University of Tennessee, Knoxville

TRACE: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange

Doctoral Dissertations

Graduate School

8-1989

The Social Interaction of Mainstreamed High School Students: An Ethnographic Inquiry

Marge Terhaar-Yonkers
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Follow this and additional works at: https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss

Part of the Education Commons

Recommended Citation

Terhaar-Yonkers, Marge, "The Social Interaction of Mainstreamed High School Students: An Ethnographic Inquiry. " PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 1989.
https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/4079

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at TRACE: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized administrator of TRACE: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. For more information, please contact trace@utk.edu.

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Marge Terhaar-Yonkers entitled "The Social Interaction of Mainstreamed High School Students: An Ethnographic Inquiry." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

Laurence J. Coleman, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Charles H. Hargis, Michael H. Logan, Kathleen P. Bennett, Susan Benner

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

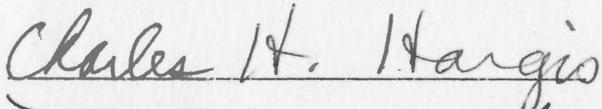
(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

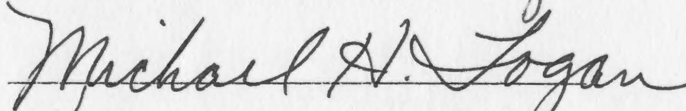
To the Graduate Council:

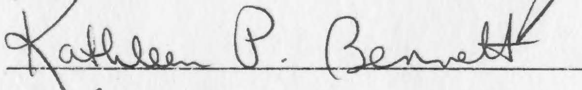
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Marge Terhaar-Yonkers entitled "The Social Interaction of Mainstreamed High School Students: An Ethnographic Inquiry." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

Laurence J. Coleman,
Major Professor

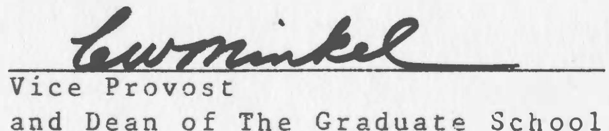
We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:



Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

N 86-4
8

THE SOCIAL INTERACTION OF MAINSTREAMED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INQUIRY

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Marge Terhaar-Yonkers

August 1989

Copyright © Marge Terhaar-Yonkers, 1989
All rights reserved

DEDICATION

To my husband, Frank Terhaar-Yonkers, our son, Craig, and my parents, June and Paul Terhaar.

This is also dedicated to the following outstanding teachers who have deeply touched me - Larry Coleman, John Duffy, Dave Gurney, Sky Huck, Jim Palermo, John Philpot, and Peg Reed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people. Larry Coleman served as a valuable Chair and TorMentor. His energy was unceasing as he challenged me, advised me, and laughed with me. I am grateful to my committee members for their guidance, criticism, and concern - Susan Benner, Chuck Hargis, Mike Logan, and Kathleen Bennett.

Many thanks to my friends, Kathleen Warden and Paul Derby, who had "been there" and survived. They assisted me in recovering my sanity during those moments when I had lost it.

I am also grateful for the warmth that the administrators, teachers and students at "McArthur" High School showed me. They opened their world to me, a stranger, and were generous in sharing their thoughts.

Thanks go to Kathy Taylor and Pat Fuller, whose expertise in word processing never ceased to amaze me.

Most importantly, without the loving support of my husband and my parents, none of this would have been possible. To Frank, goes my special gratitude for his patience, encouragement, and tolerance during the past four years.

ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study examined the social interaction of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners at McArthur High School. The researcher studied the relationship between social interaction and context and the meanings held by McArthur students and teachers. Participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, and artifact collection were the methods used to obtain these descriptions. The study was divided into three phases, each focused on a specific component of social interaction: peer interaction, reported standards which shape interaction, and standards negotiated in action, "standards in action." For each of the phases, descriptions were provided and comparisons were made between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.

In Phase One (Peer Interaction), various types of peer interaction were identified. Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were found to be similarly engaged in noninteraction, entertainment, ridicule, criticism, and praise. Some differences were noted. More mainstreamed learners were involved in helping with schoolwork and sharing possessions. A comparison was made of the peer interaction of target mainstreamed learners in regular and resource class settings. Target students tended to be more outgoing and talkative in resource settings. Since peer

interaction was embedded in context, salient contextual variables were explicated.

In Phase Two, the standards students reported they used in judging social interaction were examined. Findings demonstrated that both groups of learners were similar in their reported standards. Standards were categorized as Idealized "Do's, Negotiable "Do's and Don't's," and Unconditional "Don't's." Most of the reported standards belonged in the "negotiable" category.

In Phase Three, "Standards in Action," the reported standards were verified with observations. Elements essential to the negotiation of standards were identified. Comparisons of "standards in action" between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners yielded more similarities than differences. "Similarities" consisted of aggressive acts and threats, "getting on" someone's case, acting goofy, bragging, mixing with people from other groups, acting two-faced, and acting snobby. "Differences" involved a higher percentage of mainstreamed learners who joked about social taboos and offensive topics; more mainstreamed students were also criticized for acting goody-goody.

In conclusion, few differences were found between the interaction and standards of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. The findings contradict the notion that mainstreamed students are socially deficient.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE 1
Statement of the Problem 3
Significance of Study 3
Definition of Terms 12
Research Assumptions 13
Limitations of Study 16
Research Questions 18
Dissertation Organization 19

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 21
Terminology and Classifications of Social Interaction 22
Subjects 24
Organization of Chapter 25
Peer Interaction Research 26
Social Attitude Research 33
Social Competence Research 48
Social Intervention Research 53
Methodological Limitations 58
Summary and Implications for the Present Study 66

III. METHODOLOGY 69
Data Collection Techniques 69
Data Analysis Strategies 75
Data Collection Procedures 79
McArthur High School 85
Chapter Summary. 89

IV. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS 91
Introduction 91
Research Question 1 92
Research Question 2 104
Research Question 3 111
Research Question 4 131
Research Question 5 138
Research Question 6 147
Research Question 7 154
Research Question 8 159

V. DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS. . . . 182
Discussion of General Findings from Phases One - Three 182
Phase Four Questions 191
Implications for Education and Future Research 203

Limitations and Recommended Modifications 207
Conclusion. 209

REFERENCES 211

APPENDICES 220
Interview Schedules (Appendices A-D) 221
Tables of Interaction Types
(Appendices E-O) 226
Episodic Events of the Remaining
High Profile Violators 241
VITA 246

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE PAGE

2.1. Studies of Peer Interaction 27

2.2. Studies of Social Attitude 34

2.3. Studies of Status Correlates 36

2.4. Studies of Social Competence 49

2.5. Studies of Social Intervention 55

4.1. Summary of Mainstreamed Informants 94

4.2. Types of Peer Interaction. 106

E. Noninteractive Students. 226

F. Students Involved in Entertainment 228

G. Star Entertainers and Peripherally-
Entertained Students 230

H. Failed Attempts at Humor 231

I. Ridiculed Students 232

J. Students Involved in Helping 233

K. Students Involved in Sharing 235

L. Give Help/Possessions 237

M. Receive Help/Possessions 238

N. Target of Criticism 239

O. Students Involved in Praise 240

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The placement of special education students in the least restrictive environment was guaranteed by the 1975 passage of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, PL 94-142. Since then, mainstreaming has become the primary vehicle for integrating special learners in the regular classroom. These students participate in the "mainstream" of school life to the extent that part of their school day is spent in the regular classroom with nondisabled peers. The remainder of their day is spent in a resource program with other special learners. Resource programs offer remediation in academic and social domains and serve the majority of special education students.

Mainstreamed students are primarily mildly handicapped. Mildly handicapped learners represent "... the largest group of pupils served through special education" (MacMillan, Keogh, & Jones; 1987, p. 687). Mildly handicapped is a term that includes a broad array of special education students, the learning disabled (LD), seriously emotionally disturbed (SED), and mildly mentally retarded (MR). The term is used as a noncategorical designation in lieu of the traditional categorical system, since research has failed to establish educationally

relevant differences among these three subgroups, and separate treatment effects have not been substantiated (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1977; Kavale & Forness, 1985; Marston, 1987).

Mildly handicapped learners experience difficulty meeting school demands and expectations (i.e., academic underachievement and social adjustment difficulties). Therefore, they require modifications in the scope and sequence of traditional classroom curricula and practice (MacMillan, Keogh, & Jones, 1987).

The modification of school practices to meet the needs of these learners has proceeded at a rapid rate. As is often the case when legal mandates drive the educational machine, programs have been developed with good reason but insufficient empirical base. The policy of mainstreaming has been implemented prior to an investigation of the social world that the mainstreamed students would face.

This study occurred in a state that categorized students as having a specific learning disability, being seriously emotionally disturbed, or mildly mentally retarded. However, the researcher maintained a noncategorical stance, and used the term "mainstreamed learners" when referring to mainstreamed mildly handicapped students. Students in this study were not treated as separate groups based on disability categories.

Statement of the Problem

The present study examined the social interaction of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in a high school located in the Southeast. McArthur is an urban school with students from lower class to upper-middle class backgrounds, with a range of ethnic groups representative of a major metropolitan area. (Refer to Chapter III for additional information about the site.)

Using an ethnographic approach, descriptions of types of peer interaction were gathered with careful explication of contextual factors associated with those interactions. In addition, peer reports of the standards used to make social judgments were described, and observations of the implementation of these standards were examined. Comparisons were made in these areas for differences and similarities between mainstreamed learners and nondisabled peers. Participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, and artifact collection were used to obtain these descriptions.

Significance of Study

The study is important because it addresses the mainstreaming issue in special education, poses an alternative to the medical model, fills gaps in the

knowledge base concerning social interaction, and contributes to the body of ethnographic research of mainstreamed populations. These areas are discussed in the following sections.

The Mainstreaming Issue

PL 94-142 has guaranteed that every child receive services in the least restrictive environment (LRE), appropriate to his unique educational needs. The precise interpretation of LRE is related to each individual child's academic and social needs. For mildly handicapped learners, the range of interpretations of LRE can be from self-contained special education classes in private day schools to complete regular classroom placement with regular-special education teacher consultation. It is conceivable that what appears to be the least restrictive academic environment is actually the *most* restrictive *social* environment. In other words, academic opportunities available in the regular classroom program may meet academic needs but not social needs. A major problem has been the lack of agreement on what constitutes the most appropriate LRE for a specific child.

Information on the social dimension of mainstreaming is relevant to educators. Before academic and social gains of mainstreamed programs can be adequately evaluated, the "mainstream experience" needs to be understood from the

student's perspective. Most studies have ignored the point by looking at it from the perspectives of adults (teachers, parents, researchers). The present study focused on peer relationships and interactions, providing a glimpse of the "social world of mainstreamed teenagers." The perspectives of the mainstreamed and nondisabled students involved in the mainstreaming process were reported.

Assumptions of a Medical Model

Traditionally, special education research has been based on assumptions of the medical model, in which pathologies are diagnosed by educators and researchers. The pathologies are assumed to reside within the child. The designation "disabled" indicates an inability to function on the same level as "average" peers, socially and academically, in school. Disabled learners have been identified by comparing their performance on academic and social measures with the performance of nondisabled peers. These differences have been interpreted as problems within the child. The medical model position directs researchers to look inside the child for finer signs of differences or pathology.

The identification of disability groups have been determined, in part, by the manifestation of social deficits. Social skills deficiency is a frequently used and accepted criterion in defining SED learners. Since MR

learners are identified primarily on the basis of adaptive behaviors and cognitive potential, deficient nonverbal and verbal communication skills characterize these students (Gottlieb, 1978). While a social skills deficit is not currently considered an identifier of LD learners, its inclusion in the definition of LD has recently been suggested by the National Joint Committee on Learning Disabilities and The Interagency Committee on Learning Disabilities. This has been in response to the reoccurring claims of social perception difficulties in the LD literature (National Institute on Dyslexia, 1988).

Following the medical model, social deficits are also assumed to be person or category specific rather than context specific. The current study posed an alternative approach to studying disabilities, one that views deviance as a social construct and is open to exploration through ethnographic methods.

Gaps in the Knowledge Base

Various gaps in the knowledge base exist. In studies that have attempted to modify social interaction, specific student outcomes are measured as evidence of successful programming, with minimal regard for what has happened before intervention was induced. Generally, short term effects have been elicited. Students have shown improvement but have difficulty generalizing these acquired

skills to other contexts (Gresham, 1981; Schloss, Schloss, Wood, & Kiehl, 1986).

Another gap in intervention research concerns the target of intervention. In the quest to secure social success in mainstreamed settings, interventions have focused more on modifying the mainstreamed learner than on changing the perceptions and actions of those in the child's environment. The reciprocal relationship between the mainstreamed learner and peers is overlooked. Only a handful of studies have examined the effects of altering the reactions of others towards mainstreamed learners.

The evaluative orientation of intervention research differs from the descriptive purpose of this study. Instead of asking "How can the social skills of mainstreamed students be improved? Or, how can social interaction between mainstreamed and nondisabled students be maximized?" This study asked, "How do mainstreamed learners interact with peers in our schools? How does peer interaction of mainstreamed learners compare to the interactions of nondisabled learners? What social standards, or judgments, are expressed by the students concerning peer interaction? How are those reported social standards implemented "in action?" How do mainstreamed and nondisabled students compare in terms of these standards?"

Yet another gap in the knowledge base is due to limited information about the peer interaction of mainstreamed students during their teenage years. A meager data base on mainstreamed adolescents exists because most studies were conducted with younger children. This study joins six other studies that addressed an adolescent age group, providing information on peer interaction and standards in a high school setting (Alley, Deshler, Clark, Schumaker, & Warner, 1983; Banikowski, 1981; Grant & Sleeter, 1986; Schumaker, Wildegen, & Sherman, 1982; Deshler, Schumaker, Warner, Alley, & Clark, 1980; Gregory, Shannon, & Walberg, 1986).

Gaps in the knowledge base about social interaction seem to be amplified by the lack of models which aid in transmitting knowledge. The last problem concerns model construction. Research in social interaction has been fragmented and disorganized. Models for operationalizing social interaction are used to help communicate findings, and identify missing elements. Simpson (1987) stated the necessity for such model building.

> Researchers and practitioners focus on different elements of social interaction (e.g., language, attitudes) and/or conceptualize the phenomenon in different ways ... [rendering] meaningful interpretation and generalization [prohibitive. Since social interaction is a multifaceted concept], consistent with this complexity is the need for comprehensive models which take into consideration the variables associated with social interaction. (p. 296)

Gaylord-Ross and Haring (1987) proposed a model for research and intervention in social skills development, as depicted in Figure 1.1. The model identified factors outside of the student dyad that contribute to the dyadic exchange, specifically "the mutual sharing of social scripts and the role of the immediate environmental context" (p. 265). The researchers suggested that intervention could be introduced at the audience level, setting level, or at the level of dyadic exchange. The present study used the Gaylord-Ross and Haring model as a guide for disseminating findings and provided information for a more complete model, with specific categories of interaction and contextual factors added.

A Need for Ethnographic Research

Every research method has its own assumptions and limitations. A shortcoming of current research has been "the use of global quantitative measures of social interaction as opposed to qualitative measures" (McEvoy & Odom, 1987, p. 248). Additional weaknesses included an absence of the student perspective and the use of self-report data in place of observational data. In cases when observation was used, there was a dependence on precoded observation systems. Ethnography presents an alternative approach with a different set of restrictions.

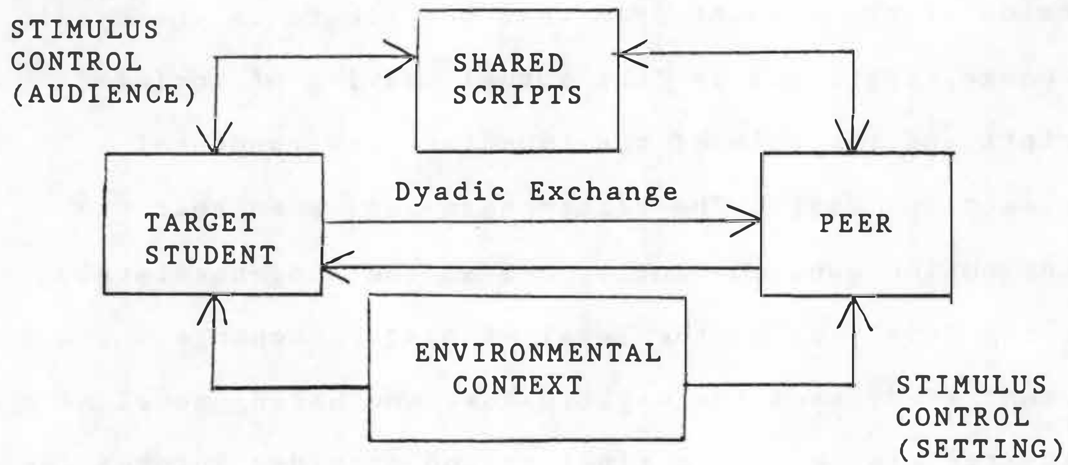


Figure 1.1. "A conceptual model for research and intervention in social skill development" (p. 265).

Dudley-Marling and Edmiaston (1985) recommended ethnography for its ability to examine the social behavior of participants and the context they occur within. Gaylord-Ross and Haring (1987) supported the use of alternative methodologies and described the benefits of an ethnographic study. They argue: "Because of the extensive participant-observation methodology, many observations and insights were gained regarding the intricacies of social behavior in natural contexts.... These insights may not have been gained through a hypothesis testing, precoded measurement approach" (p. 273).

Social competence has been measured primarily by quantitative methods. MacMillan and Morrison (1984) concluded, "We underscore the need for some qualitative assessment to supplement quantitative assessments because we are convinced that there are individual differences in the needs of children for social acceptance which are ignored by traditional scoring" (p.114). Ethnography can provide the qualitative dimension that has been missing in studies of social competence.

In summary, this study is significant because it: describes the social dimension of mainstreaming from the student viewpoint; contributes information regarding the context of social interactions; furnishes evidence for social standards valued by mainstreamed students and their peers; applies these data to a model for research; and

provides support for the use of ethnographic methodology in studying mainstreamed populations in educational settings.

Definition of Terms

Various terms were used in the present investigation. The preceding definitions of disability groups are according to the Tennessee Department of Education (1985).

> Specific learning disability - A child who has a disorder in one or more of the basic learning processes which may manifest itself in significant difficulties in the acquisition and use of listening, speaking, reading, writing, spelling or performing mathematical calculations ....
>
> Seriously emotionally disturbed - A child who exhibits more than one of the characteristics ... [inability to learn ... inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships ... inappropriate types of behavior or feelings ... general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression ... tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears ... significantly deviant behavior ... perceptions of reality which appear distorted or unrealistic ...] which cannot be listed below over an extended period of time and to a marked degree, which adversely affects educational performance ....
>
> Mental retardation - A child who has or develops a continuing handicap in intellectual functioning and adaptive behavior which significantly impairs the ability to think and/or act in the ability to relate to cope with the environment ... (pp. 7.1 - 11.1)

Participant observation - A method originating from anthropology, involving extensive fieldwork. The researcher attempts to understand constructs from the view of the participants in order to interpret their actions.

Peer interaction - "Face-to-face interaction .... The reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence" (Goffman, 1971, p. 316).

Social standards - The judgments and expectations among the participants of peer interaction.

Research Assumptions

The researcher serves as "research instrument par excellence" in the ethnographic tradition (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 18). As is true for all forms of research in both the natural and social sciences, the biases and assumptions held by the researcher are inseparable from the data. "The task or object selected, the observer's frame of reference, and the purpose of the observation, among other factors, will influence what will be perceived, recorded, analyzed, and ultimately described by the observer" (Evertson & Green, 1987, p. 164). This section relates some of the assumptions that arise from the theoretical and personal underpinnings of the study.

The McArthur study emanated from the symbolic interactionist perspective (Blumer, 1969) which assumes that people are not passive recipients of their culture, but are constantly interpreting and creating meaning through self-interaction and their interactions with

others. We must take into account the actions of others when planning our own actions. This view sees the interaction process as important to the formation of our conduct.

Blumer delineated the premises of symbolic interactionism.

> The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. Such things include everything that the human being may note in his world - physical objects ... other human beings ... categories of human beings ... institutions ... guiding ideals ... activities of others ... and such situations as an individual encounters in daily life. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he encounters. (Blumer, 1969, p. 2.)

Naturalistic inquiry examines directly these processes in the social world. Participant observation scrutinizes the views and actions of the participants, eliciting categories that are emic, in that they reflect the meaning of the participants. These emically derived categories organize social action from the native viewpoint. The categories serve a heuristic purpose, in that the researcher is able to reduce the complexities of human interaction for further analysis. The analytic process is inductive rather than deductive.

The methodological position of symbolic interaction offers a means for exploring and inspecting classroom experiences. The position is particularly relevant to the questions of this study, concerning peer interaction.

Assumptions held by the researcher helped shape the study. These assumptions are closely aligned to a symbolic interactionist perspective, as well. A major assumption is that the medical model approach to mainstreamed learners has incorrectly focused on the incompetencies of these students, assuming that they have pathological conditions which explain their deviation from nondisabled peers on learning and social-emotional tasks. Rather, disabilities are social constructs. Deviance "is dependent upon the uniform expectations of a traditional classroom" (Gelzheiser, 1987, p. 148). Therefore, the context in which disabled learners function is crucial. The expectations of others, and their assumptions about disabilities cannot be separated from the student.

The researcher perceives social competence not as a phenomenon that resides within the individual, but as the result of negotiation of meaning among the individual and others in a particular setting. Only by observing the actions of those involved in the setting and probing for their standards, can inferences be made about social competence. In this case, the setting was school and the participants were the students and teachers.

Finally, the researcher maintains that the field of special education is responsible for advocating that individual differences are not a threat, but an asset to society. The task is to prepare society for special education students as well as to prepare students for society. The mainstreaming process offers fertile ground for cultivating these tenets.

Limitations of Study

The questions formulated by this study focused on one aspect of mainstreaming, the interaction of students. Teacher-student interaction, instructional strategies, curriculum, and other components were included only as a context of peer interaction.

Mainstreaming efforts began over a decade before this study, the questions and findings of this study related to an existing program. No direct inferences could be made regarding the influence of mainstreaming on social interaction. There was no comparison group in a self-contained program, nor any pre and post-mainstreaming measures. The purpose was to relate the social experiences of the participants and to probe their view of social standards in a mainstreamed setting.

Limitations are inherent in participant observation techniques. There are sources of contamination due to researcher and informant biases. These were minimized by using triangulation procedures in which observational data are verified by interview data and vice versa.

Replicability is a serious weakness of most anthropological research (Pelto & Pelto, 1970, p. 35). Therefore, research procedures were delineated. Structured interview schedules, data tables, and fieldnote excerpts are provided in order to increase replicability as well as allowing the reader "the means for accepting, rejecting, or modifying an investigator's conclusion" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.218).

Generalizabilty is a major restriction, the findings related to those students at one particular urban high school in the Southeast. Also, only lower track classes, (classes for students performing two years below grade level) were included because these were the classes containing mainstreamed learners. This limited accessibility to students who attended College preparatory classes. Therefore, the study primarily represented the views of students who are "low achievers," "at risk," "vocational curriculum students," and students who are mainstreamed.

Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed in this study.

Phase One - Peer Interaction

1. How can these mainstreamed learners be described?
2. What types of peer interaction occur among high school students?
3. How does peer interaction compare for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in the regular classroom?
4. How does peer interaction compare for mainstreamed learners in the regular class and resource program?
5. What contextual factors contribute to peer interaction?

Phase Two - Peer Standards (Reported)

6. What peer standards are reported by mainstreamed and nondisabled students?

Phase Three - Peer Standards (In Action)

7. How do students negotiate these standards in their daily interaction?
8. How can mainstreamed and nondisabled students be described in terms of these "standards in action?"

Phase Four - Discussion

9. How do these standards compare to those social skills in the literature?

10. How well do the data gathered from naturalistic observations support, extend, or modify Gaylord-Ross and Haring's (1987) model for research and intervention in social skills development?

Dissertation Organization

Chapter I, "Background and Rationale," introduced the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, definitions of terms, research assumptions, limitations of the study, and research questions.

Chapter II, "Review of the Literature," contains an overview of research findings related to social interaction and a critical review of the methodology used in the literature. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Chapter III, "Methodology," includes data collection techniques and steps, data analysis strategies, and a description of the site.

In Chapter IV, "Analysis and Results," the data are presented for research questions in Phases One through Three.

In Chapter V, "Discussion, Implications, and Conclusions," the findings of Phases One through Three are summarized, Phase Four research questions are discussed, and research implications are proposed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature on social interaction of mainstreamed learners was completed, using "Dissertation Abstracts International," and the ERIC and Exceptional Child Education Resources databases. It was difficult to decipher the resulting definitions, terminology, and classifications of social interaction research. Not only was there a lack of unanimity about terminology, but also many of the studies purporting to investigate social interaction were actually measuring other phenomena indirectly related to interaction, i.e., social status or social behaviors and skills.

The purpose of Chapter II is to clarify and order information on social interaction by: (1) describing the terminology and classification systems of social interaction; (2) proposing a classification system in an attempt to impose order and facilitate an understanding of the literature; (3) identifying the population samples; (4) reviewing current research; and (5) discussing the methodological limitations of this research.

