you really want that ball. What could you do?

(9) C Beat him up for it.

I: Is there anything you could say to get it?

(10) C No.

I: Have you had any situations like this? Can you tell me?

(11) C We went to this thing, and we got some key chains, and my sister took mine and said it was hers, and then she lost it, and she was telling a story, and when I came home from school it was gone. And she knew it wasn't hers. She knew it was mine and she lost it. And she wanted me to find hers and to take mine from me so I wouldn't have one.

I: So what happened?

(12) C I found it Saturday morning... My mother told me to throw it away.

I: Any other time that you had a situation like this in the picture?

(13) C This boy, he was my friend. We had a bike, he balanced hisself on the bike. I wanted to ride the bike, to get on it and balance myself. It was my bike, and he tried to take it from me. He said give it to me it's my bike, but I didn't get to ride it. So he just took the bike. And other kids wanted to ride it. The big kid got it.

I: How did he get it?

(14) C He was pushing my sister off, and puttin' sticks inside the wheel to make her fall. She say, "get off of it, Steven."

I: Is there something you could've said to Steven so he wouldn't do that?

(15) C No.

    I: Or any way to figure it out so everybody would've bee happy...you, your sister, Steven, everybody?

(16) C Taking turns.

    I: How would that work? How would you start?

(17) C Like, my sister have one turn, then the other girl have another turn, then the other one have a turn.

    I: What could you have said?

(18) C One person for three minutes, then other.

    I: How do you think that would've been?

(19) C We had a fight over my yoyo. One used it from nine to ten, then another from ten to eleven.

    I: So, with this fight in the picture, is there a way that both of these could be happy?

(20) C Take turns; half and hour, and then half an hour.

    I: Oh, how could they start to do that?

(21) C Eenie, meenie, minie, mo. Whoever gets picked gets the ball for half an hour.

    I: So if you were there with them, trying to help them, what would you say??

(22) C Play with the ball together.

I: Do you think they could? Would you say more?

    C No...

Second Interview

    I: And tell me what you think's happening there.

(23)　C:　Someone's fighting.

　　　　I:　Uh huh.

　　　　C:　Some girl and a boy fighting.

　　　　I:　Yeah.

(24)　C:　And they're shouting at each other.

　　　　I:　What do you think they're saying?　Or what do you think they're fighting about?

(25)　C:　Um.　A broken record or something.

　　　　I:　Yeah?　What do you think they're saying?

(26)　C:　They're screaming at each other because one of them broke a record that they borrowed from each other.

　　　　I:　Oh.　Who borrowed it?

(27)　C:　Um, this one borrowed something from this one and this one borrowed something, no this one borrowed something from this one and this one borrowed something from this one.

　　　　I:　Oh, they each borrowed something from each other?　And then what happened?

(28)　C:　Um, it was broken.　And they make an excuse about by dog at it and this one said that little brother broke it.

　　　　I:　They're making excuses.　Yeah.

(29)　C:　And this one said you don't got a little brother and this one said you don't got a dog.

　　　　I:　So then what?

(30)　C:　And then this one said my big brother broke it and this one said my father stepped on it by accident.

　　　　I:　And then what?

(31)   C: This one said you only live with your mother and this one said that you don't got a big brother.

   I: So then what?

(32)   C: This one said my cousing broke it and this one said all you cousins are in Florida.

   I: Ah! And then what?

(33)   C: This one says you don't even know where my cousins came from. And this one says, you always told me about your cousins. And this one says no one will let you borrow anything again. And this one says, Oh no I won't let you borrow anything again.

   I: And then what? What is their problem anyway.

(34)   C: They keep on fighting about something. I mean, they keep on lying.

   I: The problem is they keep on lying?

(35)   C: Uh huh.

   I: That's the problem they're having?

(36)   C: Uh huh.

   I: I wonder if there's some way that they could solve this problem they're having about the wrecked, broken things where they'd both be happy.

   C: Yeah.

   I: What?

(37)   C: Tell the truth.

   I: They could tell the truth?

   C: Uh huh.

   I: So let's say, what would they say?

(38)   C: They would say, um, "I used the record too much and it started scratching up when I used it."

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I: Uh huh. And then what, and then what would the other one say do you think?

C: The same thing.

I: Then what else might happen?

(39) C: Say sorry.

I: And who would say sorry? Which one of them?

(40) C: Both of them.

I: They'd both say sorry. And then what?

(41) C: Then they would buy each other records.

I: Oh. And then, anything else?

C: Uh uh.

I: Let's pretend like you know them, OK? And you come along and they're arguing and everything. Could you help them?

(42) C: No.

I: You couldn't? Is there any way you could help them?

(43) C: Um, nope.

I: No, there's no way you could help them? Could you say anything?

C: Uh huh.

I: What?

(44) C: Why are you fighting?

I: You could say, "Why are you fighting?" Could you say anything else?

C: Uh huh.

I: What?

(45) C: No.

I: No try. 'Cause I think you could.

(46) C: Why don't you go and buy another one for each other. Buy the same record for each other that you borrowed.

I: So you'd give them an idea.

C: Uh huh.

I: I wonder how they'd feel about that?

(47) C: They'd say, "Maybe." I'm wondering. Have you had any kind of fighting situation like this yourself? Can you tell me about it?

C: Uh huh. With my sister ...

I: What happens?

(48) C: Like if I get something 'cause last year I bought some chopsticks and I went to school because she wanted the chopsticks real bad and I told her I didn't have enough money to buy her some and she was mad because I wouldn't let her have them so she broke them while I was gone and I told my mother and my mother didn't do anything about it so I beat her up and I had to go to my room 'til my father came, because she'd broken my chopsticks.