Terminology and Classifications of Social Interaction

Researchers have studied social interaction, using a variety of terms as synonyms for social interaction. The different terminology signifies the various ways researchers have conceptualized social interaction. The following terms were used: social intervention, social skills training, peer acceptance, social status, social competence, social skills deficits, social integration, social skills and behavior, social adjustment, social adaptation, social perception, and social attitudes. Because of the lack of clarity, a classification system for delineating interaction studies was developed in this study. The system was based on earlier proposed classification systems which differentiated related studies and identified their conceptual base (Gaylord-Ross & Haring, 1987; Bryan, 1982). The modified system added the advantage of a finer distinction among research topics. The modified classification system was organized into four main groups: peer interaction, social attitudes, social competence, and social intervention. These groups are depicted in Figure 2.1. Unlike the other classification systems, peer interaction studies were included, and the relationship between intervention research and attitude and competence research were delineated. Social interaction

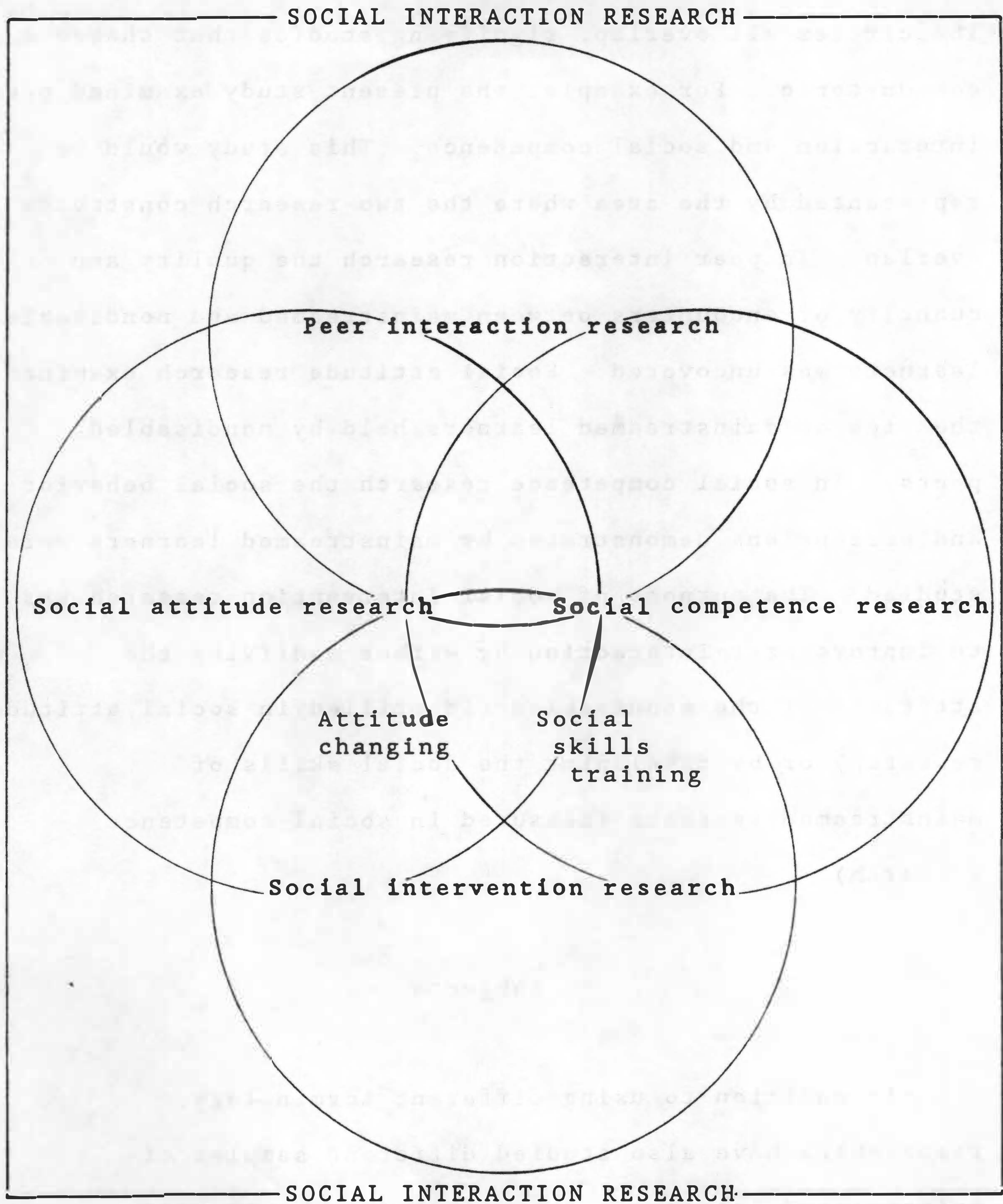


Figure 2.1. Research constructs of social interaction

research, represented by the rectangle, actually consisted of four research constructs (represented by the circles). The circles all overlap, signifying studies that shared a common topic. For example, the present study examined peer interaction and social competence. This study would be represented by the area where the two research constructs overlap. In peer interaction research the quality and quantity of encounters between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners was uncovered. Social attitude research examined the view of mainstreamed learners held by nondisabled peers. In social competence research the social behavior and perceptions demonstrated by mainstreamed learners were studied. The purpose of social intervention research was to improve peer interaction by either modifying the attitudes of the nondisabled (identified in social attitude research) or by developing the social skills of mainstreamed learners (measured in social competence research).

Subjects

In addition to using different terminology, researchers have also studied different samples of mainstreamed learners. Some studies investigated noncategorical samples, others targeted specific disability groups. In this review, the term "mainstreamed learner"

was used for noncategorical samples and for when the researcher referred to an assortment of disability groups as one group. The following terms were used to designate disability groups: MR (mildly mentally retarded), LD (learning disabled), and BD ("behavior disordered," or "seriously emotionally disturbed." Both of these terms have been applied to the same disability group in the literature). Mainstreamed students with physical disabilities were included in a study by Grant and Sleeter (1986). Nondisabled students were sometimes used as a contrast group in the literature. The control group consisted of two types of students: low achieving (LA) and normally achieving students. LA students are "at risk," those who experience academic difficulties, but who are not labeled and certified as special education students.

The studies reviewed in Chapter II used school age populations. Studies of preschoolers were excluded. In order to distinguish age groups used in the literature, "children" referred to elementary school subjects, and "adolescents" denoted junior high and high school groups.

Organization of Chapter

The remainder of the chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, the findings of each research category are presented, along with tables. Tables

contain information regarding type of research (either a review or empirical study), age and disability of subjects, methodology, and a summary of the findings from each study. The second section contains a critical review of the methodologies implemented in each research category. The purpose of discussing methodological limitations is to weigh research evidence and judge the findings in light of the studies' assumptions and weaknesses. The chapter concludes with a summary section.

Peer Interaction Research

In peer interaction research, the relationships and encounters between mainstreamed learners and their nondisabled peers were studied in two settings, during class and outside of class. The findings suggested more similarities than differences. These studies are presented in Table 2.1, Group A lists the studies of interaction during class, Group B, the studies outside of class.

Studies of Peer Interaction During Class

Most findings failed to establish that mainstreamed and nondisabled learners interacted differently during class.

Table 2.1

Studies of Peer Interaction

Studies	Type[1]	Subjects Age[2]	 Disability[3]	Methodology	Findings: Comparing Mainstreamed/Nondisabled	Comments
A. During Class						
Alley, Deshler, Clark, Schumaker, & Warner (1983)	R	A	LD	Direct classroom observation	No differences	
Banikowski (1981)*	E	A	LD	Direct observation of simulated tasks	No differences	*Matched students
Grant & Sleeter (1986)	E	A	MH	Participant observation, Interviews	No differences	
Moore & Simpson (1984)	E	C	LD/BD	Direct classroom observation	No differences	
Schumaker, Wildgen & Sherman (1982)	E	A	LD	Direct classroom observation	Different only in physical appearance	
Bryan & Bryan (1978)	E	C	LD	Direct classroom observation, rating scales, "Guess Who" technique	More similarities than differences	
B. Outside Class						
Deshler, Schumaker, Warner, Allen, & Clark (1980)*	E	A	LD	Questionnaire	More similarities than differences	*Included LA comparison group
Gregory, Shananan, & Walberg (1986)	E	A	LD	Questionnaire	No differences	

[1]Type: R - Review of studies E - Empirical study

[2]Age: C - Children (grades K-6) A - Adolescents (grades 7-12)

[3]Disability: LD (learning disabled) BD (behavior disordered) MR (mentally retarded) MH (mildly handicapped) NA (not applicable)

Similarities

Observations of peer interaction in regular classrooms were similar for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. The research uncovered similarities in verbal strategies (Banikowski, 1981); frequency and type of verbal communication (Alley et al., 1983; Moore & Simpson, 1984); and daily social exchanges (Grant & Sleeter, 1986).

Verbal strategies used during interaction were similar for matched pairs of LD and nondisabled adolescents (Banikowski, 1981). Student pairs had been matched on age, sex, and classroom placement. Findings were based on observations of student dyads while students were engaged in experimental tasks.

No differences between LD and nondisabled adolescents were reported in a series of studies performed by the University of Kansas Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities (KU-IRLD) and reviewed by Alley et al. (1983). Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were observed to be similar in terms of how often they initiated an interaction, responded to an initiation, and maintained conversations. They were also similar in the number of peers they interacted with.

Further evidence of similarities was found in a study of reciprocity of peer verbal interactions with BD and LD children in self-contained classes, and nondisabled

students (Moore & Simpson, 1984). Comparisons of responses among student groups showed no differences. Similar patterns of verbal interactions existed for all students, regardless of their group. Across all groups, negative student-peer interactions were reciprocated. Yet, positive student-peer interactions were not reciprocal. Positive initiators tended to receive either no response or a neutral response.

Peer interactions between mainstreamed adolescents and nondisabled students at a multicultural junior high school were found to be similar (Grant & Sleeter, 1986). Mainstreamed students were accepted and successfully integrated into their school.

> [The researchers concluded that] ... being in a special education class for academic reasons held no importance for ... students other than the fact that the academic work of special education students differed from that of their peers .... They did not see academic ability as a basis for inequality in their own social system or elsewhere" (p. 47).

However, this finding was restricted to mainstreamed learners who did not have physical disabilities. Students with physical disabilities were not accepted.

No differences in the length and frequency of various types of interaction (i.e., laughing, facial expressions, touching, conversing) were found by Schumaker et al. (1982). They observed peer interaction of LD and nondisabled adolescents and found one notable difference,

physical appearance. "About 35% of the LD students ... exhibited some problems in grooming, neatness of clothing, posture, and general attractiveness" (p. 362).

Differences

Despite the preponderance of evidence suggesting similarities, one study (Bryan & Bryan, 1978) reported significant difference in the verbal interactions among LD and nondisabled children. When compared to nondisabled children, LD children were observed to more frequently communicate very nasty remarks and receive rejection statements from peers. The authors failed to define or provide examples of what these nasty remarks were. Both groups had similar incidences of statements that were coded as "self image.... helping/cooperation/giving materials.... positive reinforcement/social/consideration.... egocentric/self comments.... reactivity" (pp. 34-35).

Studies of Peer Interaction Outside of Class

Opposing results about extracurricular activities were reported in two studies that examined the out-of-class activities of mainstreamed adolescents. LD high school seniors were not different from their peers in extracurricular activities in the The High School and Beyond Survey (Gregory et al., 1986). No significant differences were found between the groups in "student participation in school sports, clubs, band, and debate"

(p. 39). However, extracurricular involvement was much lower for LD and LA students in a comprehensive KU-IRLD study (Deshler et al., 1980). LD, LA, and nondisabled adolescents and their teachers and parents completed questionnaires that addressed relationships with peers, extracurricular activities, out-of-school activities, and use of time. The three types of students were similar in peer interaction. Peers and parents reported similarly about the frequency of telephone communications, involvement in peer games, and amount of close friendships; peer reports of asking their friends to go somewhere; and teacher reports of inclusion and initiations of student and peers. Despite this commonality, LD students were asked out by friends less frequently, as reported by parents and the students themselves.

Differences in peer relationships existed between LD and LA adolescents and their nondisabled peers. Both groups responded that they had younger friends, and spent more time "hanging around the neighborhood.... just hanging around with friends.... and having friends over to their house" (p. 9).

Both LD and LA groups participated less frequently in extracurricular activities. According to parents and students, they spent more time staying at home or the neighborhood and viewing television, and spent less time involved in school-related functions.

Deshler et al. (1980) concluded that LD teenagers experienced social interactions similar to their LA peers. There were no social isolates among students having difficulties in school, whether LD or LA. Extracurricular participation was the major area that separated them from the group of nondisabled adolescents.

Summary of Peer Interaction Research

Peer interaction studies found few differences between mainstreamed and nondisabled students regardless of research methodology, subjects' age and disability group, and whether the interaction occurred during class or outside of class. No significant differences were found in verbal strategies used during interaction, types of verbal interaction, rate of interaction, number of peers they interacted with in class, and degree of participation in extracurricular activities (Banikowski, 1981; Alley et al., 1983; Moore & Simpson, 1984; Grant & Sleeter, 1986; Gregory et al., 1986). Contradictory evidence was reported in two studies that found some minor differences, "minor" in that more similarities than differences were uncovered (Bryan & Bryan, 1978; Deshler et al., 1980). One difference was that LD children communicated and received more negative remarks during class (Bryan & Bryan, 1978). Another difference existed in the degree of extracurricular participation among LD, LA, and nondisabled adolescents

(Deshler et al., 1980). LD and LA students were similar to one another, but differed from nondisabled peers. Both types of students were less involved in extracurricular activities; spent more time at home, in the neighborhood, and viewing television; and had younger friends.

Social Attitude Research

In social attitude research, the perceptions others have of mainstreamed learners and the status of mainstreamed learners were investigated. Some studies examined the relationship between behavior and attitudes, addressing the question, "What behaviors are connected to status levels?" These two sets of studies, "social attitudes" and "correlates of status," are summarized in Table 2.2 and Table 2.3, respectively. They are described separately.

Studies of Social Attitudes

Numerous studies indicated that groups of mainstreamed children experience lower social status when compared to groups of their nondisabled peers. Low social acceptance was observed among LD learners (Bryan & Bryan, 1978; Garrett & Crump, 1980; Gresham & Reschly, 1986; Sabornie & Kauffman, 1986; Scranton & Ryckman, 1979; Siperstein et al., 1978; Siperstein & Goding, 1983), among MR learners

Table 2.2

Studies of Social Attitude[1]

Studies	Subjects Age	Disability	Methodology	Findings	Comments
* * * * * * * * * * * Compared Status of Mainstreamed/Nondisabled * * * * * * * * * * * *					
Bryan & Bryan (1978)			(See Table 2.1)	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Garrett & Crump (1980)	C	LD	Rating scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Gresham & Reschly (1986)	C	LD	Rating scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Scranton & Ryckman (1979)*	C	LD	Peer nominations	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Siperstein, Bopp, & Bak (1978)*	C	LD	Peer nominations, rating scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	*Equal number of isolates and nominations for athletic/ attractiveness
Siperstein & Goding (1983)*	C	MR	Questionnaires	Mainstreamed have lower status	*Equal number of "star" nominations
Bruininks, Rynders, & Gross (1974)	C	MR	Questionnaires	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Goodman, Gottleib, & Harrison (1972)	C	MR	Rating Scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Gottleib & Budoff (1973)	C	MR	Rating Scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Gottleib, Cohen, & Goldstein (1974)	C	MR	Rating Scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	
Sabornie & Kauffman (1985)*	A	BD	Rating Scales	Mainstreamed have lower status	*Matched subjects
Sainato, Zigmond, & Strain (1983)	C	LD	Direct observation, rating scales	Mainstreamed have equal status	

[1]All are empirical studies

Table 2.2 con't

Studies	Subjects Age	Subjects Disability	Methodology	Findings	Comments
Horowitz (1981)	C	LD	Peer nominations, rating scale	Mainstreamed have equal status	
Perlmutter, Crocker, Cordray, & Garstecki (1983)	A	LD	Rating scale	Mainstreamed have equal status	
Sabornie & Kauffman (1986)	A	LD	Rating Scales	Mainstreamed have equal status	
* * * * * * * * * * * * Compared Status Over Period Of Time * * * * * * * * * * * *					
Bryan (1972, 1974)	C	LD	Rating scale, "Guess Who" Technique	Lower status continues	
Vacc (1968, 1972)*	C	BD	Questionnaire, peer nominations	Lower status continues	*Matched subjects
* * * * * * * * * * Compared Status of "Known" vs. "Unknown" Disabled Students * * * * * * * * * *					
Gottleib, Semmel, & Veldman (1978)	C	MR	Rating scale, "Guess Who" technique	"Known" have equal status	
Gottleib & Budoff (1973)			(See above)	"Known have equal status	
Gottleib & Davis (1973)	C	MR		"Known have equal status	
Goodman et al. (1972)			(See above)	"Known have equal status	
Mornson (1981)	C	LD		"Known have equal status	
Vacc (1968, 1972)			(See above)	"Known have equal status	
Sheare (1974)*	A	MR		"Known have higher status	*Pre and post test design

Table 2.3

Studies of Status Correlates

Studies	Type	Subjects: Age	Subjects: Disability	Methodology	Status Correlates: High Status	Status Correlates: Low Status	Comments
Bryan & Bryan (1978)			(See Table 2.1)		Negative correlations: low response rates; peer rejection statements; positive peer statements	Positive correlations: nasty peer statements; Negative correlations: helping statements; positive reinforcement peer statements	
Sainato et al. (1983)			(See Table 2.2A)		Negative correlations: positive peer responses to positive initiations	Positive correlations: positive initiations; negative peer responses to negative initiations	
Gottleib et al. (1978)			(See Table 2.2A)		Correlations: teacher/peer perceptions of cognitive ability	Correlations: teacher/peer perceptions of misbehavior; teacher perception of cognitive ability	
MacMillan & Morrison (1980)	E	C	MR/LD/BD	Rating Scale	Correlations: MR: teacher perception of cognitive ability misbehavior; LD/BD: teacher/peer perceptions of cognitive ability	Correlations: MR: teacher perception of cognitive ability; LD/BD: peer perception of cognitive ability	
Perlmutter et al. (1983)			(See Table 2.2)		Positive correlations: withdrawn behavior	________	
Foster, Delawyer, & Guerremont (1985)*	R	A	NA	Questionnaires, Interviews	Positive correlations: humor, generosity, friendliness, attractiveness, eye contact, agreeableness	Positive correlations: aggressiveness, disruptive, rule/property violations	*Did not use disabled subjects

(Bruininks et al., 1974; Goodman et al., 1972; Gottlieb & Budoff, 1973; Gottlieb et al., 1974), and among BD learners (Sabornie & Kauffman, 1985; Vacc, 1968, 1972). In these studies, sociometric indicators of low status were considered to be: lower acceptance scores, higher rejection and isolate scores, fewer positive nominations, more negative nominations, and/or lower class rankings.

Follow-up studies showed that LD and BD children continued to receive peer rejection over a period of time. This applied to LD children, studied over a one year period (Bryan; 1974, 1976). The LD group received more rejection scores than their matched peers (matched on sex, classroom, race), despite some classroom's student composition changing as much as 75%. Low social acceptance also continued with BD children five years later (Vacc, 1968; 1972).

Bryan and Bryan (1978) stated "the evidence is quite *strong* [italics added] that learning disability children are socially rejected" (p. 33). This statement seems to have been premature. Rather, the total body of evidence is quite *unclear*. Two of the previously-cited LD studies that professed to show low social status also contributed confounding findings (Siperstein & Goding, 1983; Siperstein et al., 1978). An equal number of "star" nominations for LD and nondisabled was noted by Siperstein and Goding (1983). No differences were found between the groups in

terms of number of isolates, and an equal number of nominations for best athlete and best looking was represented by both groups (Siperstein et al., 1978).

Contradicting results were also obtained by other researchers. Peer ratings of social status did not differ for LD children and nondisabled peers (Sainato et al., 1983). Horowitz (1981), controlling for intelligence, found no differences between LD and nondisabled groups on the number of positive and negative peer nominations received. No difference in social status was found by Sabornie and Kauffman (1986). They studied social acceptance and familiarity with LD adolescents and matched nondisabled peers on socioeconomic status, grade, sex, race, and extracurricular participation. LD teenagers were as well known as their peers, and the LD group accepted their LD peers more so than the nondisabled group.

LD adolescents were compared to LA adolescents, in order to study the possibility that low status ratings of previous studies may have been primarily due to effects of ability tracking (Perlmutter et al., 1983). The LA group preferred LA over LD classmates, but most of the LD group had not been rejected. Approximately 25% of the LD adolescents were considered popular among the LA group.

In a review that examined studies of status, Dudley-Marling and Edmiaston (1985) sought to "... ascertain whether all or most LD students are held in relatively low

esteem or whether, as a group, LD students are merely at greater risk for low social status" (p. 189). Their conclusion of the findings was that *individual* LD students were given neutral status by their nondisabled peers. But as a *group*, LD students were more likely to experience low social status.

The Contact Hypothesis

The preceding social status research failed to determine whether mainstreamed students were simply not known by nondisabled peers. Recall that mainstreamed learners spend only part of their day in the regular classroom. A set of studies examined the hypothesis, that low social status was related to the mainstreamed students being unknown to their peers. "Contact hypothesis" studies suggested that direct contact with mainstreamed learners would increase acceptance by nondisabled students. The contact hypothesis was refuted by a large number of studies. Students who were well known were found to be less liked. This was found for MR learners (Gottlieb et al., 1974; Gottlieb & Budoff, 1973; Gottlieb & Davis, 1973; Goodman et al., 1972), BD students (Vacc; 1968, 1972), and LD learners (Morrison, 1981). The findings from one study supported the contact hypothesis in a population of MR adolescents (Sheare, 1974).

Evidence refuting the contact hypothesis. Comparisons between mainstreamed and self-contained disability groups across settings showed that mainstreamed children were more frequently rejected (Gottlieb & Budoff, 1973). Social status was compared for mainstreamed and self-contained classes of MR students in traditional versus open classrooms. Both groups of MR children in the open classrooms were known more often than either groups of MR children in traditional classrooms. They were also rejected more often by nondisabled peers. This supported similar findings of rejection in studies among MR learners (Goodman et al., 1972; Gottlieb et al., 1978) and BD students (Vacc; 1968, 1972).

Status ratings were lower for LD children who were mainstreamed and in self-contained classes than for nondisabled children (Morrison, 1981). Status patterns differed, in that LD children in self-contained classes were not as well known, were less often rejected and accepted, and they comprised the greatest number of isolates.` Mainstreamed LD children fared lower in Acceptance, and higher in Toleration and Rejection.

When students selected their own partners during game-format activities, MR children in mainstreamed and self-contained classrooms were equally selected but they were less frequently chosen than the nondisabled (Gottlieb & Davis, 1973). Contact between nondisabled and mainstreamed

students did not result in a preference for mainstreamed students over the self-contained MR students.

The attitudes of nondisabled students toward mainstreamed learners were investigated. Nondisabled children in a school without MR learners were found to be more tolerant of disabled students than children in traditional and open classrooms involved in mainstreaming (Gottlieb et al., 1974). The results were obtained by measuring tolerance of special learners with an adjective-rating scale.

Evidence supporting the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis was supported with findings from a single work with MR adolescents (Sheare, 1974). Prior to mainstreaming, nondisabled adolescents were administered a questionnaire that measured their attitude toward mainstreamed students. MR students were then mainstreamed into the classrooms of some of these adolescents. Students were retested, those exposed to mainstreamed learners showed a more positive attitude change.

Studies of Behaviors that Correlate with Status Levels

Studies that measured social behavior and produced behavioral correlates of status were based on an assumption of reciprocity. The reciprocal relationship between social attitudes and behaviors was stated as, "attitudes predispose actions; actions shape attitudes" (Triandus et al., 1984, p. 27). Correlational studies compared

unpopular and popular mainstreamed learners by identifying specific social behaviors that were highly correlated with status levels. Social behavior was measured either through observational or verbal report methods. Findings yielded an assortment of behaviors that appear to distinguish socially accepted (high status) students from socially rejected (low status) students.

Correlates of acceptance. The literature identified various behaviors common to socially accepted mainstreamed learners. Social acceptance of LD children correlated negatively with observations of the subjects' failure to respond to peers, peers' rejection statements, and peers' positive reinforcement/social statements (Bryan & Bryan, 1978). In other words, acceptance was related to receiving a decreasing number of negative and a decreasing number of positive remarks by peers, and an increase in responding to the initiations of others. A negative correlation between acceptance and positive peer remarks was an incongruent finding. Since acceptance was measured by rating scales, limitations of sociometric measurement may have accounted for this contradiction. This is discussed in the section, "Methodological Limitations."

In Sainato et al. (1983), higher status LD children were observed receiving more frequent positive responses for their positive initiations. The higher status LD children initiated interaction less often than their low

status LD peers. These findings were confirmed by Perlmutter et al. (1983). They used peer ratings of personality variables to study popularity and social behavior among adolescents. A popular subgroup of LD teenagers was characterized as being more withdrawn than their LD peers, suggesting that a low profile was more desirable.

MacMillan and Morrison (1980) and Gottlieb et al. (1978) studied perceptions of students and teachers as determinants of status levels. They applied "commonality analysis" to test the effects of perceptions on status in MR children who were mainstreamed (Gottlieb et al., 1978) and for self-contained classes of MR and LD/BD learners (MacMillan & Morrison, 1980). Acceptance of MR mainstreamed students was determined by cognitive ability, as perceived by teachers and students. Students perceived as having higher cognitive abilities by teachers and peers were more socially accepted. In the MacMillan and Morrison study (1980), predictor variables differed for groups of MR and LD/BD learners in self-contained classrooms. Social acceptance of MR students was a function of teacher perception of misbehavior and cognition. Acceptance of LD/BD learners was better predicted by teacher and peer perception of cognition than by misbehavior.

A search of the literature yielded no studies of peer standards that were used to directly judge the interactions of mainstreamed learners. However, one article reviewed studies concerning the social standards expressed by nondisabled adolescents (Foster et al., 1985). All of the studies were based on interview and questionnaire data. Their review shed some light on the social standards nondisabled students value and may use to judge mainstreamed peers. Acceptance was dependent on such characteristics as: enthusiasm, friendliness, agreeableness, supportive, likes to joke, generous in giving "unsolicited gifts, loans, or favors.... active in games and initiating activities.... interested in the opposite sex.... attractive.... [engages in] shared conversations.... [maintains] eye contact" (pp. 105-106).

Correlates of rejection. Findings of correlational studies identified indicators of social rejection as well as acceptance. Social rejection of LD children correlated positively with observations of peers' making nasty statements to subjects and correlated negatively with subjects' helping/cooperation statements, and peers' positive reinforcement/social statements (Bryan & Bryan, 1978). In other words, rejection was related to an increase in receiving nasty statements, a decrease in the number of positive statements received, and a decrease in giving offers of help.

Lower status children received and initiated more negative behaviors for both LD and nondisabled children in Sainato at al. (1983). Group correlations demonstrated that the LD group with lower status made negative initiations that were more frequently responded to negatively. An unexpected finding was that the lower status LD child made more frequent positive initiations than the higher status LD peer. The researchers also found that negative stereotypes held by some of the nondisabled students discouraged others from interacting despite the positive initiations of LD students. Anecdotal statements made by peers confirmed this process of ostrasization (i.e., "Why do you talk to Tony, he's a jerk?" (p. 86).

The way others viewed the mainstreamed learner also determined rejection. Rejection was predicted by teacher and student perceptions of misbehavior and teacher perceptions of cognitive ability (Gottlieb et al., 1978). MR students who were socially rejected were reported by teachers as having low cognitive abilities and were viewed by peers and teachers as misbehaving frequently. This finding was replicated by MacMillan and Morrison (1980). Teacher perception of cognition predicted rejection of MR children; peer perception of cognition determined rejection of LD/BD learners.

Causes for rejection that came out of the Foster et al. review (1985) were: *disruptive*, annoying, or snobbish behavior; *verbal and physical aggression*; and *violating* property and *rules*. Some of these characteristics (in italics) were social deficits attributed to mainstreamed learners, and are discussed in the section, "Social Competence Research."

Summary of social attitude research. Most of the social attitude studies suggested that mainstreamed students had difficulty being accepted by their nondisabled peers. Yet, despite a lower acceptance level, mainstreamed students did receive the same number of positive peer ratings as nondisabled peers for athletic skills and physical attractiveness (Siperstein et al., 1978) and popularity (Siperstein & Goding, 1983). The issue of status is further complicated because some studies demonstrated that mainstreamed students had status equal to their nondisabled peers (Horowitz, 1981; Perlmutter et al., 1983; Sainato et al., 1983).

Other social attitude studies investigated the effect of social contact with mainstreamed students on level of acceptance. When this was accounted for, nondisabled students sharing classes with mainstreamed students were more likely to reject them than those students who did not have such contact. Only Sheare (1974) obtained positive

results; nondisabled learners were more accepting after having had contact with mainstreamed students.

Another set of studies went beyond the measurement of status to include a description of the specific behaviors that related to status levels. Social acceptance was related to high "response rates" by peers and the subjects themselves (Bryan & Bryan, 1978; Sainato et al., 1983), but low "initiation rates" by subjects (Perlmutter et al., 1983). This contradicted the notion that popular mainstreamed students initiate most social interaction. Frequency of positive initiations were found to correlate positively to rejection with LD learners (Sainato et al., 1983). Rejection was also linked with fewer offers from mainstreamed students to assist peers and more negative responses from nondisabled peers.

In addition to behaviors, perception played a role in peer interaction. Teacher and peer perceptions of cognitive ability and misbehavior were associated with status levels (Gottlieb et al., 1978; MacMillan & Morrison, 1980). Perceptions of cognitive ability and misbehavior appeared to influence social status, and acceptance and rejection were interrelated. When students described causes of acceptance and rejection, the characteristics connected to rejection were acting-out behavior, aggressiveness, and rule and property violations (Foster et

al., 1985). Acceptance was dependent upon the presence of generosity, kindness, humor, and attractiveness.

Social Competence Research

In social competence research, the social behaviors of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were compared. Competence research involved identifying deficits in social perception and social skills. Various deficits were identified through the use of psychological instruments, contrived situations, teacher observations, and systematic laboratory and classroom observations.

Deficiencies in social perception and social skills are summarized in Table 2.4.

Studies of Social Competence

Specific social deficiencies have been reported in the literature. Studies of communication problems among MR learners were reviewed by Gottlieb (1978). Communication deficiencies existed in articulation, grammar, vocabulary, language acquisition, multiple linguistic codes, length of dialogue, interpreting and using nonverbal cues. In addition to communication problems, deficiencies were noted in other areas. MR learners were characterized by a higher frequency of aggressive acts, bizarre behavior, and physical deviations.

Table 2.4

Studies of Social Competence

Studies	Type	Subjects Age	Subjects Disability	Methodology	Problem Areas Found	Comments
Gottleib (1978)	R	C/A	MR	Direct observation of simulated tasks, rating scales	Communication deficiences Antisocial behavior Physical abnormalities	
Bryan & Bryan (1981)*	R	C/A	CD	(same as above)	Not relevant	*Questionable findings
Bruck & Hebert (1982)*	E	C	LD	Checklists, rating scale	Role-playing ability	*Control for sex, hyper-activity, measurement effects
Silver & Young (1985)*	E	A	LD	Rating scales	Problem solving abililty	*Included LA comparison group
Gresham & Reschly (1986)				(See Table 2.2)	Task-related behaviors Self-expression Attitude toward authority/self Neglects to be helpful	

Various deficiencies were reported in a review of LD learners (Bryan & Bryan, 1981). They identified deficits in encoding nonverbal skills (the ability to communicate through gestures), prosocial attitudes and behaviors, comprehension of nonverbal behaviors, and language in social contexts. Bryan and Bryan's conclusions were overly stated, given the evidence. Since this review has been frequently cited, and the authors are the most prominent researchers studying social interaction of LD learners, it is important to state a case against the studies in their review.

First, the evidence for deficient encoding nonverbal skills was based on a single study. The researchers concluded that the negative reaction of peers and mothers of LA children to videotapes of LD children was a direct reflection of the LD child's "misapplication of skills to varying audiences" (p. 170). Yet, the other half of their subjects, college students and mothers of average achieving children, viewed LD children as favorably as they did the nondisabled students. This does not appear to be enough evidence to conclude that LD children were incompetent encoders of nonverbal skills.

Second, the studies of prosocial attitudes and behaviors produced more similarities than differences between LD and nondisabled students. For example, no differences were noted in their attitudes toward helping

others, ability to perceive the need for help in video scenarios, and donating money to charity after having viewed a model. Bryan and Bryan admitted to the sparseness of the findings, but they showed little restraint in proposing "hypothetical explanations for findings" (p. 173).

Third, LD students consistently displayed difficulties in interpreting the emotions and intentions of others when exposed to nonverbal information (gestures, facial expressions, body language, and vocal intonations). However, correlates were high between intelligence and accuracy of performance on these tasks. The researchers failed to control for intelligence, or eliminate test related bias.

Fourth, findings of specific communication weaknesses in social settings were confounded by interactions with the variables involving race of the LD child and age of the nondisabled child. The only substantiated finding was that LD children asked fewer questions for clarification purposes than their nondisabled peers. In conclusion, the evidence Bryan and Bryan presented in the review did not substantiate social deficits of any significance.

In a more thorough study, LD learners consistently performed lower on cognitive and affective role-taking tasks (Bruck & Herbert, 1982). These findings resulted despite the researchers' efforts to control for sex,

hyperactivity effects, and role-taking measurement differences.

Problem-solving ability was compared among LD, LA, and nondisabled adolescents by Silver and Young (1985). The findings indicated that the total scores of LD adolescents were lower than their LA peers, who in turn scored lower than their nondisabled peers. Both LD and LA groups were more accurate in choosing a response from a given set of answers than in independently generating a response. The nondisabled group performed significantly better than the others in generating an original response. The same differences occurred in tasks that involved expressing a socially appropriate means to a specified end and relating the consequences of specific actions.

Social behavior in home and school settings was also found to be different for LD students (Gresham & Reschley, 1986). They used parent, teacher, and peer inventory ratings to investigate deficits among the LD students in task-related, interpersonal, and self-related behaviors. LD students were rated lowest in task-related behaviors such as "attending behavior, completing tasks, on-task behavior, following directions, and independent work" by teachers and parents (p. 30). Ratings of interpersonal and self-related behaviors were low according to peers, teachers and parents. These areas included skills in acceptance of authority, self-expression, positive attitude

toward self, and offering help to others. Task-related behaviors were also judged to be most important for successful social integration in an earlier study (Cartledge et al., 1985).

Summary of Social Competence Research

Since a flawed review by Bryan and Bryan (1981) was a major work in the field, arguments were posed to discount the review's findings. While Bryan and Bryan's study produced questionable evidence, some studies provided strong evidence of social deficits. Problem areas were identified in verbal and nonverbal communication skills, self-concept, appropriate social behavior, task-related behaviors, problem-solving and role playing skills, and acceptance of authority. The meaning of these findings for social interaction is unclear.

Social Intervention Research

In social intervention research, treatment was introduced for the purpose of modifying social interaction. Intervention was accomplished by either developing the social skills of the mainstreamed learner (social skills training) or by modifying the attitudes held by others (attitude changing studies). Each approach had a different emphasis. Social skills training targeted the

mainstreamed child and attitude change targeted the nondisabled peers in the mainstreamed child's environment. Table 2.5 summarizes those techniques considered effective in increasing social interaction.

Studies of Social Skills Training

In a comprehensive review, Gresham (1981) summarized the effectiveness of the following social intervention techniques with mainstreamed learners: "manipulation of antecedents [events that precede a behavior], manipulation of consequences [events that occur after a behavior], modeling, and cognitive-behavioral techniques" (p. 147).

Antecedents were manipulated with populations of MR children in self-contained classes. Nondisabled children demonstrated increased interaction with MR children after having been presented with competency statements about their MR peers. Short-term gains in peer acceptance were noted after students worked on cooperative projects, however no long-term effects were established.

Studies that manipulated consequences used diverse techniques with a range of ages and disability types and produced positive results.

> Virtually all of these techniques have been shown to be effective in either increasing rates of positive behavior or decreasing rates of negative social interaction. Very few of the studies reviewed have implemented these consequent techniques within

Table 2.5

Studies of Social Intervention

Studies	Type	Subjects Age	Subjects Disability	Treatment Strategies	Treatment Effects
A. Social Skills Training					
Gresham & Reschly (1986)	R	C/A	MH	Manipulation of antecedents/consequences Modeling Cognitive-behavioral strategies	Increased frequency/rate of interaction, sharing, appropriate behavior/assertiveness Decreased negative behaviors.
Schloss, Schloss, Wood, & Kiehl (1986)	R	C/A	BD	Role-playing, manipulation of antecedents/ consequences, modeling, behavioral rehearsal, self-monitoring/self-evaluation	Increased assertiveness, eye contact, frequency/rate of interaction, inter-personal skills, sharing. Decreased expression of hostility.
B. Attitude Change					
Newman & Simpson (1985)	E	C	ED	Structured activities	Increased frequency/rate of interaction.
Madden & Slavin (1983)	R	C	MH	Cooperative learning	Increased social status/frequency of interaction.

mainstreamed classrooms. The literature certainly suggests that these techniques would be effective in regular classrooms, but research investigating the efficacy of these techniques in teaching social skills for successful mainstreaming is sparse (Gresham, 1981, p. 157).

Generalization of social skills was demonstrated in only two out of 33 studies in which consequences were manipulated. Maintenance of social skills was proven in seven studies, ranging from five days to three months.

Live modeling studies with BD and MR students increased social interaction rates, and incidences of cooperative play and sharing. No research assessed generalization to mainstreamed settings.

Coaching and self-control techniques were implemented alone and in combinations with the other techniques. Treatment effects included increases in assertive behavior, positive social interaction, positive nonverbal behavior, and sharing. Decreases in frequency of negative behavior were also obtained. Generalization effects in the regular classroom were established in one of the 164 studies Gresham reviewed. The problem of generalization effects was also noted by Schloss et al. (1986), in their review of social skills training research involving BD learners.

Studies of Attitude Change

Newman and Simpson (1985) conducted the only study in which intervention was applied before the integration of

mainstreamed learners. Prior to moving self-contained classes for BD students into an elementary school, two types of interventions were introduced. One intervention provided information about disabilities, the other gave information and had students participate in structured activities with BD students. Social interactions of nondisabled and BD students were then observed and compared for treatment effects. The results presented evidence that students were more likely to interact in recess activities with mainstreamed peers after they had played with them in structured activities. This supported the contact hypothesis earlier discussed. However, only positive initiations made by the nondisabled were recorded. Negative initiations by nondisabled students and the initiations and responses of BD students were not accounted for.

Research in cooperative learning experiences for mainstreamed learners was reviewed by Madden and Slavin (1983). Cooperative learning was the primary technique used to modify attitudes in mainstreamed settings. It consisted of mixed teams of mainstreamed and nondisabled students working together in small groups. Treatment effects were established in six out of nine studies. In general, social status improved and cross-disability interaction increased. However, cross-disability

friendships were not verified, nor were follow-up studies implemented to measure generalization effects.

Summary of Social Intervention Research

The issues of long-term effectiveness and generalization remain a problem for most intervention strategies. Some evidence suggested that interaction rates and appropriate behavior can be increased (i.e., assertiveness and sharing) and inappropriate behavior can be decreased on a short term basis. Such gains were accomplished by the use of applied behavioral analysis strategies (manipulation of antecedents and consequences and modeling), cognitive training, and cooperative learning (Gresham, 1981; Madden & Slavin, 1983).

Methodological Limitations

The literature review assisted this researcher in formulating research questions for the present study and in suggesting ways to operationalize the research questions. An understanding of methodological limitations assisted the researcher in designing a study that would avoid some of the weaknesses of previous research and adopt some of the strengths. A critical review of the methodologies used in each of the four research categories follows.

Limitations of Peer Interaction Research

Most of the peer interaction studies were quantitative in orientation (seven of the eight studies). As such, they were vulnerable to methodological limitations involving lack of context; a dependence on narrow, precoded observation schemes; and an inability to describe the complex nature of interaction.

First, McEvoy and Odom (1987) recognized that a broader perspective on peer interaction was needed, one that incorporated context. Researchers have overlooked the purposes of social behaviors, the function they serve for the person. McEvoy and Odom (1987) suggested that through the use of descriptive taxonomies, the purpose of interaction could be studied. They criticized the measurement of social interaction for being quantitative-oriented rather than qualitative.

Secondly, Shores (1987) critiqued social interaction research, calling for more reliable and descriptive coding of variables. Because quantitative researchers used precoded observation schemes which frame the acts of participants with narrow terms; the observations become unretrievable once they are coded. The unit of analysis, or code, replaces the actual events. Valence (positive, negative, or neutral), type (response or initiation), and frequency of interaction cannot be adequately captured. In

short, the dynamics of interaction, as well as the communication aspect of interaction, are neglected.

Finally, most peer interaction studies relied solely on observational data. Only Grant and Sleeter (1986) used both observational and interview data to study interaction. An etic view, the "outsider" view of the researchers, was the only perspective considered.

Limitations of Social Attitude Research

Sociometric techniques measure status in social attitude research. The techniques are paper and pencil tasks calling for positive and negative peer nominations. Some researchers ask students to "list three people from your class who you would like to eat lunch with. List three people from your class who you would not want to sit next to during assembly." Other researchers use peer roster and rating scales (e.g., rating every classmate on a scale from "like" to "dislike"); and still others use the "Guess who" technique (e.g., Who is the most athletic? Who is the slowest in reading?)

Sociometrics, like all techniques, solve and create problems in research design and measurement. Some of the common problems they have created are: controlling extraneous variables, capturing group dynamics and behavioral sequence, statistical treatment of interval data, using various techniques results in the measurement

of different phenomena, and scoring procedures and criteria are inconsistent.

According to MacMillan and Morrison (1984), the sociometric techniques used in special education differ from classical sociometric techniques. As a result, the findings have limited applications. They criticized research for failing to control or account for factors of ratee and rater characteristics, such as "...sex, social class, age, achievement, ethnicity; ....environmental variables, such as teacher variables, curriculum variations, class size, classroom climate" (p. 97), and length of time in special and regular classroom placement. Problems are created when all nominations receive equal weighting and when the number of nominations are being the sole criteria of acceptance. Mutual choices among children have been ignored.

Self-report methods used in sociometrics required students to express the value they attach to others. Sources of contamination abound. Some students may have been inclined to give socially appropriate answers. Some raters' responses may vary over time, depending on the most recent interaction they had with the ratees. Social interactions occur in a group setting. Yet, these measures were administered to individuals, group dynamics were not accounted for (Gottlieb, 1978).

Another criticism of rating scales was that researchers performed statistical analyses appropriate for interval scale data. Dawes (1984) cautioned against the misconception that rating scales represent true interval scale data. He also advised against the literal interpretation of rating scale data.

Sociometric measures used a wide variety of scoring procedures and status categories. Studies varied in the status categories, ranging from two to as many as five different types. Among researchers, there was no agreement on the criteria for these categories: Isolate, Star, Neglectee, Rejectee, Tolerated. A Tolerated score from one study could have been considered a Rejection score on another. Also, some sociometric instruments regarded rejection and acceptance as mere polars, measuring them on the same continuum. Others measured them separately. Not all researchers included responses that denoted "unknown." Therefore, a student labeled as having low status may have received low ratings because he/she was not well known, not from having a negative image.

Morrison (1981) warned that sociometric measures have been relatively unrefined and acceptance-rejection scores have been oversimplified. Different sociometric measures tap different phenomena. Nomination methods measure close friendship networks, while roster and rating methods assess general acceptance.

Sociometric research overlooked the behavior or sequence of behaviors that produce the level of status.

> Surprisingly, very little research has been concerned with retarded children's overt behavioral interactions in the classroom. Most studies of MR children's behavior have used rating scales to obtain measures of behavioral performance. (Gottlieb, 1978, p. 288)

Studies that included behavioral correlates of status were subject to additional limitations. Correlational research methodology was limited by the selection of behaviors that do not share characteristics with a specific attitude. Also, the researchers oversimplified causality, viewing behavior as a function of attitudes. Reported attitudes were often mistakenly assumed to directly cause behavior. This relationship has not yet been established, the complexity of the task renders causality an impossible thing to establish. Inferences about causality were inappropriate because correlations measure the amount of relationship between pairs of variables, not causality.

Triandus et al. (1984) criticized the behaviors frequently studied in correlation research. "All too often, researchers obtain behavioral measures that have a different set of characteristics from the attitude measures" (p. 26). The specific behaviors targeted for measurement must be matched to a corresponding set of attitudes, or else low correlations will be obtained. In cases of imprecise measurement, it is inaccurate to

conclude that a low correlation necessarily represents an unrelatedness between status and behavior.

Limitations of Social Competence Research

Social competence reflected student performance on contrived tasks that were assumed to simulate reality. Greenspan (1981) questioned the ecological validity of this approach. He argued that experimental designs often lack valid application to social interactions in the real world. "Social awareness researchers have tended to ask subjects to make judgments about static characteristics (states and traits) of other people" (p. 70). The dynamics of interpersonal relationships and context have yet to be addressed by the research.

Studies that examined deficits in social perception were particularly vulnerable to poor ecological validity. Maheady and Maitland (1982) critiqued perception studies for failing to establish a link between perception and behavior.

> Few empirical attempts have been made to document the existence of behavioral characteristics associated with social perception deficits *in the natural environment*. In fact, we found *no* systematic attempts in the literature at documenting such behavioral difficulties. Instead, researchers developed artificial laboratory tasks to measure social perception skills, and then *assumed* that their findings validly represented overt behavior in social situations. (p. 367)

Researchers tended to view "competence" from the adult perspective. The adult perspective dominated the literature. Parents, teachers, and peers should be utilized to evaluate different components of social competence. Only some of the studies had adhered to a multiple perspective, thereby giving a more complete view.

The majority of studies ignored the students who were the source of rejection. Therefore, we know very little about the standards that are being applied to mainstreamed students. An essential "piece of the puzzle" is missing.

> Learning disabled students in particular have been described as demonstrating social-perception and communication difficulties that detract from peer interactions. These deficiencies have been determined largely from laboratory assessments and teacher observations, however, not from the rejecting, nonhandicapped child. Few, if any, efforts have been made to gleen their reasons for not accepting handicapped peers. (Cartledge et al., p.133)

Limitations of Social Intervention Research

Social intervention research methodology was criticized by Foster et al. (1985) on several counts. Generally, researchers trained a group of students in social skills and inferred a cause-effect relationship based on measures of peer status. These studies were vulnerable because they did not attempt to validate verbal data with observational data. The question remained if the traits they attributed to their friends actually existed.

Also, global personality traits were utilized, with no regard for the specific behaviors that students interpret as representing these traits.

> [There was] lack of convergence between behavioral and sociometric outcome measures. Many investigators have found changes in one outcome measure (e.g., behavior) but not in others (e.g., sociometric status). Another problem is that direct observation procedures typically use frequency and rate measures, often ignoring other variables (e.g., timing of the response, situational appropriateness) which could facilitate our understanding of functional relationships between intervention targets and outcome measures (Asher, Markell, & Hymel, 1981).... A final problem lies in the limitations of applied research methodology in general. These involve the numerous uncontrolled variables found in naturalistic settings (e.g., peer and environmental characteristics) which inevitably limit the causal status that can be ascribed to target behaviors employed in training. (Foster et al., 1985, p. 80)

Some of the weaknesses in social intervention studies were related to the difficulties in defining and operationalizing peer interaction Shores (1987). He stated that future developments in social intervention techniques hinge on a more thorough study of social interaction.

Summary and Implications for the Present Study

In Chapter II, the literature on social interaction was organized into four research categories: peer interaction, social attitudes, social competence, and social intervention. Each research category was analyzed

to provide information relevant to the research questions generated by this study.

A review of the literature revealed several shortcomings in current research. In peer interaction research the type and frequency of interaction were measured, but the sequence and patterns of interaction were not described. There was no concern for the context of interaction, including various environmental settings. In social attitude research the attitudes of nondisabled students toward mainstreamed students, and the status of mainstreamed students were examined. However, the link between attitude and status was not established. Nor were students consulted for their social standards and expectations. In social competence research, problem areas that characterize mainstreamed learners were identified. The reciprocity between mainstreamed learners and peers and environmental factors were not considered. Social intervention research examined techniques for increasing interaction. Yet, many difficulties in operationalizing social interaction remain. There was no agreement on what constituted interaction. This has created insurmountable problems in attempting to intervene and measure treatment effects.

Strengths and limitations are exhibited in every study. The present study was no different. Attempts were made to circumvent several limitations present in the

literature. First, observations of interaction were completed in a natural setting, for the purpose of unveiling contributing contextual factors. Second, this study used a multiple perspective. The teachers' view of peer interaction and the student view of social standards were obtained. Participants were asked to reflect on fieldnote excerpts that contained actual behaviors that had been observed in the setting. Third, this study avoided the pitfalls of causality, it was descriptive, not predictive. It attempted to describe the complex nature of social interaction. Fourth, an inductive process was used, interactional units were coded from fieldnote data. Precoded observation schemes were not used. Fifth, both observational and interview data were collected, allowing for a process of data verification. Sixth, student standards were probed for the purpose of identifying the judgments that result in social rejection.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The chapter describes data collection techniques, data analysis strategies, procedures for data collection, and a description of McArthur High School.

Data Collection Techniques

Three ethnographic tools, i.e., participant observation, formal and informal interviews, and artifact collection, were used in the McArthur study. They are discussed in the following sections.

Participant Observation

Participant observation occurred in various settings: two resource programs, six regular classrooms, lunchtime in the cafeteria, hallways, assemblies, home group, a football game and post-game celebration, and a student walkout. A total of 149 hours was spent observing students, twelve to sixteen hours were spent in each resource and regular class. Nineteen mainstreamed, one LRE (a special education program for integrating severe/profoundly disabled students), and 75 nondisabled students were observed.

Participant observation can be implemented in various ways. Spradley (1980) identified several types of participation, each representing the degree of involvement on a continuum from low to high. This study used moderate participation in which the researcher "seeks to maintain a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation" (p. 60). A balance was attained by combining an apartness from the scene (observation) with being a part of the scene (unstructured and structured interviewing).

Teacher Informant Interviews

Two resource and five regular education teachers were informants. The number of informal teacher interviews were minimal since the researcher sought to maximize student contact, and was concerned about being misinterpreted as a member of the teaching staff. Through teacher interviews the researcher was able to obtain information on mainstreamed learners and peer interaction.

Two sets of structured interview sessions were conducted. In the first set, resource teachers were asked, "Please describe each of your students." In the second set, all but one teacher participated. (The seventh teacher was unavailable for interviewing.) The teachers were asked questions concerning their view of interaction, student membership in informal groups, and descriptions and

categories of peer interactions. (See Appendix A for teacher interview questions.) Data from a total of 15 hours of formal teacher interviews were collected.

Student Informant Interviews

Students were interviewed individually and in small groups for information on their judgments of social action. Structured individual and group interviews totalled 51.5 hours.

Individual Student Interviews

Structured interviews of mainstreamed and nondisabled students occurred with 11 mainstreamed and 18 nondisabled students. The purpose was two-fold: (1) to uncover informal student groups and members; and (2) to define the standards and procedures for "belonging" to a group and having friends. (Refer to Appendix B for the list of questions administered in individual interviews.) A second set of interviews were used to collect non-school information that would have been difficult to retrieve through other methods. Five mainstreamed students were asked questions about attitudes toward school, and social activities during and after school. (See Appendix D.)

Unstructured, spontaneous conversations frequently arose between the researcher and students while the researcher served as a participant in the setting. Time and time again, student informants introduced the

researcher to other students and vouched for her credibility and trustworthiness. Beyond the maintenance of rapport, informal conversations also provided unsolicted insights into peer interaction and standards.