I: Oh.

C: And I didn't even get to use them for rice.

I: Mmm. You must have been really upset about that. So, when you think about that now do you think there's any way you could have solved that problem so that your sister would have felt OK and you have felt OK?

C: Uh huh.

I: How?

(49) C: Um, I would tell her that I'll buy her some if we get to go back to the the Museum of Fine Arts.

I: So you'd say to her, "I'll buy you some if we get to go back to the Museum of Fine Arts." How do you think that would work?

C: Nice.

I: So what could you have said to her do you think?

(50) C: Um. Why did you break my chopsticks? Um, you should have asked Mommy or Daddy to buy you some from a different store 'cause my mother already has chopsticks in this thing but she don't want them. She says, "No, I want these!"

I: And is there any other way you could have solved that chopsticks problem?

(51) C: Um. yeah.

I: How?

(52) C: Beat her up.

I: Uh huh. That's a way to solve it. Any other way?

(53) C: She owes me $1.50. She not gonna give it to me. She says I'm cheap. She says every time I come home she bugs me and just starts calling me names. And then I call her names and start beating her up I have to stay in my, in the bathroom by myself and I can't do anything with the light off all the time. 'Cause she starts trouble. My mother don't care.

I: Uh huh. So can you figure out any way to say something to your sister that's going to work so that you'll feel OK and so will she?

C: Uh huh.

I: What?

(54) C: Hm. I'll say, "I'll bring you to a movie sometime."

I: You say, "I'll bring you to the movies," and then what?

(55) C: And then I'll say, "I'll buy you something at the store."

I: And how will that help?

(56) 'Cause she'll be happy and she won't bug me no more.

I: So you think she'll stop bugging you if you do things for her?

(57)   C: Uh huh. But she never does anything for me. 'Cause I have to get

forks for her and stuff. She says, "Can you get me a napkin please?"

And then I say, "No, you get it yourself." And then I have to. And my

mother says, "Get it for her." And then I get it for her and then I ask

her, "Can you get a napkin for me?" I say, "Can you get me a napkin

for me?" She says, "No," and then I say, "See! She never does

anything for me!" And my mother says, "You get it your own self."

   I: Is there anything you could say to your other and your sister right

then...

   C: Yeah.

   I: What?

(58)   C: You all never get anything for me.

   I: Uh huh.

   C: I have to do everything for you all.

Julian's View of Conflict

Julian's understanding of conflict includes concrete objects such as a

bike, and the key chain and chopsticks that he and his sister fight over, as well

as considerable physical aggression, but also abstract concepts that underlie

objects and actions.

Julian's view that conflict can involve abstract concepts is most

dramatically seen by his interpretation of the second conflict picture, which he

describes first as a conflict over a broken record (line 25), but which becomes

a conflict in which people are lying (line 28). When asked what their problem

is, Julian does not say that they broke records, but rather that the problem is

that "they keep on lying" (line 34). Julian represents this conflict with an elaborate dialogue which depicts deception and mistrust on both sides.

In the several different conflicts that Julian talks about, we can see his abstract and dynamic thinking and his ability to think about other points of view. With the second conflict picture, he describes the two views in the dispute involving lying over the broken record, and at times elaborates on them. He sees the problem as two-sided, with each person having borrowed something from the other. He presents the dialogue with each side giving a statement which is then refuted by the other side for being untrue. This is an elaborate, two-sided argument involving deception on both sides, played out in a back-and-forth dialogue. The two views are not fully differentiated in the dialogue, but rather run parallel to each other, saying similar things.

Julian is developing the ability to understand how conflicts come about and what causes them as his cognitive abilities develop . We can see cause/effect thinking and the coordination of many ideas at a time as he talks about a conflict he has with his sister . "I bought some chopsticks and I went to school because she wanted the chopsticks real bad and I told her I didn't have enough money to buy her some and she was mad because I wouldn't let her have them, so she broke them while I was gone and I told my mother and my mother didn't do anything about it so I beat her up and I had to go to my room 'till my father came because she'd broken my chopsticks" (line 48). Here Julian coordinates many ideas at once and integrates many causal relationships as he describes this conflict. In addition, Julian is understanding conflict in a context of events and interpersonal dynamics which occur over time rather than as single isolated events. We can see this when he talks about conflict with his sister as part of their ongoing relationship; he explains how he has to get things for his sister, "But she never does anything for me" (line 57).

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While Julian sees how actions and feelings interrelate in complex causal ways, he also struggles to understand how his own point of view and that of someone else play a role in these causal relationships. Julian describes his sister's motives and thoughts in a dispute they have over a key chain: "And she knew it wasn't hers. She knew it was mine and she lost it. And she wanted me to find hers and to take mine from me so I wouldn't have one."

Understanding Solutions

The abstract, dynamic thinking Julian shows as he talks about conflict is not often evident when he talks about how to solve conflicts. It seems hard for Julian to think of solutions, or several solutions to a conflict. The solutions he does think of are primarily losing ones, but at times he can be encouraged to think of positive solutions. There is a wide developmental range in the solutions that Julian thinks of from concrete to more abstract.

Julian was the only child interviewed who was not able to think of a positive solution to the first picture. Julian's solution to this conflict was that they would end up in a fight (line 3), and that there was no way to figure it out so that they would both be happy (line 4).

In response to the second picture, which Julian defined as a conflict over lying about breaking each other's records, when he is asked for a positive solution to the problem, he says "Tell the truth" (line 37). Then he goes on to say that they "would buy each other records" (line 41). This is a win/win solution which includes both sides in a mutual way and incorporates the abstract concept of telling the truth.