<u>Student Group Interviews</u>

Small interview groups of dyads and triads were formed from a pool of 12 mainstreamed and 14 nondisabled students. Students were separated into mainstreamed and nondisabled informant groups. Since it was important that students felt comfortable enough to express themselves in these groups, the researcher based group selection according to who talked together in class. Prior to the interviews, student approval of the arrangements was obtained. In group interviews, peer standards were discussed by sharing fieldnote excerpts that contained examples of standards. (See Appendix C for the format for group interview questions.)

Structured group interviews were used in order to simulate the group negotiation process that occurs in the classrooms since "one child's behavior toward another is seldom exhibited on a one-to-one basis without the approval or support of other class members" (Gottlieb, 1978, p. 295).

Artifact Collection

Written artifacts are considered a noninteractive method of artifact collection. Document collection controls for observer effects since the artifacts exist separate from the researcher. They also serve as an additional data source, "Evidence derived from this material is then compared with data collected from observations and interviews so as to triangulate interpretation" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 156).

The following written artifacts were collected: student records (including grade reports, achievement test scores, psychological reports and IEP's); school handbooks; attendance records; state, school district and school reports; yearbooks; home group nomination slips for class favorites and Senior Superlatives; student organization and team rosters; district enrollment statistics; local and school newspaper articles; suspension and detention rosters.

Triangulation

Triangulation refers to the navigational technique of finding one's location on a map by using two landmark points (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). The same principle applies to social research. A single data source or a

single methodology is not sufficient, inferences need to be verified by cross-checking with other "reference points."

A process of data verification was woven throughout the McArthur study. Triangulation occurred on two levels, using various data sources and multiple methods. Data sources consisted of those participants directly involved in the setting. They were the researcher, resource and regular classroom teachers, and mainstreamed and nondisabled students. Social interaction was viewed through these different perspectives. Researcher interpretations of data underwent verification "checks" with informants. Fieldnote excerpts were used to corroborate participant and researcher views.

In addition to triangulating data sources, methodological triangulation was implemented. Participant observation, interviews, and artifact collection methods were combined in investigating research questions. This is a form of cross methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1977) and minimizes the limitations of each single method when used separately. As part of the informant interview process, the researcher presented observational data for the informants to respond to by sorting, naming, or discussing. Artifacts were also examined for information on social interaction.

The triangulation process, as applied to the McArthur study, is illustrated in Figure 3.1. The figure depicts the phases of the study and their corresponding types of triangulation. The top triangle represents data sources used in the first phase of the study, namely artifact collection, teacher interviews, and participant observation. The bottom triangle illustrates the data sources used in the last phase, namely, participant observation, student interviews from Phase Two, and the literature review.

Data Analysis Strategies

Raw data obtained through the proceeding techniques were recorded in fieldnotes, converted into categories, and analyzed for patterns of meaning. The Ethnograph, a computer software program designed for text analysis, was used to facilitate analysis (Seidel, Kjolseth, & Seymour, 1988). Data reduction and analytic strategies were borrowed from Spradley (1980) and Goetz and LeCompte (1984) and included: dimensions of social situations, analytic induction, constant comparison, and enumeration.

The nine dimensions of social situations suggested by Spradley (1980) set up a framework for generating descriptive observations. Observations were guided by Spradley's dimensions and their interrelationships: space,

ARTIFACT COLLECTION ——— TEACHER INTERVIEWS

PHASE

ONE

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

PHASE

FOUR

LITERATURE REVIEW ——— STUDENT INTERVIEWS

Figure 3.2. Triangulation process.

Graphic presentation adapted from Evertson and Green (1987). In M. Wittorck (Ed.), Hnadbook of reserach in teaching (3rd ed.) (pp. 162-213.) NY: MacMillan.

actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling. Spradley's domain analysis worksheets were also completed, based on these nine dimensions. The worksheets assisted the researcher in discovering relationships among cultural domains. "Cultural domains are categories of meaning" (Spradley, 1980, p. 88). Some cultural domains derived from this study were: ways students help one another, ways to be a friend, kinds of actions that are ridiculed, ways to entertain others, and ways students express dislike for someone.

Analytic induction allowed the researcher to formulate categories and discover relationships and typologies among them (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Domain analysis was one inductive tool used by the researcher. A broader inductive process was also followed. Fieldnote data were subjected to a process of "comparing, contrasting, aggregating, and ordering" units of interaction (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 169). Induction yielded categories, i.e., forms of communication, levels of involvement between students, sources of embarrassment.

Constant comparison, an inductive strategy that compared new observations against former categories of observation was also used. This resulted in uncovering new constructs and relationships. The process continued as new categories presented themselves, and became more refined and varied. The process ended once themes were repeated,

until no new themes emerged and a saturation point was attained. For example, types of social interaction were initially categorized as either "maintaining verbal interaction" or "initiating verbal interaction." When a student argued with a peer and left the classroom, this observation did not fit into either category. It was necessary to construct either a third category, such as "ending verbal interaction" or redefine the categories by adding the dimension of "types of emotional states: negative, positive, neutral."

The present investigation applied enumeration, frequency counts of categories. Two examples illustrate how the researcher used enumeration. Example One: mainstreamed students were compared with nondisabled peers in terms of the percent of mainstreamed students who engaged in specific types of actions versus the percent of nondisabled students involved in the same types of actions. Example Two: In order to measure the degree of "mixing with people from other groups," a formula was computed based on observational data. This allowed the researcher to compare the amount of "mixing" done by mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.

Data Collection Procedures

Procedural steps were adhered to in the following order. First, permission for entry was obtained at the university level. However, the entry process was held up at the school district level, and a planned pilot study for May and June was eliminated. Instead, a six week pilot study was implemented at a summer program for gifted high school students. The purpose of the pilot study was to practice observation and fieldnote recording in classroom environments. The researcher, a novice to ethnographic methods, also used this time to acclimate herself in the role of ethnographer among adolescents.

In the major study, data collection occurred once formal entry procedures were completed at the school district and school building levels. The study ran during the first nineteen weeks of the school year, from August through December. Throughout the study a daily research journal was maintained by the researcher. The journal was valuable as an outlet for subjective feelings. It also served as a way for the researcher to record her reflections at the end of the day. Some of the reflections were themes that seemed to unfold and develop gradually over time, others were momentary, sporadic thoughts.

The procedures for data collection were planned in phases that corresponded to specific sets of research questions. For each phase, the research objectives are summarized, procedural steps are given, and specific research questions are repeated. Phase Four questions are not included here, since they addressed the findings of this study and their "fit" with the literature. They are discussed in the last chapter, Chapter V, "Discussion."

Phase One - Peer Interaction

The objectives of the initial phase of research were: describing the mainstreamed students, identifying types of peer interaction in various settings, comparing peer interaction for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners, comparing peer interaction in regular and resource classes, and uncovering contextual factors present during interaction.

In the first few teacher workdays prior to student arrivals, the researcher was introduced at a staff meeting and contacted teachers for permission to observe in classes. Classroom entry began in an ROTC program for several reasons. It allowed the researcher access to a range of underclass and upperclass students. It was located in the same building as the resource classrooms. A large number of ROTC students were mainstreamed learners. This was a way for the researcher to familiarize herself

with mainstreamed students without drawing attention to the focus on mainstreamed students. It was important for the researcher to avoid overidentification with the resource program. Therefore, it was necessary to begin observations in a regular class setting. The ROTC program served as an initial "home base," as the researcher "eased into" the setting.

The researcher identified herself as a doctoral student who was interested in describing "the social world of high school students" by observing and talking to students and teachers. All data were recorded in the form of fieldnotes. The researcher gradually increased observations in regular classes, scheduling those classes which shared a subgroup of five mainstreamed learners. Once regular class observations were complete, resource class observations followed. Of the regular classes, one was unique in that it contained all mainstreamed students. This class served as a "resource setting" during data analysis because the class was small and contained no nondisabled peers.

The researcher intended to follow five "target" mainstreamed students into two resource and a few regular classes. However, this did not transpire. Within the first three weeks of classes, approximately half of the student body changed schedules. Throughout the study, students continued to change classes. The resulting target

group consisted of three mainstreamed students, sharing various combinations of regular and resource classes.

All teacher interviews occurred over the course of the first phase. Fieldnotes were gathered and analyzed for typologies of peer interaction. Then fieldnote excerpts that exemplified these typologies were selected and shared with teacher informants. The teachers were asked to sort fieldnote excerpts into their own typologies of interaction. (Refer to Appendix A.)

During this phase, questions were developed for individual interviews, group interviews, and target mainstreamed student interviews. Student informants were informally consulted for assisting in the wording of interview questions. (See Appendices B, C, and D.)

So far, data collection in the first phase of the dissertation study addressed Research Questions Two through Four, concerning peer interaction. Data for Question One, descriptions of mainstreamed students, were collected during the last two weeks of the study. At that time, all student informant records were copied and target mainstreamed students were interviewed. Again, the reason for this was to minimize drawing attention to mainstreamed students.

The research questions addressed in Phase One were:

Research Question 1: How can these mainstreamed learners be described?

Research Question 2: What types of peer interaction occur among high school students?

Research Question 3: How does peer interaction compare for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in the regular classroom?

Research Question 4: How does peer interaction compare for mainstreamed (target) learners in the regular class and resource program?

Research Question 5: What contextual factors contribute to peer interaction?

Phase Two - Peer Standards (Reported)

The second phase involved interviewing students to uncover their view of social standards of peer interaction. All students in observed classes (and their parents) were asked to participate in the study. Letters of written, informed consent were distributed to students. The letters requested access to student records and permission to interview. Both student and parental signatures were obtained. The researcher selected informants from the pool of students who had returned signed release forms, based on availability and schedules. There was no sample randomization. Students were chosen according to the classes they attended. It was also necessary to obtain their teacher's permission to release them from class for interviews. The introvertive, "Nerd"

students, as defined by peers, were inaccessible, because they did not return signed release forms. When directly asked by the researcher for permission to be interviewed, they refused.

Through individual interviews the underlying standards and procedures for "belonging" to a group and maintaining friends were extracted. Fieldnote excerpts that contained examples of standards were then submitted for discussion in small group interviews. The small group participants were the same informants who participated in individual interviews, with the exception of two students. Small groups were kept separate for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.

One research question was answered in Phase Two.

Research Question 6: What peer standards are reported by mainstreamed and nondisabled students?

Phase Three - Peer Standards (In Action)

In the third phase, peer interaction was re-examined for evidence of "standards in action." The purpose was to describe how and if peer standards were apparent during interaction, and compare mainstreamed and nondisabled learners according to the "standards in action." For this phase, observational data gathered in and outside of classes and interview data were used. The data base was broader than the one used in Phase One. Phase Three

observations went beyond the classroom and included interaction that occurred between class sessions in the hallways, and during lunch period, assemblies in the auditorium, and sporting events. Data were also obtained from structured and unstructured student interviews.

Phase Three was designed to answer two questions.

Research Question 7: How do students negotiate these standards in their daily interaction?

Research Question 8: How can mainstreamed and nondisabled students be described in terms of these "standards in action?"

McArthur High School

McArthur High was one of the two oldest high schools in the area. Built in 1950, the main building has been deteriorating. During the study, it served seven hundred and forty-six students and fifty-three staff members.

Physical plant problems included water damage, inadequate sewage drainage, dilapidated walls, breakdowns in the heating system, poor lighting, and the presence of friable asbestos (Local newspaper articles). A lack of air conditioning and ventilation resulted in an early dismissal of students during the first two weeks of school. The physical condition of McArthur was so poor that a county commissioner reported, "It's something like you'd expect to

see inside a state prison" (Local newspaper article). The Parent-Student-Teachers Organization (PSTO) was actively involved in drawing attention to the plight of McArthur. In response to the efforts of the PSTO, school district officials scheduled a multi-million dollar renovation project for the following school year.

Two newer buildings are detached from the main plant. One building housed the music, resource, and ROTC programs. It was undergoing asbestos removal during the course of the study. The second building housed the home economics and industrial arts programs.

McArthur students were primarily from the nearby middle and lower middle class neighborhoods. They lived in single family homes, apartment complexes, trailer courts, graduate student housing, and a group home for children. The remaining students drew from a wide range of backgrounds including upper middle and upper class subdivisions that bordered one side of the school and government subsidized housing projects that bordered the other side.

Ninety-one percent of the students were Caucasian. Most of the black students lived on the opposite side of the city, and a majority of the international students, Asian and Hispanic, resided in the adjacent university student housing.

Student achievement scores were commensurate with the average scores of all seventeen high schools in the school district. Nondisabled students performed within the average level for the district on the state proficiency tests. The percent of students who passed the test ranged from 79% to 98% for freshman through senior class levels. Nondisabled seniors received fairly high scores on the American College Test (ACT). McArthur was one of six high schools that exceeded the national average on ACT scores for last year. Approximately fifty percent of the graduating seniors went on to attend college.

McArthur High has a negative image in the community. Students, teachers, and administrators saw their school as unfairly having a bad reputation. They repeatedly made unsolicited comments about the negative exposure of McArthur High and its students in the media, and the disregard their neighbors, family, and friends had for their school. During the study, the local newspapers and television stations played a central role in the ethos of the school. In the first week of school, a reporter infiltrated the school, with the permission of the school superintendent. She misrepresented herself as a student to the administration, faculty, and students. After one week of undercover work, she published two articles about her experiences, not naming McArthur but providing descriptive

details so that anyone who attended the school would recognize it.

Other media events involved coverage of students who committed crimes. They were given detailed coverage in the newspaper and television news. Interviews and photos of classmates and the school were included along with the school's name.

A student boycott resulted in two days of filming and interviewing students by three local television crews, as well as front page exposure in both local papers. On a third day, television crews attempted to enter campus and interview and film students serving detention for having participated in the boycott.

McArthur staff and students expressed a unified concern for their school's image. Teachers reported having strained relationships with their family, neighbors and friends over the value of McArthur. One of the teachers described his loyalty, "I love it here. They'll have to carry me out of here. Cuz I'm not ever gonna leave." As a student put it, "When I was a freshman I was scared cuz all the bad things people said. But it wasn't like that at all. It's nice here!" These strong affections for the school created a unifying force against the critical eye of outsiders and the intrusions of the media.

The school curriculum was highly structured. A "track" system offered academic choices that were either oriented towards college (Advanced Placement, Honors, and College Preparatory), general education ("Basic" courses for students who performed within two years of grade level), or remedial ("Fundamental" courses for mainstreamed students and those who performed lower than two years below grade level). In addition to academic areas, programs were offered in business education, music and art, driver and traffic safety education, home economics, industrial arts and vocational education, physical education, ROTC, and special education.

The student body was divided into three similar sized tracks. Approximately one third of the students attended either college preparatory classes, general education courses, or career preparatory classes. Students were separated into classes according to these major curricular tracks. The college preparatory students attended the majority of their classes together, the "Basic" students were together, and likewise, the "Fundamental" students.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the methodology implemented in the present study was discussed. Data collection techniques consisted of participant observation, structure and

unstructured interviews, and artifact collection. The researcher applied various data analysis strategies, ones typically used in ethnographic inquiries. These were domain analysis, constant comparison, and enumeration. The steps for operationalizing the research questions were outlined for each research phase. The first phase focused on interaction patterns of mainstreamed and nondisabled students. In the second phase social standards of peer interaction were obtained. The third phase examined how students applied these standards during interaction.

A description of McArthur High School followed, giving the reader a background of the community, the school district, students and staff, and curricular options.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Introduction

Results of the McArthur study are presented in accord with the four phases of the research design. In _Phase One,_ the focus is on peer interaction. Initially, mainstreamed students are described. This is followed by presenting the types of peer interaction that typically went on among high school students. Two types of comparisons are made. The first comparison concerns the peer interaction that occurred in regular classrooms between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. The second comparison examines peer interaction of mainstreamed students in regular and resource class settings. The context that framed peer interaction is studied for factors that contributed to peer interaction.

In _Phase Two,_ student reports of peer standards are compared for mainstreamed and nondisabled students to see if they claimed to adhere to similar standards.

In _Phase Three,_ the reported standards of Phase Two are used as a template for viewing peer interaction, uncovering how standards were negotiated in action.

"Standards in action" are compared for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.

In Phase Four, the results from Phases One through Three are scrutinized according to previous studies's findings. The findings are applied to a research model proposed by Gaylord-Ross and Haring (1987). Because Phase Four is concerned with implications and conclusions of the study, it is not presented here, but more appropriately in Chapter V.

Research Question 1: How can these mainstreamed learners be described? (Phase One)

The heterogeneous nature of mainstreamed students has made it difficult to perform research (MacMillan, Keogh, & Jones, 1987). Researchers are challenged by the tasks of extracting generalizations and facilitating replicability among a group of students who share one common variable - their special education label. Documents collected from school and student records were examined for descriptive information about McArthur mainstreamed students. The artifacts elicited information along the academic and social dimensions. Mainstreamed students were found to be very heterogeneous along both of these dimensions.

Academic Dimension

Student descriptions are presented to correspond to the entire mainstreamed population (N=67), the interviewed mainstreamed group (N=13), and the three target mainstreamed students.

Table 4.1 summarizes the academic information for individual students who were interviewed. Eleven of the interviewed students were designated as learning disabled. One student was "behavior disordered," another, "mentally retarded." Most students scored within the low average range for intelligence. Achievement levels ranged from grades 2.3 to 5.8 in Reading, and 3 to 7 in Math. (Achievement levels were also low for interviewed nondisabled students. Freshman year scores on The Stanford Achievement Test [Madden, Gardner, Rudmean, Karlsen, & Merwin, 1982] ranged from the 20th percentile to the 69th percentile in Reading, and the 18th percentile to the 74 percentile in Math. The average score was in the 37.61st percentile in Reading, and the 38.61st percentile in Math.)

Mainstreamed students have been attending resource programs for at least the past five years. By third grade, more than half of them were already receiving special educational services. During their special education careers, several students have had social skills targeted for remediation. These targeted areas are included in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Summary of Mainstreamed Informants

Student Codes	Race	Gender	Grade Began Receiving Special Ed. Services	WISC-R[1] Fullscale Scores	Intellectual Potential	Reading	Math	Disability	Social Skills Targeted for Remediation in IEP	Disciplinary Infractions
S27	White	Male	3rd	85	low average	2.3[2]	6.4[2]	LD	"Know character traits needed for acceptance....Behave according to peer group norm in a moderately structured, defined situation....Know proper behavior in a public situation."	Insubordination (twice); disruptive in class (twice); excessive tardies (twice); refuses to attend detention, humped a girl like a dog, profanity.
S23	White	Male	3rd	98	average	3.4[2]	6.3[2]	LD	None.	None.
S38	White	Male	---	--	-----------	----	-----	LD	Will improve his attitude toward teachers and peers.... Converse adequately and appropriately with teacher and other students."	Profanity, disrespectful toward teacher, insubordination.
S26	White	Male	6th	81	low average	5.1[2]	7.0[2]	LD	None.	None.
S53	White	Male	1st	84[3]	low average	5.8[2]	7.0[2]	LD	"Will act appropriately with a small group containing both sexes."	None.
S28	White	Male	3rd	89	low average	<3.0[4]	4.0[4]	LD	None.	None.
S47	Black	Male	4th	79-85	low average	---	---	BD	None.	None.

[1] "Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Revised"

[2] "Woodcock-Johnson Psychoeducational Battery"

[3] "Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised"

[4] "Wide Range Achivement Test"

Table 4.1 (con't)

Student Codes	Race	Gender	Grade Began Receiving Special Ed. Services	WISC-R Fullscale Scores	Intellectual Potential	Reading	Math	Disability	Social Skills Targeted for Remediation in IEP	Disciplinary Infractions
S44	White	Male	---	69	MR	9 %ile[2]	1 %ile[2]	MR	None.	None.
S5	Black	Female	2nd	85	low average	SS 77[5]	SS 60[5]	LD	None.	None.
S25	White	Male	1st	88	low average	3.3[2]	6.8[2]	LD	None.	Unexcused absence.
S32	White	Male	4th	104	average	SS 74[2]	---	LD	None.	None.
S1	White	Female	4th	74	borderline	4.0[6]	3.0[6]	LD	"Develop more age appropriate attitudes and actions.... Positively interact with teacher and peers, to teacher satisfaction."	None.
S46	White	Male	6th	---	-----------	---	---	LD	None.	None.

[5]"Peabody Individual Achievement Test"

School Behavior

The literature suggests that mainstreamed learners have difficultly accepting authority (Gresham & Reschley, 1986) and that students disapproved of those who engage in misbehavior (Foster et al., 1985; Gottlieb et al., 1978). Detention and suspension rosters were analyzed for evidence of inappropriate school behavior. The number of infractions among all McArthur students, over a nineteen week period, totalled to 317, twenty-nine of them were performed by mainstreamed students. When the number of infractions were computed and compared according to the proportion of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners, there were no differences. (Two-hundred and eighty-eight infractions made by nondisabled students represented 42.41% of the nondisabled population, and 29 infractions of mainstreamed students represented 43.29% of the mainstreamed population. These percentages do not account for multiple infractions made by the same student.)

The disciplinary infractions of the mainstreamed population were committed by 13 mainstreamed students (19.4% of the mainstreamed population). Half of them were multiple offenders. The offenses of mainstreamed students were: unexcused absences (12), smoking (3), tardiness (3), insubordination (3), profanity (2), disrespectful towards a teacher (2), failure to serve detention (2), "humped a girl like a dog" (1), disruptive in class (2), threatened a

teacher (1), and refused to do work (1). (See Table 4.1. for the specific infractions of the interviewed mainstreamed students.)

Social Dimension

In the social dimension, student descriptions are based on the entire group of McArthur mainstreamed students (N=67) and the interviewed mainstreamed students (N=13). Comparisons are made between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in social areas involving extracurricular participation, peer popularity, and membership in informal student groups.

Extracurricular Participation

Studies of mainstreamed and nondisabled student participation in extracurricular activities showed contradictory results (Gregory et al., 1986; Deshler et al., 1980). McArthur student organizations and sport teams were analyzed for the purpose of comparing representativeness of mainstreamed and nondisabled members. An underrepresentation of mainstreamed students resulted. (Thirty-seven memberships belonged to mainstreamed students, 55.22% of the mainstreamed population; and 575 memberships belonged to nondisabled students, 84.68% of the nondisabled population.)

Forty-one percent (28 out of 67) of the mainstreamed population belonged to school organizations. They participated in ROTC (14), football (6), Technology Student Association (4), Student Representative Association (3), Future Homemakers of America/Home Economics Related Occupations (2), Latin (2), Band (2), DECA (2), Vocational Industrial Clubs of America, Chorus, swim team, and basketball (1 each). Some mainstreamed students belonged to more than one organization. Six of the students belonged to two organizations, and one student belonged to three.

Because Deshler et al. (1980) found similarities between LD and LA student in terms of extracurricular participation, comparisons were made between mainstreamed learners and those nondisabled "fundamental track" students who were observed in mainstreamed regular classes. Twenty-six organizational memberships belonged to "fundamental track" students, 34.67% of the "fundamental track" students. Twenty-eight percent (21 out of 75) of the "fundamental track" students belonged to student organizations. These percentages more closely approximated the percentages found in the mainstreamed population.

Measures of Peer Popularity

Students discussed and submitted names for "class favorites." Each home group nominated three students. Twelve names were then voted on by individuals to determine

the winner. No mainstreamed students were nominated for class favorites in the freshman, sophomore, and junior classes.

A similar process was done with several categories for "Senior Superlatives." Two mainstreamed seniors were nominated for "Friendliest Girl" and "Most Likely to Succeed." A third mainstreamed student was nominated for multiple awards: "Most Athletic Boy;" "Most School Spirit;" and "Mr. McArthur High," the most coveted award. They all received one nomination apiece, too low to be contenders for the top nominations.

Nominations for all four class levels were computed for the "fundamental track" students. A total of 9 out of 75 "fundamental" students, 12%, received nominations. This was similar to the low percentage of mainstreamed learners (3%, 2 out of 67) that were nominated.

Membership in Informal Student Groups

With the exception of one student, who was strongly affiliated with the "Hood" group, mainstreamed informants described themselves as either being in a few different groups, or being in a loose group referred to as "Hang with everybody," "Normal," Friendly," "In-between," and "Be themselves." This was not unique to mainstreamed students, it was also the case with nondisabled students. Fourteen of out of 18 nondisabled students belonged to either the In-Betweeners or a few groups. The remaining four students

were affiliated with either the Hoods, Thrashers (Skateboarders), Blacks (the student who belonged to this group was Caucasian), or Preps.

When a student belonged to the open group, they were allowed to mix with a variety of groups. Many of the students mentioned this advantage, Tony explained it best.

> [He talks about the restrictions for belonging to the Hood and Prep groups.] That's why it's better to be in the middle. Then you can do what you want. Nobody can say anything. You get no complaints. You can be friends with both. If you stick with one group, you can only have friends in your group. Other people won't like you no more. Stay in-between and you can have friends all around. (Excerpt from formal interview.)

It was not possible to confirm students' perceptions of who fit into what specific groups. All of the interviewed nondisabled and mainstreamed learners differed according to the groups they identified and who their members were. The students talked about four groups with regularity, the Preps, Nerds, Hoods, and In-Betweeners, but the students who belonged to them were not viewed consistently among students. (In later descriptions, group affiliations are used only when there was general consensus among peers.)

Target Mainstreamed Students

A subset of mainstreamed students were included in the McArthur study. These are the three target students who had schedules that allowed for observations in multiple

settings. They also participated in additional interviews. (See Appendix D.) Looking at target students gives a more detailed picture of who the mainstreamed students are, supplementing the larger view of the mainstreamed population. (Note: Student codes are provided for the reader to use for referring back to academic descriptions in Table 4.1.)

Tony (S46)

Tony expressed a positive attitude toward school. He aspires to a career in drafting, like his brother. He saw school as his opportunity to get "an education and friends." His described his teachers in glowing terms. When Tony talked about schoolwork, he used terms like "fun" and "neat." He saw some of the students as "real nice" and "some of them are real snobby."

He regularly attended football games and post-game celebrations at a local pizza parlor. After school Tony usually played football with boys from the neighborhood and several students from McArthur. He also held down a part-time job, working twenty to twenty-five hours per week.

Harry (S47)

Harry described his purpose for going to school as, "To get away from home." He said that he got "headaches and grief" out of school. Participating in sports was his only positive experience in school. He felt that he "may as well make the best of it" to break the boredom. He

liked all of his teachers but one. She was "mean" and "hateful"; the others were "cool" and "reasonable." He enjoyed the classes with these teachers, but admitted to sleeping in the class of the teacher he disliked. The classes that he liked were all easy for him. Harry characterized other students as "some are nice ... some are bad."

He played varsity football and attended all basketball practices before he was dropped for failing grades. He described his after school activities as, "I'm a houseboy. I go home, sleep and eat. I may talk on the phone." He also made regular visits to see his two year old daughter who lived nearby with her mother's family.

Todd (S38)

"Cuz I have to come. I learn some stuff," and "friends" were Todd's reasons for attending school. He explained, "It's the teachers I don't like." Yet, when he talked about his individual teachers he claimed he "got along" with all but one. She taught the only class he disliked. He didn't like the favoritism this teacher showed to students. Todd described his schoolwork as "okay," "fair," and "easy." His only incentive for staying in school is an older brother. "I'm only worried about my older brother and what he'd do." He claimed to get along with peers "okay. I try to have friends. Friends are better than teachers."

Todd alternated living arrangements. He lived with his brother some of the time. He also stayed alone with his grandmother and cared for her. After school he usually played basketball at a local recreation center with students from Kennedy High. He attended Kennedy High football games and post-game celebrations, and went to McArthur baseball games. He had two seasonal jobs, one for the summer, another for the fall.

Summary of Research Question One

Mainstreamed students were similar to their nondisabled peers along some academic and social dimensions. As a group, both mainstreamed and nondisabled informants were characterized by low levels of achievement and were similar in their school behavior and group memberships.

Mainstreamed and "fundamental track" learners differed from normally achieving nondisabled peers in their extracurricular involvements and peer popularity. Fewer mainstreamed and fundamental students belonged to school sponsored organizations and sports. They were also underrepresented in peer nominations for "Class Favorites" and "Senior Superlatives."

Research Question 2: What types of peer interaction occur among high school students? (Phase One)

In order to describe the peer interaction of mainstreamed students, the researcher first identified general types of interaction by observing McArthur students and consulting the teachers. Teachers' categorizations of interaction were obtained since teachers were daily exposed to the things that students said and did, and teachers were responsible for structuring the curricular environment.

Types of Peer Interaction

The most striking thing about observing teenagers was the constant peer interaction and the many different forms it took. This was apparent within the first two weeks at McArthur.

> It's amazing to see how the kids manage to seize every opportunity to maximize socializing. If they're not talking, they're watching others talking, or writing or reading notes. When the teacher's back is turned, or an interruption occurs, they do one of these things. It's getting to be predictable. (The very bored ones just keep their heads down, regardless.)
>
> Passing notes, wallets and photo albums, and playing paper and pencil games are nondisruptive ways to communicate. They have found a way to circumvent the system. This is most obvious in classes that require minimal student

> participation. They seem driven to interact. (Excerpts from research journal.)

McArthur students interacted in a variety of ways. Most of their interaction involved humor, verbal communication and physical contact. Table 4.2 summarizes the types of peer interaction.

Students used <u>forms of communication</u> that were written, oral, gestural, and physical (touching). Written and gestural forms were subtle and nondisruptive. Information was given by passing wallets, photo albums, magazines, and notes. The content of notes typically revolved around boy-girl relationships. During class, students quietly played paper and pencil games such as mazes; tic-tac-toe; football; and future triangles, i.e., folded, origami-like paper containing "fortune telling" messages.

There was a lot of touching. Students horseplayed in a rough manner. They wrestled, slapped, punched, bit, and feigned choking each other. They also made physical contact to get someone's attention, show concern, and display affection. The affection displayed between boys and girls was done quite openly. They gently touched, held hands, hugged, sat on each other's laps, "necked," and pressed their bodies together in an overtly sexual manner.

Table 4.2

Types of Peer Interaction

Forms of Communication
Written
Oral
Physical
Gestural

Types of Action
Entertaining
Praising
Sharing and Helping
Ridiculing
Criticizing
Bossing Around

Mistakes
Task Failure
Social Faux Pas

Emotional Tones/Reactions
Positive - Pleased or Amused
(Laugh at/Laugh with)
Negative - Annoyed
Embarrassed
Neutral - No Affect/No Reaction
Intentionally Ignored

Reciprocity

Levels of Involvement
Direct
Peripheral
Spectator (No Involvement)

Relationship to Task
Task Related
Task Included
Task Neglected

They engaged in various <u>types of actions.</u> They teased, entertained, praised, shared, helped, ridiculed, criticized, and bossed one another. Teasing, entertaining, helping and sharing were done constantly. Teasing was done in fun, ridiculing was performed at the expense of the other person. (For more discussion, see subsequent paragraphs.)

Students helped one another and shared possessions. This included cheating, lending or giving materials (supplies, notes, candy, money), and giving advice or consolation. Occasionally someone was praised.

They amused one another with horseplay, physical antics, and verbal and gestural jokes. A student explained it, "To make school alive, just not to be bored, there's gotta be a class clown in every class. Everybody goofs around except for those who want to get through school and learn. You need free time and fun. School would be dead without clowns.... The comedians make it a comedy."

Humor was usually mutually exchanged, but there were times when it was used against a person. Verbal banter and entertainment was mutual, ridiculing was not. Students put down and laughed at others when they expressed an overeagerness in their schoolwork, or they were "too smart." But students were also ridiculed for their mistakes. A <u>mistake</u> was either a task failure, such as

giving the wrong answer when called on; or a social faux pas, such as being gross during lunch.

Students took humor to heights that seemed to test a person's endurance, particularly friends. In the words of one student, "Yeah, everybody makes fun of people. It's okay. We all laugh at each other. If you can't laugh at yourself and people it's sad." Students responded to bossiness, being ridiculed, and being criticized by either taking it seriously or finding it amusing. "Some play it off and laugh, some get serious." Another student remarked, "It's a tension break, it's chilling [being cool]. It's something to do.... It happens a lot. They either play it off or get mad and go off [blow up in anger] later."

Students expressed different <u>emotional tones and reactions,</u> ranging from being pleased or amused, to embarrassment, to annoyance. <u>Reciprocity</u> was the general pattern. The emotional state of the person who initiated the interaction was usually reciprocated by the responder. Anger begat anger, laughter begat laughter, seriousness begat seriousness, and so on. Yet, there were exceptions. The responders didn't always find an "amusing" act funny, nor did they always react seriously to a grave act.

Sometimes emotional states were not expressed. Students had no reaction to another person's actions, they showed no observable affect. They appeared to be neutral.

Students intentionally ignored some of the other students' attempts to initiate interaction.

Students were <u>involved on different levels.</u> In face-to-face interaction, a person was directly involved with another student. Direct involvement occurred with dyads and triads of students communicating among themselves. A second level of involvement was peripheral. At this level students watched a direct interaction and communicated a response, usually amused laughter. They were a responsive audience, who indicated that they were watching what others were saying and doing by sharing in the interaction to some degree. Sometimes students were detached spectators, they didn't react to what they viewed. At the spectator level, students were not involved. There was no interaction. Some students were either direct actors, peripheral actors, or spectators for much of the time. Most students often acted on a variety of these levels.

The <u>relationship between interaction and school tasks</u> varied. The conversations and actions of McArthur students were academically task-related (Ex., clarifying an assignment or loaning someone a textbook) and socially-oriented (Ex., discussing their weekend experiences or giving out candy.) Some of the "social talk" occurred while the students continued to work on their assignments; interaction was task included. Other times they interacted

to the exclusion of the task; interaction was task neglected.

The Teachers' View of Interaction

The interviewed teachers tended to categorize episodes of student interaction according to the relationship the interaction had with the task (on-task/off-task), the action required on their part as disciplinarians, and the things that went on between the students themselves. The disciplinary-oriented categories were: "punishable," "confiscate the item," "behavior to ignore," "disruptive, but non-physical," "quiet, nondisruptive," "disruptive and physical," "making an effort," "flirting with serious trouble," and "unacceptable." Their role as teachers was closely connected to what the students said and did among themselves. The actions of teachers were linked together and inseparable from the students. Teachers saw the actions of students as requiring specific action on their part.

Some of their categories were aligned closer to what was going on between the students themselves: "subtle communication," "embarrassing," "being silly," "providing entertainment," "act[ing] authoritative," "general communication," "try[ing] to irritate," "boy-girl relationships," "horseplay[ing]," "passing things around," "negative or rejective," "interacting to receive

information," "the purpose is to hurt someone," "trying to get attention," "humor," "helping each other," "letter writing," "dating," "teasing," and "lack of respect." Since the focus of this study was to investigate peer interaction, the disciplinary-oriented categories were not included, but the latter categories were incorporated into the analysis.

Summary of Research Question Two

Various types of peer interaction were described: forms of communication, types of interaction, mistakes, emotional tones, reciprocity, levels of involvement, and relationship to task. They were based on researcher observations and teacher interview responses. This provided a background for some of the general things that went on between students at McArthur.

Research Question 3: How does peer interaction compare for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in the regular classroom? (Phase One)

In light of the typical things that students had said and done, peer interaction was examined for mainstreamed and nondisabled students. They were treated as two distinct populations for the purpose of making

comparisons. Observations were made of 19 mainstreamed, one LRE, and 75 nondisabled learners among four regular classrooms. Some students overlapped into other classes, and were observed in more than one class.

Due to the variations of peer interaction between classes, comparisons were made between classes for groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. Between class percentages were computed separately for groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled students, for each class. For example, the between class percentage of mainstreamed students was computed by tallying the number of mainstreamed students engaged in a specific types of interaction in one class, and dividing it by the number of mainstreamed students who attended that class. The same steps were used for determining the between class percentage of nondisabled students for a given interaction.

Since the purpose was to make comparisons between the interaction of mainstreamed and nondisabled students, as separate groups, across class percentages were also provided. Across class percentages were computed for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners, separately. For example, the across class percentage of mainstreamed students was calculated by tallying for all classes, the number of mainstreamed students who engaged in an interaction and dividing this by the the total number of mainstreamed students in all classes.

"Differences" between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were reported when percentages of students differed by 20% or more. An initial review of the data indicated that a larger percentage would not detect many differences. Given the small number of subjects, and the desire to test the notion that mainstreamed students interacted differently, a conservative approach was adopted. Across class "differences" were confirmed by computing a test of significance of difference between two proportions (Bruning & Kintz, 1977, pp. 222-224).

In Research Question Three, peer interaction was described in sections that correspond to noninteraction, entertainment, ridiculing, helping and sharing, criticism, and praise. For each of the sections, tables are provided in the Appendices. The tables list the students who were observed while engaged in a specific interaction (i.e., noninteraction), the class they attended, between class percentages and across class percentages. The tables allow the reader to see at a glance, for each class: who the individual students were (codes are used to protect student identity); whether they were mainstreamed or nondisabled; and what percent of the mainstreamed and nondisabled populations they represented (between class percentages). Between class percentages show how groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled students differed in various classes. An across class percentage is also provided. The across class

percentage collapses the classes, weighing the differences between groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled students, regardless of class context.

Noninteraction

Some students did not interact during an entire class period. These students are reported in Appendix E. The tables show the students who did not interact. A ratio was computed for the number of class periods when they were noninteractive (numerator) and the number of class periods they were observed (denominator). The ratio was a measure of the degree of noninteraction for each student.

It was fairly common for all of the students to go through at least one class period without having an interaction. This happened with at least half of the students. *No difference was found between the percentage of noninteractors for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners across all classes.* Differences did exist between classes, however. Three of the four classes (Classes A and B) had higher percentages of nondisabled noninteractors than mainstreamed noninteractors. In Class C, the reverse was true, there were more noninteractive mainstreamed students. An LRE student who attended Class C was the most noninteractive in his class. In Class D percentages were similar.

Who Were the Isolates?

Students who spent more than half of their class periods in a state of noninteraction were defined as isolates. They appeared to be "invisible" to their classmates because they rarely initiated interaction and others did not initiate with them. The isolates were spectators most of the time. Their isolation contrasted sharply to the whirl of peer activity around them. Isolates often did nothing, they stared ahead, slept in class, or doodled on paper. It seemed that they were not tuned in to the teacher, nor their classmates. When isolates did interact, it was limited to only a few people. Of the four isolated students, one student was mainstreamed (S35), the others were nondisabled (S168, S212, S218). *No difference was found between percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled isolates*. The mainstreamed isolate represents 4.3% of the mainstreamed population, and the nondisabled isolates signify 3.9% of the nondisabled population.

Peers considered three of these isolates as "Nerds" or "Geeks." S212, S218, and S35 usually communicated with other Nerds. S168 was considered a "Druggie/Hood" and was left alone.

Summary

Noninteraction was common to everyone, sometimes students just did not interact. There were students who were noninteractive to a higher degree than the others. They were the isolates. No differences were found between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in terms of noninteraction or isolation. This section was about students who did not interact, the following sections describe students who did interact, and make comparisons between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.

Entertainment

Students amused one another in many ways. Most of the entertainment was mutual, students were laughing *with* one another. They often took turns exchanging humorous acts, a funny statement was responded to by another funny statement. This was illustrated by Marie and Todd.

> Marie holds up her corrected papers, saying, "This girl is so smart."
> Todd (who is a junior): "You're just a sophomore."
> Marie: "So, they save the best for last. You'll be old and in a wheelchair before me."
> They continue to banter back and forth, smiling.
> (Excerpt from fieldnote observation.)

Sometimes a funny act was repeated among a group of students, with all of them sharing in the fun.

> Tim picks up a dead bee and throws it at Dean, laughing. Dean throws it at Henry who throws it at Dale, who throws it back at Tim. All four boys are

laughing heartily. (Excerpt from fieldnote observations.)

Who Was Involved in Entertainment?

Most of the students were engaged in some type of amusement, at least once. Most of the entertaining occurred between closely knit groups of friends. (Refer to Appendix F for the table of between and across class percentages of students involved in entertainment.) *No differences were found in the percentages of students involved in entertainment across and between all classes for mainstreamed and nondisabled students.*

Who Were the Star Entertainers?

Each class had one or two "class clowns," those who frequently performed humorous acts while their peers laughed. Most of their humorous acts were not mutual, they didn't exchange them with others. Rather, the entertainers "performed" for an audience. (See Appendix G, "Star Entertainers.")

Nondisabled and mainstreamed entertainers were similarly scattered between and across the classes. Classes B and C had both a mainstreamed and a nondisabled entertainer. Classes A and D had one nondisabled and two nondisabled entertainers, respectively, but no mainstreamed entertainer.

Who Were the "Entertained" Students?

There were equal numbers of star entertainers and peripherally entertained students. (See Appendix G, "Peripherally Entertained Students.") Entertained students rarely performed, nor did they regularly engage in mutual entertainment. They enjoyed humor on a peripheral level, as an appreciative audience. *The percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled "entertained" students was similar between and across classes.*

The peripheral students sat around the entertainers. They were in the same peer group as the entertainer. Class C was different, it had no seating arrangements. The students walked around and worked on projects at various tool stations. The entertainers, S46 (Tony) and S253 moved around the room, performing for the scattered groups of students. There was no established set of peripherally-entertained students in this class.

Since so many students were involved in entertainment, the discrepant cases were examined for those individuals who were not included in fun events.

Who Was Not Involved in Entertainment?

Eight students did not share in the fun their peers were having in class. *No differences were found between percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.* S57 was the only mainstreamed student who did not seem to be amused by his peers. He was very serious and quiet, his

interactions were limited to five other students. He was fairly noninteractive. S57 was usually going in and out of the room, running errands for the teacher and office staff. He laughed and talked outside of class with other "Hoods."

S167 was also fairly noninteractive. A black girl, she sat in class, surrounded by white boys. S167 belonged to the "In-between Group." She usually worked on her assignments while those around her played. Outside of the classroom she was very different. In the halls and cafeteria she was talkative, and joked around with her group of female black friends.

S168 was previously mentioned for his isolation. He had a reputation for being a "Druggie." He always maintained a serious expression, even in the halls. S168 slept through most of class.

S212 was also an isolate. He was a "Nerd." He made drawings and worked on assignments from other classes. The seats around him were always empty.

On the other hand, S217 was one of the most popular students. His noninteraction was moderate, he spent three class periods without interacting. He was a "Jock" who was dedicated to body building. The girls often discussed his attractiveness and his moodiness. Students seemed to be intimidated by him.

S258 was moderately noninteractive. He was similar to S168 in that he too, was known as a "Druggie" and looked stern and serious. He only spoke to two other students.

S410 and S416 were "Hoods." They each had two close friends who they talked to in class. Neither of them smiled or laughed. The impression conveyed by S57, S168, S258, S410, and S416 was that they were "too cool" to laugh and play around.

A student described this.

> You got to be cool all the time. They [Hoods] don't goof off. They're straightforward and some are off in their druggie world. (Excerpt from formal interview.)

All of the discrepant case students engaged in classroom interactions of a more serious nature. They seemed "untouched," aloof to the jokes and merriment of their classmates. They were all noninteractors to some degree, ranging from one class period of noninteraction to being isolated, removed from the steady flow of interaction most of the time.

In this subsection, descriptions of discrepant case students in order to provide a glimpse of some of the contextual complexities that frame peer interaction. A more complete analysis of context is addressed later, in Research Question Four.

Failed Attempts at Humor

The preceding forms of entertainment were all positive, the students enjoyed the actions of their peers. However, there were instances when an act was not considered humorous by all of the interactors. On some occasions, a student tried to be genuinely funny, but failed. Students either responded with annoyance or blatantly ignored the supposedly "funny" person.

The students who failed to entertain their peers are listed in Appendix H. (The number next to each student represents the frequency of occurrence of "failed humor." The student codes in brackets denote those students who expressed a negative reaction.)

There were no differences between the percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled "failed comedians" across and between classes. For Class C, more mainstreamed students were not considered funny, but since this difference consisted of one student, it was considered "not significant."

Of the twelve failed comedians, two were also star entertainers who failed to entertain their peers some of the time. However, most of the time S46 (Tony) and S163's humor was well-received by peers.

One "failed comedian," S409, failed repeatedly. He told several corny jokes, resulting in boos and criticisms from S412 every time. The antagonism S412 communicated to

S409 was obvious. This carried over into actions involving ridicule and criticism.

Ridicule

"Entertainment" has so far, been experiences in which those who were entertained were "laughing with" one another. A darker side of humor also existed at McArthur. Sometimes students used humor at the expense of another person, they laughed at the student who was treated as an outsider. Their amusement was separatist, it was intended only for the audience of students and the ridiculer. The recipient was not supposed to share in the amusement. He reacted with silent embarrassment, or came back with a quick retort that usually resulted in being laughed at even more. The target of ridicule received sarcastic remarks behind his back or to his face.

The percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled "ridiculers/ridiculed" was similar in all classes but Class A. Across class percentages demonstrated no differences. (Appendix I identifies the ridiculed students and their tormentors. The number next to the student code represents the frequency of occurrence. The tormentors are noted by student codes in the brackets.)

In Class A, there was a disproportionate number of mainstreamed students who were ridiculed. S44 and S46 (Tony) were ridiculed twice; S38 (Todd), once. No nondisabled students were targets of ridicule in this

class. Some students were ridiculed repeatedly in other classes: S409, five times; S19, the LRE student, three times; and S53, three times.

Students were usually laughed at because they had made mistakes on a task. They were also ridiculed for being correct and for no apparent reason, when they hadn't done anything. Two illustrations of ridicule follow, both occurred in Class A with two of the target mainstreamed students.

> Tony asks the teacher for another sheet of paper, to draw [an object that related to the assignment.] The teacher said he didn't have to do this, but if he wanted to, he could use the back side of his paper. Four other students look at each other and laugh, shaking their heads. Tony seems embarrassed. He looks down and turns red.
> These same four students also laugh when Todd correctly answers three consecutive teacher questions. Stan rolls his eyes at the other three and sarcastically says, "Wow." The four laugh. (Excerpt from fieldnote observations.)

In all classes, both mainstreamed and nondisabled students were the ridiculers. The ridiculers made fun of a person while the "insiders" laughed in amusement, sometimes contributing additional cutting remarks. One student was the major ridiculer in Class D, S412. He targeted most of the students, particularly S406. He was also a key entertainer in his class.

<u>Summary</u>

Entertainment was the most common type of interaction. Percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled

learners were similar when analyzed for star entertainers, peripherally entertained students, discrepant cases, failed comedians, targets of ridicule, and ridiculers. The only detectable difference was that for one particular class, more mainstreamed students were ridiculed.

Helping and Sharing

Another common type of interaction was helping and sharing. Unlike entertainment, helping and sharing were subtle. Entertainment occurred with an attentive audience, sharing and helping were typically one-on-one, and drew minimal attention from others.

Helping

Students were either giving or receiving help that related to school work. All interactions of this type were task-oriented. McArthur students readily assisted one another, they ignored very few requests for help. Helping existed in many forms. It involved cheating on tests, manually assisting others in projects such as dissecting worms and completing wood projects, sharing notes, spelling out words, locating the reading passages in the text for one another, and restating students' answers so that the teacher could understand them. They also helped each other on assignments and discussed the reasons for their answers.

Students were not selective about who they helped. They helped those who they usually did not associate with, even the "Nerds."

The across class percentage of students engaged in helping was higher for mainstreamed students, significant at the .011 level. Overall, more mainstreamed students were involved in helping acts than their nondisabled counterparts. Between class percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were the same for Classes A and C. A much higher percentage of mainstreamed students were involved in Classes B and D. (Refer to Appendix J for the across and between class percentages of students who were involved in helping.)

Sharing

Students shared possessions, such as school materials,mirrors, sunglasses, and snacks. Appendix K lists the students who were involved in sharing possessions. (Note: Class C was not included because the frequency of movement by students using various tools and equipment was too fast to accurately record.)

Differences were found between mainstreamed and nondisabled students. The across class and between class percentages of mainstreamed students involved in sharing was higher than the percentages of their nondisabled peers, significant at the .035 level.

Incidences of helping and sharing were combined and analyzed for the purpose of identifying students who regularly gave help or possession, the "givers," and those who regularly received help or possessions, the "receivers."

Who Were the Givers of Help and Possessions?

The givers gave more often than they received. *There were no differences between the percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled givers*. The students who gave assistance or possessions to others were identified in Appendix L. (In the Appendix, an "H" appears next to those who gave help, the helpers; and "P" is used to signify those who gave possessions.) The students who regularly helped others on school assignments, projects, and tests were: S38 (Todd), S158, S169, S206, S46 (Tony), S257, and S412. Most of these boys interacted frequently, only S169 was a moderate noninteractor. Students talked to him when they needed his assistance. The "help" given in Classes A and B was mostly in the form of cheating. The helpers were those people the students considered knowledgeable.

In the other classes, some of the helpers, S257 and S412, were sanctioned by the teacher. S257 had spent a few years in the vocational ed program. He was the official teacher's assistant. S412 was the teacher's pet, he was allowed to intervene with students and correct them. "Helping" was one way he used his authority.

Students also gave possessions. A few of them regularly brought in candy and snacks, distributing them to others. They also lent school supplies. Again, they gave these out more often than they received. (Noted with a "P" on the table.) S163 was the most generous student. She shared bags of goodies with her friends and occasionally, the entire class. S46 (Tony) shared only with his friends in Class A. S208 was seen as "trying to buy friends," but her peers accepted her offers regardless.

Who Were the Receivers?

Only a few students, S44, S171, S207, S28, S265, and S207, received help or possessions more frequently than they gave. (They are listed in Appendix M. Again, an "H" signifies recipients of help, a "P" indicates the recipients of possessions.) *There were no differences between the percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled receivers.*

The two students in Class A were given answers during tests. It appeared that they were rarely asked for assistance because they were not considered a reliable source for answers. S44 and S171's constant requests for answers were accommodated, even by students who didn't interact with them otherwise. In Class C, S265 frequently received help even though he was a moderate noninteractor. S207 was the only student who was steadily bestowed with treats by his peers, and hadn't given any out himself.

Summary

Both helping and sharing occurred with more mainstreamed than nondisabled learners. Most of these actions were mutual, there were no difference between percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled givers and receivers.

Criticism

Another type of interaction was criticism. Harsh, negative messages were given by students. Unlike ridicule, these were expressed in a serious manner. There was no playfulness in these acts, they were humorless. The targets were put down, or told what to do. Criticism did not occur frequently in the classroom. Most of the criticizing was done outside of the classroom when students were with their inner circle of friends and the person was not present.

Those who were criticized in class and their critics are presented in Appendix N; the number in parenthesis indicates the frequency of occurrence. *Across class percentages were similar for mainstreamed and nondisabled targets. There was a higher percentage of nondisabled critics.*

Who Were the Targets of Criticism?

In all but one class, Class D, the percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled targets was similar. In Class D a higher percentage of mainstreamed students was criticized.

Two of the targets in Class C were criticized for trying to be funny. They were reported previously, under "failed attempts at humor." The other students were criticized for an assortment of acts. They received negative feedback for a racist remark, an offer to fornicate, an invitation and refusal to attend a party, and playing with a cigarette lighter. Some criticisms were unrelated to a specific act.

Who Were the Critics?