When he describes the conflicts he has with other children, which all are solved in losing ways for Julian, he is able to think of ways they could be

solved positively when encouraged. In the conflict over the bike, with help Julian thinks that "taking turns" with it, each person for three minutes, might have been possible (lines 16,18). This kind of suggestion, the reciprocal sharing of an object according to equal amounts of time, is one suggested by the kindergarten children and comprehensible to them.[9] The other kinds of win/win solutions that Julian can think of involve buying something or bribing with something. In both the conflict over the record and that over the chopsticks, he thinks that buying another object can solve the problem.

One of Julian's preferred solutions to conflict is physical aggression. When he is asked first to imagine that it is he who wants the ball in the first picture, Julian says he would "beat him up for it." When he talks about the conflict over chopsticks that he had with his sister, he says that the way to solve the problem was to "beat her up" (line 52). The discrepancy between Julian's understanding of the second conflict picture where he used abstract concepts in a dynamic, interrelated way to describe the conflict, and his limited range of ideas about how to solve conflicts, appears significant. Julian is developmentally capable of thinking about solutions to conflict, yet these abilities, seen easily in his ideas about conflict, are not evident when he talks about solving conflict.

Learning to Negotiate

In the area of negotiation, as with that of solutions, Julian does not show the cognitive abilities we know he is capable of. In response to most questions that have to do with negotiation, Julian says that there is nothing that he could say or do to help find a solution to the conflict. Throughout the two interviews,

there are several instances in which Julian does present his ideas about how negotiation might occur, and these cover a broad developmental range.

Julian is seeing conflict resolution as a process made up of related parts, which is made possible by his dynamic thinking. He knows that people negotiate as a way to solve their conflicts. We see this in his interpretation of the second picture where two people resolve their conflict about lying over broken records through a dialogue which leads to buying each other new records.

When he imagines helping friends with the conflict in the first picture, Julian says, "I would tell them not to bust it (line 6). "This is a one-way statement in which Julian would tell people what to do; it is a negotiating statement similar to those suggested by the kindergarten children. At other times Julian suggests using abstract words for negotiating conflicts and these provide an important window into his understanding. In talking about the conflict in the second picture, Julian imagines helping the two who are arguing over the broken record; he says he would say, "Why are you fighting?" (line 44). This is a reflective question which addresses both people involved. It does not deal directly with the concrete problem of the records, but rather with the more underlying reason for the conflict the two are having. It implies that the disputants know what the cause of their conflict is and can discuss it, and that Julian wants to know the reason from them.

Later in the second interview, Julian describes a conflict with his sister in which she breaks his chopsticks. He says, "Why did you break my chopsticks?" Here again Julian seems to be looking beneath the concrete events in the conflict to some more root cause, one which he does not assume he understands, but which he seems to think the other person can answer.

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As Julian tries to think of something he could say to his sister that would bring about a positive solution to their conflict, he thinks of a bribe: "I'll bring you to a movie sometime;" and, "I'll buy you something at the store" (lines 54,55). He says that this will make her happy and she won't "bug" him anymore. Using incentives in order to produce desired behaviors in others requires logical causal reasoning and some abstract understanding of behavior, and is developmentally more advanced than some of the other negotiation strategies Julian suggests.

These various negotiation strategies show a range of cognitive abilities on Julian's part. There is some dynamic thinking evident, some understanding of other perspectives, and some coordination of ideas including several abstract concepts. But these do not come consistently into play when he tries to think of strategies for negotiating conflicts. There is a dramatic mismatch between Julian's cognitive abilities and the repertoire of ideas he has for negotiating conflicts.

Summary: The Third Grade Children

There are many similarities between Jenelle and Julian in the developmental capabilities they show in their interviews, and there are also important differences in how they experience and describe conflict. Their interviews show us two children who can think in abstract and dynamic ways, coordinate multiple ideas, understand logical causality and the points of view of others in conflict situations; we see how each of them, using these cognitive abilities, is constructing a unique view of conflict and conflict resolution.

Both Jenelle and Julian realize that even when conflicts may be about concrete objects, they can involve psychological dynamics . For Jenelle, the

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growing understanding of the perspective of others permeates her thinking about conflict and the conflict resolution process. Her conflicts are primarily rooted in psychological dynamics with others. For Julian, disputes over objects and issues of physical aggression are important as well as psychological issues.

Both Jenelle and Julian understand that a conflict has two sides; each of them describes the second conflict picture as if were one problem comprised of two parts (i.e., "They're mad at each other"). They show that they understand that the two sides in a conflict interact and influence each other, and can escalate the conflict.

Jenelle thinks of four possible solutions to the conflict in the first picture, and goes on to discuss how to bring about win/w in solutions. She has a considerable repertoire of ideas for solutions to conflict, and many of them involve creative ways to make use of her developing awareness of how other people think, act, and react.

Julian is the only child in the interviews who cannot think of a positive way to solve the conflict in the first picture, even when directly asked. Although he shows a good deal of advanced thinking in his descriptions of conflict, he has few ideas about how conflicts can be solved. Julian's affect seems to be that of a discouraged child. When he is encouraged, Julian can think of win/ win solutions, but most of the solutions he mentions are losing ones. Julian shows a very wide developmental range in the kinds of solutions he suggests for conflicts.

Julian often thinks that there is nothing he could do to negotiate a conflict. When he does offer his ideas, they span a wide developmental range. Jenelle, on the other hand, suggests ideas for negotiation which, like her ideas about both conflict and solutions to it, emanate from her understanding of how

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to coordinate her awareness of the views of others with her own needs and interests.

Jenelle seems to be learning about conflict within her relationships; what she is learning is embedded in this context and shaped by it. Julian is learning about conflict not only within his relationships, but also in situations where physical aggression plays a role and disputes over objects figure prominently.

Jenelle and Julian have different ideas about win/win solutions. Julian's involve sharing an object in a fair way, such as dividing time with it. But Jenelle thinks of solutions in which both children can play together and use an object at the same time.

Comparison with Second Grade Children

The second grade children showed in their interviews the many issues relating to conflict which were important and interesting to them. They wanted to spell out many of the logical connections they were making and to make explicit the relationships among the many ideas that they were coordinating (i.e., "if you fall you might get hurt and have to go to the hospital"). The third grade children did not do this. These same issues of such high interest to the second graders did not seem to interest the third grade children in the same way. Being at a different place along the cognitive dimensions, they showed interest in very different aspects of conflict than did the children who were a year younger. Even though this sample is very small and therefore difficult to generalize from, the differences seen between the second and third grade children are very evident.

Jenelle and Julian both showed a more abstract understanding of conflict than Kathiel and Daniel when their responses to the second conflict picture were compared. Kathiel and Daniel showed a growing understanding that conflict involves inner motives and feelings, but Jenelle's and Julian's depictions of this conflict showed more psychological elements and abstract issues than those seen by the second graders (i.e., the issue of "lying" versus pointing to "start trouble"). Kathiel and Daniel both understood that there are two sides to a conflict, and included two points of view in their discussions. They talk about the second conflict picture in terms of each of the two sides involved; both did this through a dialogue representing each view. But Jenelle and Julian, who also present two sides in a conflict, present the problem as a more shared one. They talk about the problem as a whole, incorporating the two sides and subsuming them in the problem (i.e., "they're mad at each other"). This difference may show the beginning of the developmental ability to understand the "Problem" as Fisher and Ury (1980) define it (i.e., comprised of two views and shared evenly).

The different ways that the second and third grade children talk about solutions are quite striking. The third graders do not spell out the negative consequences of physical fighting or the advantages of choosing win/win solutions as do the second grade children. Both Kathiel and Daniel are very interested in talking about the consequences of different solutions to conflict, and to making comparisons among solutions based on these. Julian and Jenelle, however, do not show this same interest, even though they are capable of coordinating ideas and logical causal reasoning.

Both second and third grade children understand that negotiation is a process which is characterized by change, that negotiation leads to solutions to conflict, and that negotiation can fit into a larger context in which other

events, feelings, and moments in time may be important. But beyond all this, Jenelle and Julian each also show the capacity to negotiate in a way which seeks to identify the underlying causes of conflict (i.e., "why are you fighting?") and which implies that two people are equally involved ("we shouldn't be doing this").

Kathiel, Daniel and Julian are beginning to think about conflict, solutions to it, and negotiation as an interconnected whole and as occurring over time rather than as an event in the moment. Jenelle seems to have moved even further in her understanding of conflict as a process made up of interrelated elements, as part of ongoing human dynamics which are always changing and out of which new conflicts can always arise.

The similarities and differences along gender lines which have emerged from the data so far are again present with the third grade children. Jenelle's experiences with conflict take place in a context of relationships, as do those of Kathiel. Julian on the other hand struggles with situations in which physical aggression is an issue, as does Daniel. In addition, Julian uses physical aggression himself as one of his main strategies for resolving conflicts both in the conflicts pictured and in his own experience.

Many of the win/win solutions Kathiel suggested were ones in which her main focus was not how to take turns fairly with an object, but how to find a way to include everyone in the solution at the same time. For Jenelle as well, inclusive solutions seem important. By contrast, neither Daniel nor Julian suggests an inclusive solution, but both come up with win/win solutions in which an object is shared in some fair, equal way.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

We have seen that within the elements of conflict resolution defined by conflict resolution theorists a developmental progression occurs in children's understanding. We have examined that understanding in depth in eight children between the ages of five and nine years. We have identified how these children's cognitive development -- viewed in terms of five cognitive dimensions -- is reflected in their understanding of conflict, and how their understanding of conflict is shaped by their cognitive development. At the same time, we have seen that each child's understanding of conflict develops in a particular setting and with a particular set of circumstances, and that the meaning each child constructs is unique.

In this chapter we will look at (1) what this study showed about children's developmental understanding of conflict and the implications of these findings for education, and (2) how children's individual experience with conflict and the meaning they made from it played a role in their understanding and the implications of these findings for education.

Developmental Learning in Conflict and Conflict Resolution

There has been a general progression of these eight children's understanding of conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation as they advanced along the five cognitive dimensions. The progression these children revealed with respect to their understanding of conflict and conflict resolution can be summarized in the following ways:

Understanding of Conflict

From a concrete to a more abstract understanding of conflict;

From seeing parts of the problem, or different sides of the problem toward seeing the whole problem as integrated with its parts;

From seeing conflict as a discrete moment in time and as single, unrelated ideas to seeing it in a larger context of past and future time, events, ideas and feelings;

From seeing causes of conflict in the immediate moment to causes occurring in the past or which are ongoing.

Understanding Solutions

From seeing solutions to conflict as concrete to increasingly more abstract;

From seeing solutions one at a time to seeing that many solutions are possible;

From seeing parts of solutions to seeing solutions in relationship to other solutions and their consequences;

From focusing primarily on losing solutions to conflict to seeing the possibility of win/win solutions;

From seeing one point of view in a solution to seeing the need for both people to agree on a positive solution.

Understanding Negotiation

From seeing negotiation in terms of concrete actions to seeing it as a process which involves complex psychological dynamics;

From seeing negotiation as a static event to seeing it as a process which brings about change from a state of conflict to one of solution;

From seeing negotiation as stopping a conflict to seeing it as an increasingly abstract and dynamic series of interactions and events.