There was only one class with a mainstreamed critic. In the other classes, all critics were nondisabled. This suggests an intolerance on the part of nondisabled students.

In Class A, there was reciprocity between some of the critics and their targets. For example, S46 (Tony) was critical of S156, and vice versa. In Class B, the critical remarks among the nondisabled students were all exchanged during an in-class argument that was racially charged.

Summary

Across class percentages were similar for mainstreamed and nondisabled targets of criticism, but higher for nondisabled criticizers. In one class more mainstreamed students were criticized.

Praise

A few students were complimented by their peers.

There were no differences between percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled students involved in praise across and between classes. (Refer to Appendix O, "Students Involved in Praise.")

Students were lauded for different things. One student, S214 was praised for her grades in two of the classes. Praise was given to the others for the following: a student tells another student to stop arguing; a foreign student demonstrates she has mastered the English language; a student volunteers the correct answer in class; and a student displays a creative project.

Summary of Research Question Three

Peer interaction was observed in four regular classes. Comparisons were made between the peer interaction of groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in these regular classes. There were more similarities than differences. No differences were found

between percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners who were noninteractors, isolates, engaged in entertainment, star entertainers, peripherally entertained, not involved in entertainment, failed comedians, ridiculed targets, ridiculers, givers and receivers of help and possessions, targets of criticism, and recipients and dispensers of praise.

Only a few differences were noted between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. More mainstreamed learners were mutually involved in both _helping_ on school tasks and _sharing_ possessions. More nondisabled students were critical of their peers.

Research Question 4: How does peer interaction compare for three targeted mainstreamed learners in the regular class and resource program? (Phase One)

In this section, the focus turns from the peer interaction of McArthur students in the regular classroom, to compare peer interaction of mainstreamed students in regular and resource classes. Three targeted mainstreamed students are portrayed in different contexts. They are Tony, Harry, and Todd, the same students previously described under Research Question One.

The target students were observed in two regular classes and two resource classes. All shared one resource class. Tony and Harry shared a second resource class together. Todd and Tony shared two regular classes together. In all, four regular classes (Classes A through D) were observed and three resource classes (Classes E through G.)

For the most part, all three boys were more extroverted in their resource classes. Their fellow resource classmates were also animated and talkative. There were only a few instances of noninteractors, and there were no isolates. All of the resource classes were much smaller in size, having from nine to fourteen students, whereas the regular classes had from twenty-three to twenty-seven students.

In Resource Class F and G, there was less teacher structure. For these classes, the teachers actually encouraged students to interact.

> Teacher F: "We're not super strict. We let interaction go on to a great extent. We don't want them to leave their personalities behind when they come in the room. As long as they do their work, [they can] talk quietly for a short period of time."
>
> Teacher G: "I permit them to talk and carry on conversation at the appropriate time. In fact, I encourage that. I encourage them to be respectful and friendly toward each other. (Excerpts from formal interviews.)

Portrayals of three mainstreamed students illustrate the types of peer interaction in resource and regular classes.

Tony

Tony was involved in much of the entertainment in all of his classes. He was a star entertainer in Regular Class C, but not in any of the others. In the remaining classes he mutually exchanged amusing acts with peers. His humorous attempts were appreciated most of the time, but he failed to amuse some of his peers in Regular Class C and Resource Class E. This occurred a total of four times. Each time disapproval was expressed by a glaring, blank stare that lasted for a few seconds.

In Regular Class C, he was overtly affectionate with one of his classmates. She was not his girlfriend. They hugged, danced, and sat on each other's laps. Tony did not interact as frequently in Resource Class E as he did in the other classes. In this class, he was more attentive to the and school tasks and had expressed concern about failing the subject.

Tony ridiculed some of his mainstreamed peers in Resource Class F. He made fun of their physical appearance and lack of intelligence several times. He ridiculed a

mainstreamed student once in Resource Class E. He himself was ridiculed twice in Regular Class A.

Tony frequently extended help to students in both resource classes and Regular Class C. Help was mutual in Regular Class A; he shared extensively with his group of friends in this class as well. He shared possessions in none of the other classes. Very few students were involved in praise, yet Tony complimented a student's appearance once (Resource Class G), and was praised once (Regular Class B and Resource Class E.)

Tony consistently engaged in helping and entertaining across classes. The frequency of these acts differed, but not along the lines of mainstreamed versus regular class settings. Acts of ridicule, criticism, sharing, and praise were absent in some classes and present in others. He did different things in each of the four classes, but there was no pattern between the two resource classes and the two regular classes.

Harry

Harry's interactions were very different in each of his resource and regular classes. In Regular Class D, he typically interacted before or after instruction. Once the

teacher began the lesson, his head went down, cradled in his folded arms. He usually remained like this for the duration of the class. In this class he was minimally involved in entertainment and helping, and was not seen initiating an interaction. Harry's interactions were mostly peripheral; he was the only black student in the Regular Class D. This was not the case in his remaining classes.

Harry attended Regular Class B and Resource Class G with his girlfriend. They interacted primarily with each other; they usually helped, entertained, and engaged in serious discussions and intimate arguments about each other's infidelities. They rarely demonstrated affection. In Regular Class B, Harry teased his girlfriend and was more involved with his black peers. He mutually entertained and helped. He joined his friends in ridiculing a student and he received treats from them. Yet, most of the time he watched his friends and peers interact.

When Harry was in his resource classes he communicated more frequently than he did in the regular classes. In resource classes, he mutually entertained and received answers on tests. Most of his communication in Resource Class G was negative. He insulted, ridiculed, and harassed students. He started arguments with three people, threatened a few peers, made fun of two students, and put

people down several times. He frequently acted impatient and angry with his peers. They would stop the offending behavior, sometimes apologizing or explaining themselves. He appeared to be the tough guy who "lorded over" students in Resource Class G.

In Resource Class E, he was more pleasant toward his peers. He only criticized a person once. He ridiculed another student for his mistakes only a few times. Harry was taunted by an attractive girl (not to be confused with his girlfriend). She boldly told him to shut up. Twice, she refused to give him answers on a test. They often laughed and bantered back and forth, but he did not express anger, only amusement.

Harry's interactions were different between classes and between resource and regular classes. In the resource classes, he interacted more often; he was directly involved; and he frequently received help.

Todd

Like Tony, Todd was involved in much of the entertainment in all of his classes. In Resource Class G, he was the star performer. His peer audience always laughed at his obscene remarks, physical antics, and teasing of other students. Todd was also a major antagonizer in this class.

He ridiculed and criticized other mainstreamed students when they volunteered incorrect answers. This happened most often with Ray, a "Nerd," who shared a regular class and both resource classes with him. Todd was particularly verbal, making caustic remarks in Resource Class G. Some of these remarks were serious criticisms, others were ridiculing statements. He ridiculed only the low status students, the "Nerds." The Nerd would turn red in embarrassment, and the audience would laugh. He was bossier in this class as well. He told his friends and peers to listen to the teacher, put their names on their papers, "shut up" and return to their work, and so on.

Todd was also a "helper." He helped the same Nerds he put down, even Ray. In three of his classes, Regular Class A and both resource classes, he was the person who most often gave help on assignments and cheated on tests. He appeared to have a mastery of the material, frequently volunteering correct answers. Students appeared to be drawn to him for answers. He seemed to always be right. However, in Regular Class C, a vocational ed program, his help was mutual. He received and gave help readily. But he was not the primary helper, as in the other classes.

He was praised once, by Harry, for giving a correct answer during a game that tested class material in Resource Class E.

The type of interactions Todd exhibited didn't change across settings, only the frequency of the acts fluctuated. He engaged in varying amounts of bossing, ridiculing, criticizing, entertaining, and helping students. In some classes he did these things more often, resulting in a distinctive profile for each class. There was one discernible pattern - Todd interacted with peers more often in his resource classes.

Summary of Research Question Four

The peer interaction of three mainstreamed learners differed between each of the four classes. However, no distinction could be made between types of interaction in the regular class versus resource class settings. Both settings contained contextual factors that were complex and accounted for a range of possible interactions. Context seemed to have a pivotal role in peer interaction.

Research Question 5: What contextual factors contribute to peer interaction? (Phase One)

Peer interaction did not occur in a vacuum, but against a rich contextual backdrop. Interviews and observations in and outside of classes were analyzed to uncover the contextual factors that contributed to peer

interaction. Environmental variables and student characteristics were at work.

Environmental Variables Contributing to Interaction

Different settings corresponded to different kinds of interactions. Peer interaction, as one would expect, was more socially-oriented when students were outside of class. In class and in home group, much of their interaction was related to the assigned tasks. In home group, more than in class, some students worked on assignments while others talked and joked.
In the halls, assemblies, and cafeteria they were more active and animated then in their classes. Peer interaction intensified. Students were louder, more physical, and "looser" when they interacted in these less structured settings. Students had more choice of who they communicated with at these times. They usually made arrangements during school to meet people for lunch, assemblies, and hallway encounters. These settings allowed them to "hang" with their friends. Conversations were more intimate. Students discussed their problems, gossiped, and made plans for getting together during school and outside of school.

The unstructured nature of these settings allowed students to congregate in groups. During lunch, group affiliations were particularly obvious. Most of the Hoods

met outside and divided into threes and fours across the grounds. A faction of ROTC and In-Between mainstreamed boys played football near the ROTC Building. In the cafeteria, the "Freshman Table" was next to the "Teacher Table." A dozen or so ROTC members sat together regularly at another table. Smaller, assorted groups ranging from four to seven were common.

Students also tended to remain in the buildings where their classes were held and hung around with other students who attended classes in that building. Many times they did not change buildings for classes, but had a "home base" in one particular building. Students from home economics, auto body and drafting, engine mechanics, and air-conditioning/refrigeration "hung out" at the vocational education building. ROTC and resource students were often observed near the building that housed both programs. Yet, the music students who shared this building used the main building as their "home base." The reasons for this are unknown.

Environmental context was essential to peer interaction. The physical environment provided by the school, and the curricular environment, controlled by the teacher, were contributing contextual variables.

The Physical Environment in Classrooms

It seemed that when students were able to move around they were free to socialize with the people of their

choice. In only one class, a vocational education program (Class C), students moved freely. In most classrooms in which seating arrangements were controlled by the teacher, the students had no choice in determining who was around them. Thus, they were very limited among whom they could select for interaction. In a few classrooms, students were allowed to pick out their seats, but they had to remain there for the rest of the school year. Most of their interaction was confined to those seated around them.

Type of seating also played a role in shaping interaction. Students who sat at tables where they faced each other could more easily communicate. One resource room had all tables, another had tables and desks. Typically, desks were lined up in rows, facing the teacher. Linear seating arrangements made subtle, nondisruptive interaction more difficult to achieve. Students had to turn in their chairs or lean to the side in order to catch the attention of a nearby classmate before initiating interaction. They relayed messages across the room by using other students as message bearers. Message bearers passed notes, whispered messages, or signalled a student's attention while only minimally disturbing the continuity of classroom activities. In all classes they were able to circumvent the system to promote social interaction.

The Curricular Environment

The curriculum offered another type of environment. The hierarchical structure of some classes "shaped" the types of interaction. Vocational Education and ROTC students with seniority had the authority to tell others what to do. The privileges of seniority was customary for these programs. In classes where the teacher preferred key individuals, "pets," this occurred also. Authorized students used their "power" differently.

In the first example, the effect of power was observed with Mark (S27), a boisterous student who frequently "acted out."

> Mike stood at the front of the room and yelled at Mark, warning him that his "ass would get kicked if he did one thing wrong." He would order that all the students do push ups if Mark "messed up."
> Mike: "And then after school they'll be able to get back at you, with no one around to stop them."
> Mark: "Okay, okay. Fine, fine."
> (Excerpt from fieldnote observations.)

In the second example, Phyllis described her resentment of authorized students. She told the researcher the following.

> Phyllis: "It's not fair cuz second year students get to boss us. Some of them get nasty and bossy like her."
> She points to Cheryl coming down the hall....
> Phyllis: "You know Donna? She's a sophomore and I'm a junior. She's younger than me and gets to tell me what to do. I don't like that." (Excerpt from informal interview.)

Peer interaction altered when students were given projects that required cooperative effort. They helped and shared more when they were divided into partners for tasks. In classes which relied on an oral question-answer format and oral reading, the errors made by peers were public. Being ridiculed was often the result.

A substantially lower number of negative interactions, i.e., ridiculing, insulting, and bossing was evident in one class. The teacher actively intervened and directed student interaction. A high rate of involvement was maintained between the students and the task.

> The interaction in [this class] is unlike the other classrooms...They [the students] are drawn out by the teacher. They couldn't write a note in this class without being discovered in a minute. (Excerpt from research journal)

Student Characteristics Contributing to Interaction

Findings suggested that the students brought some "baggage" that contributed to interaction. Factors which appeared to play a role were: their physical appearance, whether they had siblings who also attended McArthur, the previous schools they had attended, race, gender, and their attitudes toward school.

Physical Appearance

The way a person dressed, walked, and spoke, was important. Students who "looked weird" or "sounded weird" received more negative reactions or were ignored. These

were people who deviated from physical norms concerning masculinity, "proper ladylike" attire, weight, and hairstyles. Students with "visible" handicaps were vulnerable.

> Joe, a mainstreamed student with a severe speech impediment that resulted from an accident: "Since the accident, people act different to me. They don't take time to listen to my speech. They like my clothes, but not my speech.... I have some friends, like David. He doesn't like people to mess with me." (Excerpt from formal interview.)

Siblings

Students who had an older sibling attending McArthur were attributed the same reputation that had been established by the family member. This could work to the advantage or disadvantage of the student. The preceding examples illustrate the benefits and drawbacks of having family members at school, respectively.

> One student says of another, "He's popular cuz of his brother, Don." (Excerpt from formal interview.)

> (Larry was known as "the biggest Nerd in the whole school." Stories of his "weirdness" circulated among the students. His brother also attended McArthur.) One student laughs and tells another: "Did you hear that? I have Larry, I mean Stan, his brother in my Driver Ed class." They laugh and shake their heads in ridicule. (Excerpt from fieldnote observations.)

Past Schools

A large middle school was the main feeder school for McArthur. The students who came from it reported that they maintained close ties with one another. A number of black students who had transferred from the same high school also

formed a tight network of friends. Throughout the school year, additional students left the predominately black school for McArthur High School and joined their black peers.

Race

Black students constituted less than nine percent of the student body. Although they were considered a distinct group by some students, the black group contained white student members. Many of the black students participated in other groups as well.

Racial hostilities were a concern of the staff. Three unrelated racial incidences occurred during the study. Discussions were heard about two of them and the researcher observed a third incident in class. The incidences involved two black protagonists and one white protagonist. A few black and white students mentioned that these conflicts increased racial tensions in the school. The experiences did not appear to effect the interactions of those who had already established cross-racial relationships. However, several white students separated blacks into "black friends" versus "niggers." They expressed justification for their prejudiced views against "niggers," based on the racial incidences. But they continued to maintain their relationships with "black friends." The contribution of racial hostilities to their interactions was unknown.

Gender

Gender was related to peer interaction and friendships to some degree. Rough horseplay was either between males or a boy and girl. When girls interacted, there was much less physical contact. None of it was playfully aggressive. Cross-gender friendships were not as frequent as same-gender friendships. Most of the boy-girl relationships revolved around dating, or in setting up contacts that would lead to a date with the person's friend.

Attitude Toward School

The relationship between interaction and task has been previously discussed. Interaction was either task oriented, task included, or task neglected. Students mixed "learning" with "having fun." Students differed in how they resolved these two opposing goals. Group memberships were sometimes drawn along these lines.

> Sue (to me): "I wish the school would divide us up into those students who want to learn and those who want to sit at the railroad tracks and twiddle their thumbs."Me: "Which group would you be with?"
> Sue: "I'd be in school. I want to learn. I want the others out because they ruin it for me. That's why I don't like school." (Excerpt form informal interview.)

> Tricia describes her group, the In-Betweeners: "We try to make McArthur better ... Succeeding is important."
> Me: "Succeeding at what?"
> Tricia: "At your goals."
> Me: "What are some of the goals?"
> Tricia: "Graduating and becoming what you want to

be. And having money, I guess." (Excerpt from formal interview.)

Membership in Informal Student Groups

There was no mutual consensus regarding group memberships. Students (and teachers) identified some similar groups, but there was no agreement over which students fit into which group. Therefore, the relationship between group membership and types of interaction remains unverified.

Summary of Research Question Five

Some contextual factors were unraveled, demonstrating the complex task of studying peer interaction. Physical and curricular environment; the student's physical appearance, race, and gender; the presence of a sibling at the same school; previous schools attended; attitude toward school; and membership in student groups were crucial contextual factors. Context appeared to be contributing to various types of peer interaction at McArthur.

Research Question 6: What peer standards are reported by mainstreamed and nondisabled learners? (Phase Two)

Phase Two examined student standards, the expectations and judgments communicated by the students themselves.

Initially, peer standards were uncovered during individual interviews of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. (See Appendix B for interview questions.) Group interviews followed, with student discussions about fieldnote excerpts. (See Appendix C for interview format.) Most of the excerpts contained specific examples of reported standards, some contained "unknown" standards. The standards were unknown, in that they did not "fit" into the set of reported standards and further elaboration was required.

Peer standards were not hard, steadfast rules that governed behavior, but judgments that were negotiated within different contexts. Students described standards in terms of the "do's" and "don't's." "Do's" were positively worded standards, they stated what a person should do; "don't's" were negatively worded standards, stating what should not be done.

The Idealized "Do's"

Students expressed some "do's" in very general terms; they were catechismal tenants. "Be yourself"; "Be nice to everyone"; "Talk to everybody"; "Be fun-filled." "Do's" did suggest some notions about idealized expectations of behavior. But the generalized nature of the responses made it impossible to analyze and verify with observations. It was also difficult to determine if they were negotiable

since students did not apply them to context. The idealized "do's" were abstract "golden rules," not context bound.

The Negotiable "Do's and Don't's"

About eighty percent of the standards were flexible, they could be either "do's" or "don't's." An action was a "do" in one situation, and a "don't" in another. The negotiable standards are categorized and defined as follows:

Acting Bad - Acting tough, getting into trouble, hassling the teacher, fighting, threatening someone, stealing, smoking, cheating, challenging social taboos, and partying (drinking and/or taking drugs.) A person who acts bad is perceived as rebelling against the standards set by adults.

Acting Goody Goody - Being smart, being liked by the teacher, wanting to get good grades, helping others with their schoolwork (but not cheating), following the school rules. The person is adhering to the expectations of the school.

Cutting - "Cutting" with people from other groups, talking to them. Students cut with classmates who share the same classes. This differs from "hanging" with someone. Students seem to "hang" only with their friends (i.e., eating lunch together in the cafeteria,

sitting together during school assemblies). Cutting suggests a less involved stance.

<u>Acting Goofy</u> - Being a fool, acting crazy, appearing stupid or immature. The person is doing something that exceeds the bounds of peer expectations.

<u>Bragging</u> - telling exaggerated stories for the sake of self -aggrandizement, showing off. The person who brags is drawing attention to herself by describing an accomplishment.

<u>Offending</u> - Hurting or embarrassing other people; making fun of them; criticizing, or insulting someone. The actions of a person are directed at putting someone down.

<u>"Getting On" Someone</u> - Dominating another person, being bossy, extending the teacher's authority, tattling to the teacher. The person is attempting to use authority over another, like a teacher or parent.

Negotiable standards covered a wide range of social actions. The categories of negotiable standards were not mutually exclusive, some social action corresponded to two categories. For example, a student who bragged about being smart was coded as "Bragging" and "Acting Goody Goody." Negotiable "do's and don't's" were open to individual interpretation. The standards were negotiable because students considered each of these actions as being a "do"

at times, and a "don't" at other times. Students described specific circumstances that distinguished "do's" from "don't's." The next set of standards were not as flexible, they were unconditional "don't's".

The Unconditional "Don't's"

The "don't's" were described in straight forward, unconditional terms. They were "written in stone," as things a person should never do. A general consensus was maintained by mainstreamed and nondisabled learners regarding two specific undesirable categories of behaviors.

Acting Two-faced

All informants mentioned that being "two-faced" was wrong. This was described in different ways: talking behind someone's back ("back stabbing"); trying to conform to the codes of incompatible groups ("having a split personality"); instigating trouble by lying ("running at the mouth"). Acting two-faced involves deception, in that the person is seen as intentionally hiding something from another person.

Acting Snobby

It was characterized as "thinking you're better than other people" because you belong to a social class of high status, or "trying to put on airs" as if you belong to a higher class. Twenty-three out of twenty-nine students

cited snobbishness as a "don't." In most of these cases, students mentioned that "people with money" were snobs.

One student, a nondisabled member of the Prep group, stated that snobbishness was a necessary criteria for belonging to her group. (Only two interviewed students, both nondisabled, identified with the Prep Group.)

Snobbishness related to social class, a reoccurring issue. On a narrow level, it differentiated groups among the school. On a broader level, snobbishness was intricately tied to the underdog status of the school. As one student expressed, "Like [name of one suburban school] and [name of another suburban school]. They all have money and they're just like blue bloods, high society. They're trying to be what they aren't. And we know where we stand. And we're standing there! We're not trying to go below or over our heads."

Summary

The standards expressed by McArthur students were categorized as: (1) Idealized "Do's"; (2) "Do/don't" Act Bad, Act Goody Goody, Cut, Act Goofy, Brag, Offend, "Get On" Someone's Case; and (3) "Don't" Act Two-Faced and Snobby. The first set of standards was vague, the second set was negotiable, and the third set was unconditional. In the next subsection comparisons are made between the categories of standards reported by mainstreamed and

nondisabled learners, to see if they claim to follow similar guidelines for social action.

"Do's and Don't's" Reported by Mainstreamed and Nondisabled Learners

A comparison of mainstreamed and nondisabled student showed more similarities than differences in reported standards. Two differences were noted. A higher percentage of mainstreamed students reported that they cut (talk to students who are outside of their own group). When it comes to cutting, more mainstreamed students reported "do cut" (81.8%); more nondisabled students said, "don't cut" (33%).

The catechismal "be yourself" statements were expressed by eleven nondisabled (61.4%) and only four mainstreamed students (36.4%). This implied a self-confidence on the part of nondisabled students. However, this was not verified in the study.

Summary of Research Question Six

Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners verbalized similar judgments and expectations for social action. The standards expressed by mainstreamed and nondisabled were essentially similar. Both groups claimed to adhere to common standards for peer interaction. Most of the standards were negotiable. However, two categories were

not, Acting Snobby and Acting Two-faced. Students expressed that such actions were not tolerated and were closed to negotiation.

Only two areas of differences were found. More mainstreamed students reported "do cut," and more nondisabled students reported "be yourself."

Up to this point, in the findings, Phase One analyzed peer interaction and Phase Two tapped the standards students reportedly used during interaction. In Phase Three, peer interaction was re-examined for evidence of "standards in action," the synthesis of standard and action.

Research Question 7: How do students negotiate these standards in their daily interactions? (Phase Three)

Observational and interview data were analyzed, to uncover how students negotiated "standards in action." Group interviews had exposed some of the hidden things that were present throughout everyday interaction. The "hidden things" were various contextual considerations that students said they weighed while negotiating standards. The contextual framework included peer groups, peer relationships, and the intentions of the interactor. These three contextual elements were confirmed in fieldnote observations and explain some of the complex judgments that

were made in negotiating standards. Students did appear to negotiate "standards in action" according to specific contextual cues. Descriptions of how this occurred for the three contextual elements follows.

Groups

Some actions violated the standards of one group, but not another. Group standards revolved around moral codes and school rules that included stealing, vandalizing, "partying" (drinking and pot smoking), sexual activity, and "starting trouble."

Even though there was no agreement about group memberships, there was general insider-outsider agreement about what the standards for three of the major groups were. Students characterized some of the peer groups as having unique sets of behavioral expectations from their own group members, the insiders. The standards of the three major student groups illustrate this. The Hoods were expected to act bad, and avoid cutting with other groups and acting good. Preps were supposed to act good. They were to avoid cutting with other groups and acting bad. The largest group, the In-betweeners, had an interesting set of standards. They were expected to cut with different groups, and get in some trouble while still learning (acting both good and bad). The outsider usually judged the other group's standards as unacceptable. This

difference resulted in a range of different intergroup views.

Relationship Between Actors

The relationship the person performing the act had with the other interactor was important. Some acts were acceptable if they were performed by a friend. Yet the same acts were unacceptable when someone else acted them out. This double standard gave friends allowances no one else had. Friends also had exclusive rights to push the boundaries of the relationship. As one student stated, "It don't matter what they do, they're you're friends no matter what."

Relationship Between the Interactors and the Audience

The relationship between the audience and those involved in the interaction was also crucial. Members of the audience could be either friends, or belong to the same group as the interactors. Either of these created a safer, nonjudgmental context than if the audience contained either no friends, nor any members from compatible groups.

Intentions of the Interactors

The purpose of the act was most important to the negotiation of standards. Students identified some positive intentions that changed a "don't" into a "do": if

the intention involved humor, was not done out of any malicious motives, was an offer of help, or was done to rectify an unfair situation.

Many acts were judged acceptable if the purpose was to have fun. Students referred to the harmless nature of an act as "just playing around." "It's just for a joke. We do it all the time ... They're just messing around, nothing mean." When people are playing around they are given much leeway. Friends usually "play around" when they are challenging one another's tolerance.

Playing around often resulted in a "get back," when students vied for having the last word/act. A student described it, "He said, 'I'll get you back.' That's horseplaying... They just get each back. Back and forth. Back and forth. Like that." "Fun" and "harmless" are defined from the viewpoint of the people involved in the interaction.

Something that was fun once, "gets old" if the person did it constantly. Some students were criticized for constantly playing around. "Joking around... It depends, if they do it all the time it gets old. Like Paul does it all the time. You get tired of it and end up in a fight."