From negotiating by telling people what to do to realizing that different points of view bear on the negotiation.

Understanding the Conflict Resolution Process

From seeing the conflict resolution process as individual ideas representing individual moments in time, to seeing it as a whole, interrelated process in which conflict, negotiation and solutions are all connected, take place over time, and are part of ongoing interpersonal relationships.

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In addition to these developmental progressions, there were other important insights revealed by the data which relate to children's developmental learning about conflict and conflict resolution.

First, different children seemed spontaneously to want to work on different concepts related to conflict at different times; while related to their cognitive development, this could not have been fully predicted on the basis of cognitive development alone. We saw for example that one child, Derrick, had a special interest in how to initiate a negotiation. He repeatedly used phrases such as "let's make up," and "talk it out" to express this interest. While it can be hypothesized that from a cognitive developmental point of view, Derrick was beginning to be able to think dynamically and was therefore able to begin to understand the concept of negotiation, it could not be predicted that his developing cognitive abilities would necessarily lead him to focus on this particular concept as he did.

Other children in the study also showed particular interests in aspects of conflict resolution which were related to their cognitive development but which could not have been fully predicted by it. The two second grade children, Kathiel and Daniel, were very interested in logical causality, and continually mentioned the negative consequences of physical aggression. No doubt their developing cognitive abilities also made this interest possible, but these abilities do not explain their interest in this particular set of logical causal connections.

This insight is important to educators working in conflict resolution because it underscores that children will not all work on or be interested in the same concepts at the same time, even within developmental levels. The particular concepts and skills which interest particular children at certain

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times will not be entirely predictable, although a developmental framework can be useful as a starting point in predicting what these interests might be. Educators cannot assume, then, that there is one progression or set of concepts to work on with children at any given point in time even when their cognitive developmental level is known. But teachers can look for the particular interests individual children have in different aspects of the conflict resolution process and can provide children with opportunities to work on these.[10]

There was a second insight revealed by the data which relates to children's developmental learning about conflict and conflict resolution. All eight children were able to comment on both conflict pictures and to describe, even if in limited ways, conflicts from their own experience. The data showed, however, that children were able to discuss their own conflicts more extensively, using more elaborate language, and revealing, in many cases, more developmentally advanced thinking than when they discussed the conflict pictures. For example, while Katie had many ideas to offer about both conflict pictures, she showed her most advanced thinking when she described the conflicts she had with her sister. With these Katie revealed an understanding of underlying motives in conflict situations and causal connections between intended acts and their effects which had not appeared anywhere else in her interviews (even though Katie's solutions for the conflicts with her sister were losing ones). This kind of difference in responses to questions about the conflict pictures and questions about conflicts from direct experience were seen in the majority of interviews. While children began, even by the first grade, to be able to relate their personal experience with conflict to the pictures (as when Tanya described the second picture as a particular conflict from her own experience), there continued to be a more elaborate, and in

many cases a more advanced description of conflict when first-hand experiences were described.

This is an important insight for conflict resolution practitioners. Conflict resolution training, partly because it is often adopted from tightly planned programs designed for adults, is often implemented as a step-by-step lesson teaching specific skills and concepts to children through hypothetical conflicts. This research finding should impress upon conflict resolution teachers the importance of designing curriculum which allows children to incorporate their own experiences with conflict into the curriculum, and to make these experiences a central part of the curriculum.

A third important insight from the data that relates to children's developmental learning about conflict was that children at all levels of development were capable of having many ideas about conflict and how to resolve it; within a given developmental level, a child was capable of generating a repertoire of ideas about conflict and conflict resolution. The nature of this repertoire evolved and changed with development, but even the youngest children in the study had already constructed many ideas about how to resolve conflicts, including ideas about positive and negative solutions and negotiation.

This insight is important to conflict resolution teachers because while many people call for training in conflict resolution in the early years, most training has occurred with older children, and little is known about how to adapt this training for young children. Some developmental theory seems to imply that young children are unable to understand concepts such as negotiation and win/win solutions (Selman, 1980). But what this study showed is that young children have many ideas about conflict and how to resolve it which fit with their developmental understanding; they have ideas about conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation which are early precursors to the

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mature adult concepts. Conflict resolution teachers need not wait for children to be able to understand mature concepts before offering them a program in conflict resolution. In fact, learning a broad repertoire of ideas at beginning developmental levels may contribute to the richness of understanding about conflict which can occur at succeeding levels of development. [11]

Developmental Learning and Conflict: Implications for Education

Children go through a developmental progression in understanding conflict and its resolution. Teachers should adapt classroom experiences with conflict to the developmental level(s) of children in order to maximize learning.[12] The five cognitive dimensions outlined in this study and the general progressions described above provide a basic framework for interpreting children's present understanding of conflict, solutions, and negotiation and for knowing what the next steps in understanding and skill might be.

Children are interested in working on different concepts related to conflict at different times. Teachers should invite children to show what ideas they have about conflict and what they are interested in thinking about, and should provide opportunities for them to work on these ideas in conflict resolution training.

Children often show their most advanced and elaborate understanding when talking about the conflicts from their own direct experience. Teachers should provide children with many opportunities to bring their own direct experience with conflict and conflict resolution into the conflict resolution curriculum.[13] This would mean using the conflicts from children's own lives, including their school life, as a central ingredient in a curriculum in conflict

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resolution; and, if conflict is discussed apart from children's actual conflicts, then these conflicts would be brought into the discussion by the teacher.

Children are capable of having a broad repertoire of ideas for how to resolve conflict from an early age. Teachers can help children develop ideas about conflict resolution appropriate to their developmental level and can encourage them to think of alternative ways to carry out their ideas.

Children's Individual Experience

As we have seen, cognitive developmental theory provides a useful lens for helping us understand how children construct an understanding of conflict and conflict resolution over time. But it does not give the full picture. The eight children studied here had different experiences with conflict, in different contexts, and these provided them with the unique content they used in constructing their ideas about conflict and how to resolve it at each developmental level.

Children's ideas about conflict are constructed from experience over time (Selman, 1980). The special qualities of each child and the unique content of his or her experience help to shape the individual perspective on conflict each child develops. While the primary goal of this study was to explore the relationship between conflict resolution and the more universal aspects of developmental theory, the data also provided an opportunity to learn about the role of individual experience in a child's construction of ideas about conflict; about how the unique experiences children have with conflict might contribute to the differences we see in how individual children approach and understand conflict. Looking at this allows us to begin to identify how general developmental characteristics and individual children's experience interact.

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The eight children interviewed here told us, to greater or lesser extents, about the particular contexts in which they were learning about conflict. From these eight interviews, several thematic issues emerged.

The Relationship of Gender to Learning about Conflict

The data in this study presented a powerful picture of the different experiences and views of conflict of boys and girls.[14] Physical aggression and conflicts over objects were an important part of the boys' discussion about conflict, while the girls' responses were embedded in a context of relationships with others. Boys seemed to focus much of their attention on fairness, equal treatment, and social rules, while girls focused more on interpersonal dynamics and working out relationships with others. These differences appear to be manifestations of two different orientations of self in relation to others (Gilligan, 1988). The two moral voices, justice and care, which articulate these different orientations, involve an emphasis on values of justice and autonomy on the one hand, and care and connection on the other (Gilligan, 1988). They manifested themselves throughout the study and could be seen in all three areas of conflict, solutions, and negotiation.

Not only were the conflicts of girls and boys different in content and quality, their solutions to conflicts were also different. Boys often thought of solutions which emphasized fairness in sharing objects for equal amounts of time. Such solutions are compatible with a justice morality in which values of equality and fairness are paramount. Girls thought of these kinds of solutions as well, but they also thought of solutions in which both players could be involved at the same time and in which the relationship was sustained. This kind of solution is more compatible with a morality of care. In the area of

negotiation too, there were important differences between the girls and the boys. For the boys, negotiation often took the form of working out the rules to regulate behavior, with an emphasis on the pragmatics of how the players would interact. Girls, on the other hand, negotiated ways to work out how people would treat one another, what they would say to each other and how they would act toward one another. When girls were interested in rules to regulate behavior, as when first grade Tanya made a list of where friends would sit, it was done for the purpose of sustaining a relationship.[15]

These different ways of focusing on conflict and ways to resolve it pervaded the descriptions offered by girls and boys in the study. As a result, the two groups appeared to be constructing very different ways of looking at conflict and how to resolve it based on these different orientations of self to others and the different experiences with conflict each group was having.

<u>Sense of Competence as a Solver of Conflicts</u>

The data presented another important theme related to development of a sense of competence in oneself as someone who can resolve conflicts positively.[16] While developmental theory would predict that with age children's ability to find positive (win/win) solutions to conflict would increase, this increase did not seem to occur in all of the children. In fact, one of the youngest children in the study (Michael) had ideas about how to resolve conflicts positively (i.e., "share with everybody") and one of the oldest children (third grade Julian) was the only child in the study unable to think of a win/win solution for the first conflict picture. Julian showed he had the cognitive ability to imagine many win/win solutions to conflict and ways to negotiate (this was apparent in his interpretation of the conflict in picture 2), but he seemed to

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have a hard time doing either. This raises the question of how experience with conflict and conflict resolution interacts with development to affect a child's understanding of how to resolve conflicts and a child's sense of competence as a solver of conflicts. To what extent does the sense of self as one who can (or cannot) solve conflicts affect one's understanding of and ability to solve conflict?[17]

The Role of Siblings in Learning about Conflict

A third important theme which emerged from the data was that for children who had siblings, the siblings played a very important role in shaping the context in which learning about conflict occurred and in providing the content for what would be learned. Every child in the study who had a sibling described conflicts with that sibling, often in considerable detail. These descriptions showed that each child had constructed many ideas about conflict and how to solve it in relation to the sibling. Of these children with siblings, many showed more developmentally advanced thinking when talking about conflicts with their siblings than they showed in other parts of the interview; that is, they showed a greater understanding of concepts such as understanding the point of view of others, understanding causal relationships, and understanding the motives of others when they discussed conflicts with siblings. At the same time, these same children described only negative strategies for solving conflicts with their siblings (i.e., using coercion , deception, win/lose solutions) even though they had thought of positive ways to negotiate and of win/win solutions when talking about other conflicts. For the limited number of children in this study then, conflicts with siblings seemed to provide an opportunity for constructing new and more advanced

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understandings about conflict, while at the same time limiting those understandings to negative strategies and negative solutions to conflict.

Individual Experience and Conflict: Implications for Education

Boys and girls have very different experiences with conflict and develop different understandings. Teachers should actively incorporate the experiences and understandings of both boys and girls into the curriculum because both genders have perspectives that are important to developing a full understanding of conflict and conflict resolution. The conflicts discussed should be those familiar to both boys and girls (i.e., relationship conflicts, object conflicts, conflicts involving physical aggression). Solutions which take into account both justice and inclusion should be explored in discussions with children. Negotiations should incorporate the different issues which characterize the negotiations of both sexes. In addition, the approach to conflict resolution used should not overemphasize the justice orientation at the expense of the care orientation.[18] Finally, teachers should have as a goal continued discussion between boys and girls making possible an ongoing exchange of ideas about conflict and its resolution so that each group can contribute to a fuller understanding in the other.