The intention of an act was tied to the relationship between those who were interacting, as well as those who were watching the interaction. Friends and people from one's own group were assumed to have good intentions. If a

friend did something funny in a private setting, it was acceptable. However, the same act performed in front of a group may no longer be funny. A student described his close friend as failing to make this distinction.

> He likes to joke around a lot and the Hoods talk about when he goofs off and makes a fool of himself. They say, 'Look at the Nerd.' When he's alone with me he's alright. When someone else comes around, something gets started." (Excerpts from formal interview.)

Playing around was one positive intention, another was when a student was helping someone. "It's okay to brag [about having a high test score] cuz it'll help her classmates try harder." A third positive intention was when a person was trying to change an unfair situation. A student's tattling was judged "the right thing. It's not fair that the others can do stuff he can't."

Summary of Research Question Seven

The contextual framework for standard negotiation during peer interaction was presented. Students were able to describe some of the underlying contextual elements, and the elements were confirmed by observations. Peer groups, peer relationships (between the interactors and between the interactors and the audience), and the intentions of the interactors were linked to negotiation. Standard negotiation is an intricate, dynamic process. Despite this, it was possible to extract some pertinent,

identifiable contextual elements from McArthur students. The last research question continues with "standards in action," making comparisons between mainstreamed and nondisabled students.

Research Question 8: How can mainstreamed and nondisabled students be described in terms of these "standards in action?" (Phase Three)

"Standards in action" were analyzed from two data sources, observation and verbal reports. Sometimes students criticized or praised their peers to the researcher during formal and informal interviews. They also exchanged stories of other people violating standards, and occasionally expressed approval of someone's compliance. During these "gossip sessions," students reconstructed an event and rendered judgment. The researcher did not observe the actual event. Information was relayed via student verbal reports.

At other times, students judged a peer's actions when the researcher had observed the experience. On these occasions the researcher was able to view the actual behavior and the immediate peer reaction. When students expressed disapproval, this was considered a violation, a don't." When they communicated approval, the action was a compliance, a "do." Most of the "don't's" were expressed

during gossip sessions among students, when students exchanged stories of other people violating standards and these people were not present.

Descriptions of students are presented on three levels: a broad description of the students according to the standards they acted out; the differences and similarities of mainstreamed and nondisabled students among all categories of standards; and episodic events which feature those individuals who frequently violated peer standards.

A Broad Description of McArthur Students

Most students regularly engaged in Acting Bad and Acting Goody Goody. Seventy-eight teenagers were observed participating in the former, 70 in the latter. When a student acted goody goody, her actions received minimal peer response. Rarely did a peer send a message that they either disapproved or approved. Goody goody actions simply occurred without much attention, they were neutral actions. Yet, this was not true of Acting Bad. Most students were reacted to positively when they acted bad, therefore they were in compliance with their peers. Instances of "do act bad" occurred twice as often as instances of "don't act bad."

The next largest number of students demonstrated Getting on Someone's Case and Offending. Forty-three students were observed engaging in each of these categories. Getting on Someone's Case was typically treated as either a neutral or an acceptable thing to do. Occasionally a peer indicated disapproval to the student. Offending actions were equally treated as either compliances, violations, or neutral phenomena. For example, offensive remarks could elicit laughter and a counter insult (a compliance), or an angry reply with the offended student walking out (a violation), or no reaction at all (a neutral response).

Evidence of Acting Goofy was observed for 29 students. Goofy actions received more negative reactions from peers, but goofiness sometimes received neutral and positive responses in equal mix.

Only several students were seen Bragging and Acting Two-faced. Bragging incurred a mix of reactions; two-faced behavior was always treated as a violation. No one was observed Acting Snobby.

A Comparison of "Standards in Action" Between Mainstreamed and Nondisabled Learners

Comparisons were made between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners according to each category of standard. The purpose of the comparison was to discover

possible incongruent patterns based on peer reaction (indicating a violation or compliance), frequency of specific violations/compliances, and representativeness of mainstreamed and nondisabled students who performed the violations/compliances.

Acting Bad

There were various types of "bad" actions: jokes about drugs, guns, sex, and teachers; pranks with personal possessions temporarily "stolen" from a person; cheating; verbal threats; physical aggression; stealing; vandalizing;disobeying the teacher; getting into trouble in school; and drinking at after school events. Comparisons between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners for bad acts produced more similarities than differences.

Similarities. *Mainstreamed and nondisabled students were similar in the types of reactions they received for bad acts.* The majority of students performed bad acts of *threats* and *physical aggression.* Both types of acts fit into the overlapping category, Offending/Acting Bad. In general, rough horseplay and threats were considered fun by the players and the audience of peers. They were intended to embarrass, rather than hurt someone. Since students were treated as if they were "just playing around," the general message was "do offend while acting bad." When a student was taken seriously, it was difficult to ferret out the reason because there was no obvious difference between

the acts that were considered "playing around" and those that were taken seriously. They all seemed to be intended for fun, none of them communicated anger or maliciousness. Yet the peer reaction strongly differed. The former elicited laughter and entertainment, the latter resulted in annoyance, disagreement, or being ignored.

Sometimes a standard changed from a compliance to a violation because the person went too far. Initially the offensive bad acts were humorous, but repetitious verbal threats became irritating and/or rough horseplay resulted in unintentionally hurting someone.

During the course of this study, not one serious fight was observed, yet student reports of confrontational fights were constantly exchanged among the students for amusement. When the person who had been directly involved in a fight discussed it, he was always angry and disapproved of his opponent.

Peers tended to either ignore or react negatively while they watched others engaged in an assortment of *delinquent acts*. These violations were breaking school rules, disobeying or insulting the teacher, vandalizing, and drinking at extracurricular events. Only one student was reacted to positively for this type of behavior, when she had entered class reeking of cigarette smoke. Stories of delinquent acts elicited a different set of responses. There was a mix of "do's" and "don't's" when students were

removed from the event and were merely telling stories of delinquent acts. Students did this in interviews as well as in conversations among one another. Students were criticized as much as they were commended for stealing, for having sex in the school auditorium, and for getting into trouble with the law or school personnel.

Differences. *In comparing groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled students, there were only two areas of differences: joking and cheating.* After physical aggression and threats, *jokes* were the next most frequently occurring type of bad acts for both groups. Students joked about sexual acts (heterosexual and homosexual); selling and taking drugs; using and making weapons; and teacher foibles. They did this in compliance. These jokes were enjoyed by all, the peer reaction was "do tell acting bad jokes." Only three students were considered violators, but at other times their jokes were "do's."

Jokes about "acting bad" were more like "talking bad," if a person appreciates the joke it does not mean that she approved of the actual act. Many mainstreamed students told such jokes, and they did this with great frequency. There was much more laughing and joking about acting bad in the resource classes compared to the regular classes. ("Much more," refers to the percentage of students joking as well as the frequency of their jokes.)

Cheating was sanctioned by many students, both mainstreamed and nondisabled. When someone wanted an answer to a test or assignment, they usually received it. "Do cheat" was a common standard. Out of forty-one requests for answers, only three refusals resulted. Two of these three were mainstreamed learners who refused to give answers to two other mainstreamed students. Most of the cheating was done in the resource classes among the mainstreamed students, and half of the cheating mainstreamed students cheated at least once.

Summary. For mainstreamed and nondisabled students, most of the actions were within the category "do act bad." Students infrequently violated "don't act bad." Most of the instances of "do act bad" consisted of *talking* about something bad rather than *doing* something bad. A higher proportion of mainstreamed students cheated and joked. *Yet, they did this while still remaining in compliance with the peer group standard.*

Acting Goody Goody

No differences were found between the observations of nondisabled and mainstreamed learners who were Acting Goody Goody. However, student reports indicated that mainstreamed students were too goody-goody.

Similarities. Goody goody actions mostly involved helping one another on school tasks. (At times, it was difficult to ascertain if "helping" was actually cheating.

In cases when a teacher did not make a point of doing the assignment independently, or if the teacher was not present, the students were given the benefit of the doubt. They were assumed to be "helping.") Students rarely exhibited other goody goody acts: volunteering answers in response to teacher questions, participating in class discussions, and helping the teacher with materials.

As previously mentioned, when someone did a goody goody act, they received little attention from peers (68 of 70 students). Only three students were praised after they had performed well on school tasks. The several students who received negative reactions were either "too smart" or "too obedient." Examples of violations of the standard were playing chess, being the only student who knew the answer to a teacher question, being favored by the teacher, and refusing to participate in a student walkout.

Differences. *Eight students were criticized for being goody goody, they were all mainstreamed learners*. The accusers were mainstreamed and nondisabled students. They described them as, "They're real quiet. They stay to themself. They wouldn't dream of doing anything wrong"; "They don't talk to girls, too scared. They bookworms, nothing but books. That all they think about"; and "They're just teacher's pets."

In summary, students seemed to be told by their peers, "Be goody goody if it involves helping other students, but don't do the goody goody acts that single you out. Keep it low-keyed." A student would draw negative attention if they seemed to conform more to the teacher's expectations than the expectations of their peers.

Getting on Someone's Case

Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were similar. They got on another's case in similar ways and received primarily neutral or positive reactions from peers.

Similarities. It was generally accepted for students to tattle, tell another student what to do, and correct someone in front of the class for having made an error. Students got on each other by usually *bossing*. Students were bossy when they assisted the teacher in classroom control ("Don't argue. Do your work.") and corrected students who hadn't asked for help ("This ain't right. You're supposed to put it in alphabetical order.") Bossing differed from the goody goody act of helping because it was not mutual, it was not done in a low-keyed manner, nor was the person asked to assist. The students spontaneously intervened with the authority of a teacher.

Many times students dominated in a way that was intended to put someone down. For example, "I want you to turn and shut your mouth!" and "Shut the fuck up!" Incidences of Offending/Getting on Someone's Case received

a mixed reaction of negative, positive, and neutral peer responses. No distinguishable pattern was uncovered. It didn't matter if something was said out of anger, or in fun, or because of the hierarchical structure of the class. "Do get on someone's case" and "Do/don't get on their case while hurting or embarrassing them" were the general messages sent by peers.

Offending

Offensive playing around was different from acting bad jokes because the person who was present was the "butt of the joke" in the former instance. Offending/Getting on Someone's Case behaviors have been discussed previously, and were not included in this section.

Similarities. Students insulted, teased and made fun of peers in a playful way. But it wasn't usually interpreted as "playing around" by others. These offensive statements either annoyed, embarrassed, or entertained their target. Example One: Peter yells to Norma, "Man, what an attitude! You know some people act like shit. Just look at the way you look. Your face is like stone or something." Norma ignores him. Example Two: Craig looks annoyed and yells at John, "You're a Nerd! A Nerd!" John smiles and says in a sing-songy voice, "No, I'm not. No, I'm not." Example Three: Tom asks Jim, "Is that ugly girl you're sister?" Paul adds, "She looks like you. She does!" Jim looks embarrassed. He lowers his eyes and

whispers, "She could be." Example Four: Kathleen teases Paula about her accent, "You're a country girl. Listen to you." She then mimics her, exaggerating her pronunciation. Kathleen, Paula, and their friends laugh.

Differences. *Most of the offensive actions of nondisabled peers were considered violations. This wasn't true of the mainstreamed students.* Mainstreamed students received an evenly mixed set of messages in both the regular and resource classrooms. No differences were noted between the reactions of peers in these classes. The mainstreamed students' offending remarks were accepted more often than those of their nondisabled peers.

The relationship between the students usually determined whether the offending act was a compliance or a violation. For nondisabled students, if the offender was a friend, their actions were entertaining, otherwise, they were annoying. The license to "push" a friend had been discussed in a previous section. This was not the case with mainstreamed learners. Their offensive remarks resulted in a mix of negative, positive, and neutral responses. Some of the people who weren't friends with mainstreamed students found their offensive actions humorous.

Offending actions occurred with regularity in the resource program, some of them were self-deprecating. Mainstreamed students laughed when other resource students

made mistakes. They often called each other "retarded," "stupid," and "resource." This was considered funny.

> Jerry: "I'm part Indian."
> Serg laughs and shouts: "He's part nigger!"
> Mark, Todd, Stew, and Ralph yell: [Their voices are indistinguishable] "He's part asshole! He's part resource! He's part stupid!" They laugh. (Excerpt from fieldnote observations.)

Nondisabled students were given the message "don't offend, even if it's done in jest." Mainstreamed students seemed to have a unique pattern of standards, "Do/don't/or we don't care if you offend."

Acting Goofy

Students told corny jokes, made unusual noises, acted out in a bizarre way, and frequently made blatant mistakes.

Similarities. Most students who acted goofy were given negative messages, but some were either neutral or considered funny. *Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners did the same type of goofy things and received similar peer responses*. There were different kinds of goofiness: weird (i.e., an effeminate boy wiggles and gyrates his hips while dancing along with the cheerleaders on the football field),stupid (i.e., a student doesn't know the date for Christmas), and silly (i.e., John tells the following unappreciated joke, "Frankenstein told Igor to make a ham sandwich, so he did. After he bit into it, he said, 'I said a ham sandwich.'").

When students discussed people who were goofy, they were very critical. They characterized them as "silly and childish all the time." ... "They stand out in a crowd. They're not like everybody else." ... "[They're] always laughing and acting dingy, asking stupid questions." Although there were exceptions, public displays of acting goofy were "don't's."

Bragging

Several students were observed bragging or were accused of bragging by other students. *No differences were noted between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners.*

Similarities. Bragging had different forms. Examples of these forms follow.

Acting Bad - Mark tells a group of students that he was involved in breaking up a fight.

Acting Goody Goody - Cheryl tells Cindy that she, Cheryl, is the teacher's pet.

Acts of physical prowess - Sam tells a group of students that he ran a mile within a short period of time.

Being popular - Tony puts his arms around two girls and tells Sam, "These are both my girlfriends."

Sometimes bragging was serious, as illustrated by the first three examples, above. Bragging was either a "don't" or a neutral thing to do when it was serious. It was a "do" when students were "playing around," as in the last example.

Some of the Acting Bad and physical prowess stories were incredulous. When it appeared that a person was making something up, he was either laughed at or accused of lying. Two students were criticized for constantly telling tall tales; one of them was nondisabled, the other was mainstreamed. Observations confirmed that they did this frequently, particularly when talking to the researcher. "Don't brag in a serious way, especially if what is being said is a lie," was the general message.

Acting Two-faced

One nondisabled and two mainstreamed learners were seen acting two-faced only once. Yet, students reported two-faced behavior for two mainstreamed and fifteen nondisabled students. *This was always a violation for all students.*

Similarities. Most of the two-faced acts involved acting different with different people, "split personality." Students were expected to act in a consistent manner. Criticisms included conforming to the expectations of students and teachers. (One student:

"When she talks to me, she tries to be Redneck. When she talks to blacks she'd sound black. She even talks different to different people." Another student: "They smoke and stuff and turn around real sweet to teachers and kids who don't smoke."). Students also spread rumors and instigated trouble by "running at the mouth." A student described it, "To be a message carrier and start passing confusion around to people. They sit and talk to you a lot, sometimes they call you. To go out of their way to hurt others." Back stabbing was also not tolerated. "They're friends with you one minute. They turn around and they're not friends with you the next. If they're hanging out with you one minute and somebody more popular passes by, they'll leave you and go with them." All forms of acting two-faced were "don't's."

Acting Snobby

No students were observed acting snobby. However, there were student reports of snobbishness in two nondisabled students. One student was denounced for being materialistic, the other student for "act[ing] like she's too good ... That's the way she is. Like, she won't even date a guy unless he's rich." Students communicated, "Don't be snobby."

Cutting

In order to operationalize the standard "cutting," the researcher needed to know who was considered an outsider of each students' group. (Recall that "cutting" refers to talking to those who belong in a group different from the student's own group.) It was not possible to look at the cutting of all observed students because their view of groupings was not obtained. Interviewed students were the only students who were asked to identify groups and to sort their classmates into groups. This last section examines the cutting of those students who were interviewed individually. The groups individuals named varied from four to fourteen. Most students put themselves into one group; several said they belonged to as many as nine groups.

Even though the standard, "do cut" had been mentioned by more mainstreamed students (see Research Question Six), there were no differences between the percentage of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners who were observed cutting. *Twenty-eight out of twenty-nine students cut with other groups*. The one student who did not cut was nondisabled. A percentage was calculated for each student based on: (1) the people who the "cutter" was observed talking to in class; (2) the group(s) they were placed in by the cutter; (3) the group(s) to which the cutter herself said she belonged. A percentage was formed by tallying the

number of groups that didn't include the cutter (denominator) and the number of groups that she didn't belong to but "cut with."

The degree of cutting was also similar for percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. Three students cut with all of the groups, (100%), one was disabled and two were mainstreamed learners. The majority of students cut with 87.5% to 50% of the other groups. Twelve were nondisabled and seven were mainstreamed students. Four teenagers were low cutters; they spoke to less than half of the other groups (40% to 25%). Three were nondisabled, one was mainstreamed. Lastly, was the nondisabled "no cutter."

Summary

Based on observations and student reports, percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled students were compared for standard violations and compliances. More similarities than differences were found. As a group, mainstreamed McArthur students were indistinguishable from their nondisabled peers in the following: making verbal threats, horseplaying aggressively, bossing other students, doing silly things, bragging, cutting with other groups, acting two-faced, and snobbishness. They violated and complied with the same standards as most of their nondisabled peers.

However, some minor group differences were apparent. A higher percentage of mainstreamed learners were observed cheating, telling raucous jokes, and entertaining students

with offensive remarks. Yet, these were all "do's," in compliance with the peer group standard. A higher percentage of mainstreamed students were criticized for acting goody-goody.

Episodic Events of Individual Violators

The previous analyses indicated that group differences between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were minimal. In this subsection, the focus is on individuals, not groups. All students who were observed violating a standard, or reported by peers for doing so, were identified. Fifty-six nondisabled and thirty-one mainstreamed individuals engaged in at least one "don't." Most students violated only one standard, ten frequently violated an assortment of different standards and they violated standards more often than the other students. Eight of these ten "high profile violators" were mainstreamed. A high incidence of mainstreamed violators was expected since the researcher observed four mainstreamed violators in three to four different classes. This meant that they were observed three to four times more often than the other students. As the number of observations of a particular student increased, the number of violations also increased. *When these four students were eliminated from the analysis, there still remained an overrepresentation of mainstreamed violators. The*

remaining four had committed the violations while attending two resource classes. They were violating the standards of mainstreamed peers. The two resource classes containing high profile violators were less structured than any of the other classes. In both classes, two things happened. The high profile mainstreamed violators frequently violated peer standards, and mainstreamed peers expressed disapproval. The limits of behavior seemed to be controlled by peers, rather than teachers. Mainstreamed classmates openly chastised and judged the unacceptable actions of high profile mainstreamed violators.

A sampling of episodic events by two high profile violators are provided, so the reader can get a glimpse of what had actually occurred. The first student is mainstreamed, the second is nondisabled. Appendix P includes episodic events of three other blatant violators.

Mark, S27, a mainstreamed student

Peer reports:

- *"Mark is real weird. Don't let him bother you."*
- *"Have people told you about Mark? Have they mentioned his name? Cuz he's really in no group. He's so weird, no one likes him."*

Mark often disrupted the class with goofy remarks and loud laughter. He also did things his peers considered inappropriate.

- *(The students are quietly writing.)*
  Mark: "Hey Joe. How's it going?" (He says this to no one in particular.)

Teacher (annoyed): "Mark!"
Mark: "Hey Tom! Tom!"
Tom (annoyed): "Shut up, Mark."
Mark: "Tom! Tom! Tom! (He bangs Tom's desk.) Hey!"
Tom ignores him.

The class is viewing a film. Mark is pointing at the screen, laughing and talking loudly.
Mike moves away from Mark.
Mark follows him and sits next to him.
Mike: "Get away! I moved to get away from you!"
Mark remains seated and is quieter. Within a minute he laughs and makes loud comments about the film.
Sue turns, gives Mark a dirty look and tells him to be quiet.
Mark looks at Sue and continues to talk loudly. He then smacks Art.
Art returns the smack.
Mark gets louder and louder while he and Art smack one another.
Art (annoyed, to Mark): "This is what I say - Shut up!"
Charlie (annoyed, to the teacher): "Send him [Mark] out in the hall."
Art (serious, to Mark): "Hey man, why don't you talk quieter?"
Mark: "Okay, I will." He lowers his voice and smacks Art twice.
Art smacks him back and laughs.
Art (laughs): "You crack me up."
Mark (laughs): "<u>You</u> crack <u>me</u> up, boy!"
They alternate turns saying: "You hit me." "No you hit me."
Sandy (annoyed): "Shut up Mark! Mark!"
Mark then hits Mike. They smack each other for several rounds, insulting one another and laughing. Mark's voice is booming.
Sandy (annoyed): "Keep quiet, Mark."
Mike stops hitting Mark and talks to Sandy about a note on her desk.
Mark watches them and makes some loud comments.
Jerry (annoyed, to the teacher): "Kick him [Mark] out!"
Lloyd (annoyed): "Shut up, Mark!"
Sandy and Mike continue to talk quietly and ignore Mark.
Mark attempts to interrupt them, but he is ignored.

- *Mark changes his shirt in class while students make comments about how gross and fat he is.*

He frequently taunted his peers by making offensive remarks. He would continue this until the person reacted angrily. He then changed targets and found a different person to annoy.

- *The teacher calls out several questions.*
  Ben calls out incorrect answers each time.
  Teacher: "You don't need to respond. Let me call on others, please."
  Mark: "You're not the only student here, you know."
  Ben ignores him.
  Mark: "Hey Van, answer her."
  Van (annoyed): "Shut up!"
  Mark: "Bob, you can tell her."
  Bob: "Yeah, but she didn't call on me."

- *Mark walks with the researcher from the main building to an out building. A pair of freshman from Mark's ROTC program walk by.*
  Mark: "Put your hats on boys. When you're in dress, always wear your hats."
  They don their hats and frown at him.
  An ROTC senior zooms past us in his car.
  Mark (shouts): "You aren't supposed to leave yet!"
  The student glares at him and frowns.
  Another ROTC senior is talking with a friend as he walks toward us.
  Mark (yells and smiles): "Where are you supposed to be?"
  Senior (shouts, annoyed): "Where I am!"
  Mark: "You have sixth period with me."
  Senior: "No, I don't. I had it fifth."
  The senior returns to talking with his friend while Mark watches him pass.
  [He has irritated every ROTC student he's contacted within the past two minute time span. He continues to talk to me as if he enjoyed being an irritant or as if he was oblivious to the reactions of others. He has an unusual effect on others.]

Andy, S409, a nondisabled student

Peer reports:

- *"[Andy] acts silly and childish all the time."*

Andy showed little sense of knowing when to stop acting goofy.

- *The teacher asks a question about cells.*
  Andy shouts: "Cellular One." He laughs.
  (This is supposed to be a joke.)
  Paul boos him.
  Andy stops laughing.
  Andy tells another corny joke.
  Paul (out loud): "What a Nerd, Nerd, Nerd."
  The teacher returns to her lecture.
  Andy interrupts her: "Wait a minute!"
  (He wants time to catch up with his note taking.)
  Paul mimics him in an unflattering voice: "Wait a minute!"

- *During lunch, Andy starts describing his love of horror films and tells us about the similarities between blood and the ketchup on our food.*
  Martha (annoyed): "Don't do that! Don't start!"
  Andy smiles.
  Martha (annoyed): "Cut it out. That's dumb."
  Andy: "I'm just saying the truth, that's all."
  Martha to me: "I try to explain it to him all the time. People don't want to hear stuff like that. He don't understand."

He told bald-faced lies and long stories that were rarely believed by anyone.

- *Students are telling stories about having being bitten by dogs.*
  Andy: "Yeah. I almost got bitten by a dog once."
  He then relates a story about a dog that tried to bite him while he was bicycling. (He becomes excited. As his story progresses, he gets louder and speaks faster. He explains that he foiled the dog by keeping his bike between himself and the dog.) He whacked the dog with the bike. (He

pauses in his story before going on.) He yelled for the owner to get her dog away, or else he'd kill it. (He pauses again, as if to think of something else.)
Andy: "Then I got my brother's knife out. It's this long (shows a distance of about a foot) and this wide (shows three inches). I told her, 'I'll kill him if you don't get him off.' I was gonna cut his neck with it ..."
Susan (interrupts, shaking her head): "No, come on. Don't get carried away like you always do."
Bill: "Yeah. You always end up lying."
Ken and Marvin turn and nod in agreement with Bill.

Summary

Excerpts from fieldnotes described the actions of high profile violators and the critical comments of their peers. High profile violators were primarily mainstreamed students who acted out while in two of the three resource classes. The context of resource classes differed from the regular class. They were much less structured, the classes were smaller, the teachers expressed a desire to encourage social interaction among students, and seating arrangements were nontraditional. Again, context seemed to be playing an important role.

Chapter V concludes with a summary of the general findings from Phases One through Three, answers to Phase Four Research Questions, and a discussion of the implications that emerged from the McArthur study.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of Chapter Five is to present an overview and discussion of the findings from Phases One through Three, to address Phase Four Research Questions, and to discuss the implications of these findings for educational practice and future research. The final chapter serves as a synthesis of the preceding chapters.

Discussion of General Findings from Phases One - Three

In the development of the study, the researcher began with an interest in symbolic interactionism and adopted a methodology which was broad enough to consider context and meaning. The phases of the study were conceived to generate descriptive and comparative findings about social interaction. Comparative findings involved making comparisons between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in three areas: peer interaction (Phase One), social standards reported by students (Phase Two), and standards negotiated in action, "standards in action" (Phase Three). The use of ethnographic methods had the advantage of providing descriptive information concerning the dynamics

of peer interaction and standards, particularly the crucial role played by context. The descriptive findings added a dimension to the comparative findings, in that they gave insights into the nature of interaction and the negotiation of standards. Both descriptive and comparative findings are summarized for the first three phases.