Children's sense of competence in solving conflicts seems to be less directly related to level of cognitive development than to experience. At any developmental level, teachers need to help children develop a sense of themselves as competent conflict solvers by helping children see they can bring about positive solutions to the conflicts they have in school and to see the importance of their own role in the success of the conflict resolution process. Relationships with siblings provide an important context in which children

learn about conflict and conflict resolution. Teachers can provide positive experiences with conflict resolution for all children in school, keeping in mind that this may be an important alternative to the experiences that some children may be having with siblings.

Need for Further Research

This study has answered many questions about young children's understanding of conflict and conflict resolution and has also raised new questions. Additional research will be needed in both the area of children's developmental understanding of conflict and in the area of children's individual experience with conflict.

The progress shown in this study in the eight children's understanding of conflict, solutions to conflict, and negotiation and how their overall under-standing of the conflict resolution process advanced has been impressive; important advances in understanding were evident with each passing year. But the story does not end here. Further study is needed beyond the eight five-to-nine-year-olds studied here to better understand how the ideas discussed here relate to all young children's understanding of conflict. In addition, cognitive and moral development theory tells us that these eight children, whose understanding we have seen progress as a whole, still have a long way to go as their development progresses slowly toward adult thinking (Kohlberg, 1984; Piaget, 1952). As development continues, children's understanding of conflict and conflict resolution will also progress. We need to study this progression beyond the age groups studied here to learn how children's understanding of conflict continues to evolve.

The results from this study showed differences between boys and girls with respect to understanding conflict which were dramatic. These results begin to answer some questions about gender which have been identified as important to conflict resolution training (Berman, 1991). At the same time, conflict resolution research has largely ignored the subject of gender differences (Sheldon, 1990). We need to understand more about the differences between boys and girls in their understanding, their behavior in conflict situations, and the long-term implications of these differences. They raise many questions for conflict resolution training, which has traditionally had a problem solving (justice-oriented) focus, and for conflict resolution trainers who wish to help both girls and boys construct a broad repertoire of understanding of conflict.

In addition, a child's sense of competence as a conflict solver emerged as an important theme from this research and also deserves future study. This issue has important implications for conflict resolution curriculum which aims to help all children learn to resolve their conflicts positively. Additional research on this subject will help us to answer better the question of what role teachers should play in helping all children learn to solve their conflicts positively.

And finally, the role that siblings play in the construction of a child's ideas about conflict and conflict resolution appeared as an important theme in this study. While the number of children with siblings in this study was very small, their experience with siblings raised important questions about the role of siblings in a child's learning about conflict. For these children, conflicts with siblings led to the learning of negative strategies for conflict resolution and negative solutions to conflict. To what extent is this true for other children? What implications might this have for children's learning about

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conflict in contexts outside of the home? These are important questions which warrant further study.

Conclusion

Children begin constructing an understanding of the social and political world from an early age (Coles, 1986; Piaget, 1952). From their parents, schools, friends, and the media they learn about human relations and how the world of power and resources works. Not only do they construct concepts from their experience, they also learn how to behave in social relationships (Edwards,1986; Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989). As we have seen, a central way that children progress in the social sphere is by experiencing conflict and learning progressively advanced strategies for resolving it.

Yet in American society today, children have fewer opportunities than they had in the past for the kinds of social experiences that will help them to develop prosocial behavior and values (Tobin, Wu, & Dickenson, 1989). Schools are organized to promote competition; in general they are not places that teach children how to cooperate with one another or to resolve their differences (Johnson & Johnson, 1984; Kohn, 1986). Families have fewer children than in the past, reducing children's opportunities for spontaneous play, where rich social interactions can occur during their free time at home. In many urban centers, parents are reluctant to let their children play outside, further limiting their opportunities for social interaction (Tobin, Wu, & Dickenson, 1989).

At the same time, while children's opportunities to learn about conflict and conflict resolution have declined, violence is much more a part of children's lives. Many children are direct recipients or observers of family and

neighborhood violence. Television programs and children's toys, more violent than ever in the past, convey messages to children that violence is glamorous and an effective means for resolving conflicts (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1987, 1990).

To optimize positive social development, American children are in great need of experiences that will help them learn how to work together and to resolve their differences without violence. As the world moves toward greater interdependence, conflict resolution skills will increasingly become survival skills.

The purpose of this research study was to contribute new knowledge to a growing movement within education which aims to help children learn a range of positive, nonviolent ways to resolve their conflicts. The focus was on young children, the age group where many say conflict resolution training must begin but which has not received as much attention as older children have and where much still needs to be learned in order for that training to be developmentally appropriate and meaningful to children.

The in-depth inquiry into the views about conflict and conflict resolution of the eight children studied here have contributed to our understanding of how children understand conflict and construct their understanding over time. We have seen how the concepts important to conflict resolution theory have their precursors in the early years and are constructed in children's minds during the first four years of school.

It is clear from this study that cognitive development plays an important role in how these ideas are constructed, and that a child's experience is also vital in shaping her or his view of conflict, and sense of self as one who is able to solve conflict. The results of this study should help point the way toward providing appropriate, culturally-relevant experiences in conflict resolution for

both girls and boys that will help them slowly build the repertoire of skills they will eventually master over many years time.

APPENDICES

ENDNOTES

1. In their book *Getting to Yes*, Roger Fisher and William Ury (1981) develop a specific definition for the word "problem" which becomes part of their conflict resolution model. The word "problem" has a more narrow and abstract meaning than the word "conflict" and is less appropriate for use with young children. In this study, the word "conflict" is used because it is more likely to encompass the broader range of meanings which children construct for this concept than the word "problem."

2. Katie has solved the conflict using what she can see in the picture, and at two points during the description of this solution, Katie laughs. Katie's laughter may indicate that she is experiencing some disequilibrium about her solution (Piaget, 1952). Katie may realize that there is a contradiction between what she is suggesting and the fact that her solution would be impossible to implement.

3. Derrick's view that both players would agree to pay for the broken window even though only one of them broke it appears similar to the reasoning of children at level 1-A in William Damon's study of distributive justice. At this stage, children think that all contenders in a conflict are equal and base their solutions to conflicts of distribution on the concept of strict equality. Derrick seems to be selecting one rule or solution and strictly applying it to each person regardless of individual circumstances, much like the children at level 1-A in Damon's study.

4. Here Derrick seems to show an awareness of intentions as he says that he could say something but not actually "mean" it. This appears similar to the thinking at level 1 of perspective taking described by Robert Selman, when children begin to look beyond the concrete, physical dimensions of conflict and realize that psychological states are important and can be different from what is visible.

5. Here Tanya shows an understanding of bribery as an effective negotiation strategy. In Robert Selman's developmental model incorporating levels of strategies used for interpersonal negotiation, bribery is a level 2 negotiation strategy. Bribery emerges at this level as a strategy stemming from an awareness of the effectiveness of various forms of psychological persuasion.

6. Kathiel's ability to think of contrasting solutions to conflict shows her waning egocentrism. This cognitive ability is similar to the ability of the concrete operational child in the classification task described by Piaget (1952). Children in this task showed the cognitive ability to define a grouping of objects by one attribute, and then to switch criteria and define the grouping by some other attribute.

7. The inclusive solution to conflict is described by Carol Gilligan (1988) in her essay, "Remapping the Moral Domain: New Images of Self in Relationship" in an example used to illustrate the two moral voices that articulate different ways of viewing the self in relation to others. In this example Gilligan contrasts the inclusive solution, where the two sides in a conflict become combined and transformed, with the fair solution, which

provides for equal separation of the two sides and leaves the identity of each side intact.

8. Daniel's negotiation here reveals reasoning similar to that shown by the children at level 2-A in William Damon's study of distributive justice. At this level, thinking becomes more relative than at the earlier level as children realize that there can be different justice claims. Children begin to resolve conflicts through mediation and compromise, often awarding resources to the person with the best claim. Here, Daniel is weighing two different claims on a ball and deciding to award the ball to the person who most wants it.

9. These two different kinds of win/win solutions exemplify the difference described by Carol Gilligan (1988) between justice-oriented and care-oriented solutions to conflict. Daniel's solutions involve dividing resources equally according to a principle of fairness, while Kathiel imagines inclusive solutions that involve all players simultaneously.

10. Piaget (1969/1970) referred to the element of interest as the "fuel" that propels the child into making sense of experience. He thought that interest performed a regulatory function as it directed energy toward a particular object, event, or person. Piaget also acknowledged the challenge for adults of providing intriguing situations for children which would arouse their interest and desire to figure things out.

11. Eleanor Duckworth (1987) uses the metaphor of the construction of a tower to explain this idea. A tower built one block on top of another will reach its limit quickly, while a tower built on a broad foundation, while taking much longer to construct, will ultimately be stronger and more stable. Nancy Smith (1983) explains this phenomenon in children's art. The breadth of the repertoire children develop with line, shape and color in their early years will affect the breadth of repertoire they can create later with graphic representation.

12. Learning is the result of interaction between the child and the environment (Piaget, 1952). Knowledge of the predictable sequences of growth and change in childhood make it possible to design curriculum that is matched to a child's developmental level and at the same time challenges her/his interest and understanding (Bredekamp, 1987).

13. Piaget's research and theory led him to the conclusion that the source of knowledge and intelligence is in action (Piaget, 1952). He described how thought and action are intertwined in infants and young children and how mental development involves gradual freeing of thought from action. The implication of this aspect of Piaget's theory for education is that learning is active and an outgrowth of direct experience with objects and people.

14. According to a study by Amy Sheldon (1990), differences in how girls and boys experience conflict already appear in three-year-olds. Conflicts among girls are often more muted, with transitions in and out of the conflicts appearing fluid and frequently seamless. Boys' conflicts are more physical and confrontational, with the borders of the conflicts more clearly visible.

15. Research on conflict in young children (ages 3-5 years) by Amy Sheldon (1990) revealed that from an early age, girls show an ability to have conflicts without rupturing their play, while boys' conflicts tend to result in a more frequent disruption of their play.

16. The concept of competence has been defined by Robert White (1959) as a critically important force in motivating human behavior. The sense of competence, the feeling of being able to have effects upon the environment, is as important in the domain of human interaction as it is with the inanimate environment. According to White, a sense of competence is built up out of many interactions with the environment and influences one's judgement about one's ability in new behavior.

17. Don Holdoway (1979) has shown how role-playing and practice of a task is crucial to learning the task and also to developing a sense of individual achievement and competence at being able to do the task. He emphasized the importance of a child's role-playing of reading-like behavior and developing the sense that: "I am a reader!" to the child's success in early literacy.

18. The majority of school conflict resolution programs are based on the Fisher and Ury (1981) model of "Getting to Yes." This model is rooted in a justice orientation to conflict; it emphasizes the individuality of each side, relationships as reciprocal, and explicitly uses the principle of fairness in working out differences.

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