Phase One - Peer Interaction

Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were found to be very similar, both academically and socially, according to school records. It is important to remember that the nondisabled student observed at McArthur were low achieving students, since they were in the "fundamental curricular track." These findings suggest that the two groups of learners, mainstreamed and low achieving, are not two distinct populations but share many common characteristics.

In Phase One various types of peer interaction that occurred among McArthur students were identified. Interaction typologies were created, based on observations recorded by the researcher and interviews with teachers. Students used a variety of ways to interact without disrupting the flow of classroom activities. They spent much of their class time socializing. They successfully circumvented the system by using subtle means of communication, such as gestures and note writing. Most of the types of interaction involved humor, verbal

communication and physical contact. McArthur classrooms were filled with students who talked, whispered, laughed, smacked one another, gently touched, passed notes, helped others with school work, and performed physical antics. Entertainment appeared to be the primary goal, students extracted as much fun as possible from school.

Once peer interaction types were identified, patterns of peer interaction of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were compared. The analysis of patterns determined whether similarities or differences in peer interaction existed between the two groups of learners. This was done by computing percentages based on how many students engaged in specific interactions across classes and between classes. Percentages were tabulated for each of the interaction types, for both mainstreamed and nondisabled groups of learners. The percentage of mainstreamed learners, for the most part, were similar to nondisabled learners. Across class differences between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were found in two areas. More mainstreamed students were involved in helping with schoolwork and sharing possessions.

Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were similar for the remaining types of interaction. Similar across class percentages were obtained for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners who were noninteractive, isolated, involved in entertainment, star entertainers, "entertained" students,

"failed comedians," ridiculers, ridiculed students, givers, receivers, targets of criticism, and recipients of praise. Where some differences were found to exist between classes, they were explained as indications of the importance of setting. The differences among classes were minimal, in three classes, more nondisabled students were noninteractive. More mainstreamed students were ridiculed (in one class) and criticized (in another class). Also, in Phase One, the peer interaction of three targeted mainstreamed students was compared between regular and resource classes. Generally, they interacted more frequently in resource classes. For two students, the sole distinction between their interactions in resource and regular classes was that they were more outgoing and talkative in resource settings. The third student acted differently between classes and between resource and regular classes. He was observed to be more directly involved with peers in his resource classes. In resource settings he laughed and engaged in mutual entertainment, and received help more often than in his regular classes.

Lastly, since peer interaction occurred against a rich backdrop, many contextual variables were identified. The variables that appeared salient were: how a student looked, the reputation his older sibling established, the schools he had previously attended, the student's race and gender, and his attitude toward school. All of these seemed to

contribute to his interactions with others. Peer interaction differed between structured classroom situations and unstructured settings, such as hallways and lunch period. In class the seating arrangements and types of class activities contributed to peer interaction.

Phase Two - Reported Standards

Reported standards were examined in Phase Two for the purpose of uncovering some of the social standards, or judgments that students made. Up to this point, the study had presented a partial view of social interaction because only observations were used, and the meanings held by students had not been tapped. The researcher sought to obtain an emically-derived view, one that captured the student perspective of the standards negotiated during interaction.

According to structured and unstructured interviews with McArthur students, some actions were "do's," others were "don't's." There were times when an action was a "do," and times when the same action was a "don't." Students discussed an assortment of things they considered and weighed before they judged another person's actions as either a "do" or "don't." These contextual nuances were analyzed later, in Phase Three, when observational data was used to verify themes that resulted from student interviews.

In Phase Two, it was found that mainstreamed and nondisabled learners reported similar standards for peer interaction. Both groups of learners expressed standards that were categorized as either "Idealized Do's," "Negotiable Do's and Don't's," or "Unconditional Don't's."

Idealized "do's" were assorted catechismal tenants, general moral codes about actions a person should engage in, i.e. "Be yourself," and "Be nice to everyone."

Negotiable "do's and don't's" were sometimes "do's" and at other times "don't's." They formed the largest set of standards, approximately 80% of the standards were categorized as "negotiable." Negotiable standards were: Act Bad, Act Goody Goody, Act Goofy, Brag, Offend, and "Get on" Another Person's Case. These negotiable standards were flexible. A "do" could change to a "don't" according to the presence of contextual factors.

Unconditional "don't's" were nonnegotiable. Students were not tolerated for Acting Two-faced, or Acting Snobby.

While most of the reported standards were similar for mainstreamed and nondisabled learners, there were two areas of differences. They differed in their reports of Cutting (more mainstreamed students sent messages, "Do cut with other groups") and "Be yourself" (more nondisabled students expressed self confidence.)

Phase Three - "Standards in Action"

This phase proved to be the most important part of the study. In Phase One it became apparent that interaction patterns of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were similar in the daily encounters they experienced in the classroom. Findings from Phase Two demonstrated that both groups of learners were similar in their judgments of how a person should act. But in the second phase, students merely *reported* standards. The question remained if students actually acted according to the standards, and if there were differences between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners in terms of these "standards in action." In order to determine this, the standards obtained from Phase Two were applied to observations, serving as a template or lens. By using a student "lens," the researcher was able to re-examine observations of interaction according to the standards negotiated by the interactors themselves. Standards were found to be flexible and open to negotiation among the students during interaction. Context played an important role. Student groups, relationships among the interactors and their audience, and the intentions of the interactors were identified as contextual elements. These elements contributed to the negotiation of standards. They were used when students interpreted whether something was a "do" or a "don't."

Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were compared, again as two distinctive groups, according to the "standards in action." There were more similarities than differences.

Similarities

Mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were no different in adhering to the following standards. "Do rough horseplaying," and "Do play around by threatening peers." "Do/don't tell stories about delinquent acts." "Don't (or no reaction) engage in delinquent acts while we're watching." (Acting Bad)

"Do tattle, do tell someone what to do, and do correct them in front of the class." "Do/don't get on their case while hurting or embarrassing them." (Getting on Someone's Case)

"Don't act goofy in front of an audience that consists of groups other than your own." (Acting Goofy)

"Don't brag in a serious way, especially if it's a lie." "Do brag if you're only playing around." (Bragging)

"Don't act two-faced." (Acting Two-faced)

"Don't be snobby." (Acting Snobby)

"Do cut." (Cutting) Despite a greater percentage of mainstreamed students who claimed to cut, similar percentages of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were observed cutting. Many nondisabled students who claimed

not to cut, actually did cut, particularly when they helped one another. For this standard there appeared to be little correspondence between word and action.

Differences

In comparing groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners, there were some areas of differences. More mainstreamed students "do tell jokes that challenge adult taboos and do cheat." (Acting Bad). They did these things with greater frequency.

Only mainstreamed students were criticized for violating the standard, "Don't be blatantly goody goody to the point where you appear to be conforming to the teacher's expectations more so than the expectations of peers." (Acting Goody Goody)

The offensive remarks of mainstreamed students were more tolerated, and even considered funny by mainstreamed and nondisabled peers. Nondisabled students were usually given the message, "Don't offend, even if it's done in jest." Their offensive remarks rarely entertained others. Mainstreamed students received a range of messages, "Do/don't (or neutral reactions) offend others." Sometimes they entertained others with their offensive remarks. (Offending)

High Profile Violators

The preceding analyses found minimal differences between the "standards in action" of groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. When individuals were examined for having repeatedly violated standards, differences between mainstreamed and nondisabled learners were uncovered. More mainstreamed individuals were high profile violators than nondisabled individuals. They violated standards while attending their loosely structured resource classes. When teacher-imposed structure was less evident, the students "took over" and established the behavioral limits. Peers regularly expressed disapproval of the high profile violators' actions.

Phase Four Questions

In Phase Four, the findings from Phases One through Three are considered in light of previous findings (Research Question Nine) and a model for research (Research Question Ten) is proposed. The purpose of Phase Four was to go back to the initial ideas which formed the basis of the study and reconsider them in light of the findings.

Research Question 9: How do these standards compare to those social skills in the literature? (Phase Four)

Some deficiencies previously identified in the social competence literature were verified in this study. Yet, these deficiencies did not differentiate groups of mainstreamed and nondisabled learners because both groups had similar percentages. The "deficits" were instances of standard violations, as conveyed by peers. Unlike the literature, a student view, rather than adult view, was used to define deficits.

Students with physical deviations were treated negatively or ignored. Students did not express this in formal interviews, but they criticized students with physical deviations during informal interviews. The deviations went beyond visible handicaps and included differences in dress, hairstyles, gait, speech, mannerisms, and body weight.

Bizarre behavior, "goofiness," was generally disliked by peers when it occurred publicly. When someone acted goofy with their group of friends, the person was usually considered funny. It was important to know when and where to act goofy.

Additional violations had not been mentioned in the literature, but were found in the McArthur study. Students did not approve of serious bragging, particularly when the

person was lying. Students accepted others talking and joking about delinquent "accomplishments," but they were not as tolerant when they witnessed the acts. Talking behind someone's back, spreading rumors, trying to conform to incompatible groups, and snobbishness were additional violations.

One set of violations differentiated mainstreamed learners from nondisabled learners, and has been previously unreported in the literature. Several mainstreamed students seemed more concerned with obeying the teacher and learning than in socializing with peers. They conformed to the teacher's expectations more so than their peers, they were considered "goody-goody." Others viewed the "goody-goodies" as having values that were more closely aligned to adult standards than to the standards held by students. For these mainstreamed "goody-goodies," it is possible that teacher dependency has been fostered throughout their school careers, or they are more motivated than peers to succeed in school. Another explanation is that peer interaction has generated fewer rewards for them than teacher-student interaction. They may be more adept at socially interacting with adults rather than peers, or may prefer to interact with adults. be.

<u>Prosocial actions</u>, positive social actions, also occurred among McArthur students. Specific prosocial behaviors have been encouraged in social intervention

research. Significantly, some of these positive actions were present to a larger degree among mainstreamed students than their nondisabled peers. Helping and sharing behaviors were more characteristic of mainstreamed students. Helping was task-oriented. Mainstreamed students seemed to be concerned with completing their own schoolwork by whatever means were available to them. They also helped others in finishing their schoolwork. They discussed answers and cheated. They gave and received help in directions, locating the answers, reading and spelling words, and following along with the teacher. Rather than approach tasks independently, they relied on others for the "correct answer." They appeared to have a higher regard for what their peers knew than for their own personal efforts. Behaviors like these have been examined in studies measuring locus of control in LD and MR learners. These behaviors suggest that they are more extrinsically than intrinsically motivated (Fincham & Barling, 1978; Pearl, Bryan, & Donahue, 1980). Externally controlled people tend to attribute success and failure to external events, not their own efforts. This may account for the larger numbers of mainstreamed students involved in helping at McArthur High School.

Alternative explanations for "helping" are also plausible. Helping may indicate that the students simply wanted "to get their work over with" so they could

socialize during the remaining class period. Schoolwork is devalued when compared to social activity. This may be amplified by the fact that school tasks were too difficult for them to master independently (whether this was due to the complexity of directions, the task itself, or the time frame for completion). Therefore, helping is a way to solve an unresolvable obstacle, namely, they cannot do the work. Schoolwork completion appeared to be a common student interest and a "safe topic" for interaction, students rarely refused to give or receive help.

More mainstreamed students were involved in sharing possessions. By sharing possessions, a person has a guaranteed chance of experiencing positive interactions. As a giver or lender, one takes minimal risks in being treated badly. Like "helping," "sharing" is an assured way to engage in positive interaction. Taken together, helping and sharing are regarded as safe ways to interact which lead to positive feelings, as opposed to negative feelings of incompetence.

Humor has not received attention in the literature, yet mainstreamed McArthur students used humor differently. They jokingly made offensive remarks to peers and joked about adult taboos. Their jokes were well received by peers. They used humor to broach "forbidden" subjects. These jokes may have violated adult expectations of appropriate school behavior, but they were appreciated by

peers. In mainstreamed settings, students' humor was self-derogatory. Mainstreamed students frequently laughed while describing themselves and mainstreamed peers as being "stupid," "retarded," or "resource."

Given that a higher percentage of mainstreamed learners helped and cheated, shared, and were humorous about subjects that were offensive and taboo, it could be inferred that these are not signs of deficits, but rather signs of being socially adept. The evidence implies a level of sophistication about social interaction which other researchers have not reported. Perhaps mainstreamed learners have learned these strategies through their school career and have mastered them by high school. The acquisition of such strategies may be due to a desire to maximize socializing at school, or may serve as a way to compensate for one's "marginal" social status, or it may be the result of social intervention in past special education classes.

Dudley-Marling and Edmiaston (1985) reviewed studies of social interaction going back over the past ten years and concluded that there were few differences in the LD students' interactions. They warned teachers of LD students against assuming "that all, or even most, of their students will have problems interacting with others - it is *only somewhat more likely to occur* [italics are mine]" (p. 202). This has been confirmed in the McArthur study.

Research Question 10: How well does the data gathered from naturalistic observations support, extend, or modify Gaylord-Ross and Haring's (1987) model for research and intervention in social skills development? (Phase Four)

The Gaylord-Ross and Haring model was seen as a heuristic device for ordering the data. The researcher suspected that their model would not be able to describe the dynamics of the social world of mainstreamed students at McArthur. The data supported this. A modified model is proposed, one that offers an alternative to a behaviorist oriented one. In Gaylord-Ross and Haring's model, "dyadic exchange" is represented as a simple initiation-response exchange. Interpretation of meaning holds a minor place in their model. The researchers assume that the each person in the dyad reacts directly to the action of the other. This appears to work in instances where interaction is between two people in isolation. In the modified model, the dyadic exchange, or peer interaction, is interpreted through a complex "lens of meaning." Meaning plays a major part in the interaction. The actions of self and others are viewed through the lens. Before an interactor responds, she defines and interprets and weighs actions, and renders judgment. A person reacts to her

interpretation of the actions of others, not the actual action itself (Blumer, 1966). This is a basic premise advocated by symbolic interactionist theory.

Figure 6.1 illustrates the modified model, showing the "lens of meaning" of the interactors and the audience watching the interaction. Interaction occurs in the presence of watching peers (and the researcher) who each have their own set of lenses. The modified model inserts a "lens of meaning" which belong not only to each of the interactors, but also to those in the audience who are viewing the interaction as well. The broken and unbroken lines differentiate the actual act from the interpreted act. Diagonal lines designate the environmental contexts, physical and curricular, embedded in peer interaction.

The viewing lens of McArthur interactors is filtered by the students' characteristics (i.e., physical appearance), the relationship between the interactors (i.e., they may be close friends, or barely know one another), the relationship the interactors have with the audience (i.e., the audience members may all be friends with only one of the interactors), and the intentions they perceive of one another, i.e., one person may perceive an action as harmless and fun, and the other person may regard the same action as offensive and cruel.

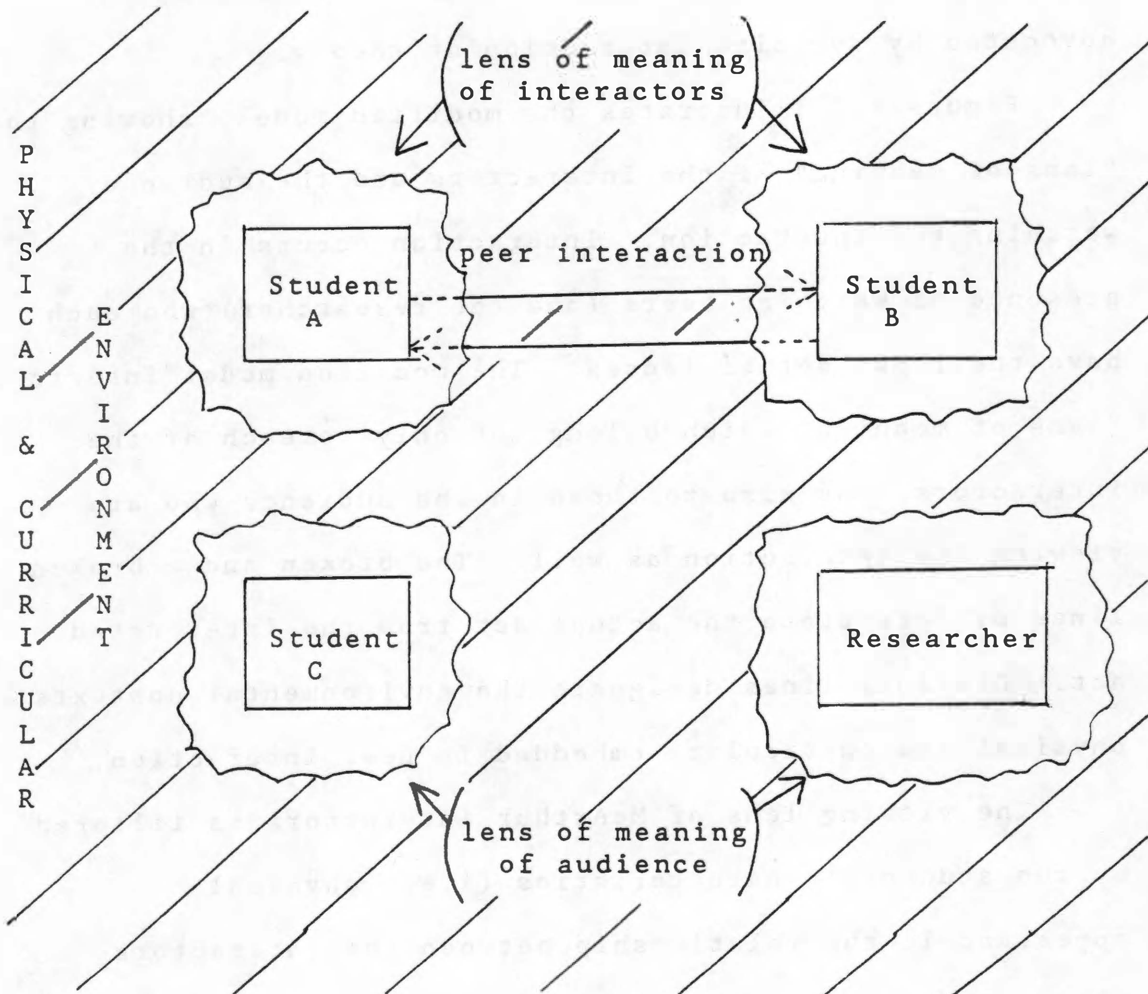


Figure 6.1. Modified model

Note that the dyadic exchange, or peer interaction, is represented by broken and unbroken lines. The broken lines indicate the interpretation and judgement of the other person's actions. The solid line represents action. The diagonal lines represent environmental context, consisting of the physical and curricular environment.

The model helps explain why some students received different peer responses for the same action. For example, when Paula threatened and insulted a student in class, she received a variety of responses. Her close friend smiled and cheered her on ("Yeah, tell him!"; the target retaliated with angry insults; a friend of the target tried to placate Paula by explaining, "But he was talking to me, not you"; and the other classmates silently and coolly watched.

The model begins to account for students who acted differently when they were with different people and when they were with the same people in different contexts. For example, Harry was argumentative and bossy towards one set of peers, and pleasant and humorous towards another. His actions differed according to who he was interacting with. Harry's actions were also different when he interacted with the same person in different contexts. For example, he rarely demonstrated affection towards his girlfriend in class, but was observed squeezing and pressing against her in the hallways on several occasions.

The modified model accounts for the levels of complexity in viewing and understanding peer interaction. The audience consists of peers or adults who are viewing the interaction. Each member of the audience has his or her own "lens of meaning." This transcends the assumption that the interactors interpret meaning the same, and that the

audience shares in this meaning. There is a range of interpretations of action, reported standards, and standards in action among the interactors and the audience. "Meaning" is central to the modified model and to symbolic interaction theory.

Social action was shown as a reflective process, beyond the reflexive level. McArthur students verbalized this during formal and informal interviews. They were able to articulate the subtleties in interpretation of social action, such as the double standard reserved for friends, the significance of who was watching the interaction, and the important difference between "playing around" and negative intentions. The fact that students were so aware of interpreting social actions makes a strong case for supporting the major premises of symbolic interactionism and makes a case for the level of social sophistication of the students.

The modified model includes meanings held by the researcher, as a member of the audience viewing the interaction. An essential "lens of meaning" belongs to the researcher. The design of the study, and the data collection and analyses are all intricately tied to the researcher's lens and biases. The study was set up to provide dissenting evidence on social deficits as pathologies that reside within mainstreamed learners. The

researcher attempted to convey several issues to the reader.

First, the findings of previous studies are questionable in light of their methodological limitations. Second, since evidence of "social deficits" is unsubstantiated, it is inappropriate to advocate the incorporation of social deficits in the definition of learning disabilities. Until more accurate and valid measures of social competence are produced, the inclusion of social deficits as a criterion for inclusion in a disability group stands on "shaky ground." Third, in studying social competence, observation alone is insufficient. It is important to consider the student view of competence as well. Fourth, context and interaction are bound together. Any research method which examines peer interaction must somehow account for context. These arguments justified the need for the current study.

The methodology adapted by the McArthur study avoided these weaknesses, but was vulnerable to a different set of limitations, namely the subjectivity of the researcher. A detailed account of data collection procedures, interview questions, data analysis strategies, and fieldnote excerpts that exemplified specific results were provided for the reader to make a judgment concerning objectivity.

Implications for Education and Future Research

Two agendas coexisted at McArthur. One agenda was to acquire skills and knowledge; the other was to have fun and socialize. The first agenda defines the intentions of the school staff. They are expected to facilitate learning among their students and expect their students to share this goal. Students, with a socially oriented agenda, interpret their role as to simply finish their work. They have a passive role that requires minimal effort for academics. For most students, the primary reason for attending school was social, not academic. Obviously, these agendas are at odds with each other. The present educational institutions promote the first agenda, academics and preparation for adulthood, while students hold a second agenda. Students socialize, establish friendships and have fun during school. In short, school has different meaning for both parties. Both agendas, academic learning and having fun, are being partially accomplished in schools.

One implication of this dual agenda situation is to redesign schools to meet both agendas. Cooperative learning provides a remedy because it capitalizes on immediate and future needs of the students. Students use many ways to "get around" the system. They interact without being too disruptive, during some of this time they

cannot be attentive to school tasks. Since they are "driven to interact," this natural bent could be fused with learning activities; thus allowing students to merge the two, rather than have to choose between them. McArthur students readily helped one another on school tasks, particularly mainstreamed students. This inclination could be channeled with cooperative, rather than competitive school structures.

Cooperative learning has several benefits. First, it builds on student social needs. Second, it more closely approximates the tasks these students will face outside of school. Third, it eliminates the need to cheat while they are in school. When McArthur students helped one another, they interacted with a wider range of students. For some students, this was a primary form of positive interaction. Cooperative learning provides an opportunity for students to interact beyond their closely knit groups. The mainstreamed students who identified with teachers rather than peer group were devalued by peers. They could benefit from cooperative learning structures, by minimizing their dependency on the teacher and more closely aligning themselves with peers while learning.

More caution should be exercised before special educators and researchers continue on the present course of action concerning the measurement of social competence, intervention techniques designed to "fix the child," and

definition changes for learning disabilities. The present findings challenge the existence of social deficits in mainstreamed students (medical model), and raise some questions. Should researchers continue to measure social interaction and competence with minimal regard for context and the viewpoint of participants? Is it appropriate for social skills intervention programs to continue to focus on the "deviant" child? How valid is the current move to incorporate social skills deficits in the definition of learning disabilities?

Future Directions

The findings of the study also had implications for future research.

A Redefinition of Social Competence

Definitions of social competence vary. In this study, teachers had difficulty stepping outside of their disciplinarian roles while discussing peer interaction in interviews. McArthur students condoned actions that their teachers had judged inappropriate. A multiple perspective is needed in future studies, one that considers interaction and competence as viewed by peers, parents, educators, and researchers. Future researchers should be particularly sensitive to the view of competence held by peers, since they "own" the interaction. Studies need to probe the

interactors and those who are viewing the interaction in order to understand the standards at work.

In addition to a multiple view of social competence, other research directions are recommended. The study started with a set of research questions and focused on them during a nineteen week period. During this time, some research questions emerged, suggesting future directions:

1. How is humor used by high school students and teachers?
2. How does peer interaction compare for LRE, international, and nondisabled learners at the high school level?
3. How can environmental variables be modified to change patterns in peer interaction?
4. How do teachers influence and shape peer interaction?
5. What social incentives motivate students to remain in school, rather than drop out? How can we encourage these social rewards for "at risk" students?
6. What are the sources of stress among high school students? What school structures can be changed to alleviate student stress?

Limitations and Recommended Modifications

As a former special education teacher, this researcher has her own lens. In her opinion, students who "played off" the taunts of peers were not necessarily entertained. Humor was more than a positive lighthearted experience, it contained traces of cruelty and abrasive honesty. The gut wrenching effect of humor was hidden during public displays of social interaction. Students were expected "to go along with things" in front of others. How many other instances of interaction were subject to the "play it off" phenomena? This question is important since students laughed in response to a variety of actions. A major limitation of the McArthur study is that the researcher attempted to examine standards from the perspective of students.

In keeping with their lens, laughter has been interpreted as a positive message, signifying a "do." Yet, the researcher believes that there is a mixed message. A student could laugh, inferring acceptance of what has happened, and at the same time have had a contradictory personal reaction. His personal reaction may have been kept to himself, or shared with intimate friends or parents. There is no assurance that the reaction expressed was congruent with the reaction felt. The study fails to investigate the difference between the social meanings

students expressed and the personal meaning they attributed to their interactions and standards. This area remains unexplored and open for future study.

Another limitation of the study is that the peer interaction and standards discussed may have been idiosyncratic to McArthur's low achieving students. It is therefore recommended that ethnographic studies be replicated in other schools, including observations in higher track classes. The majority of mainstreamed students had attended "fundamental track" classes, therefore observations in this study were limited to following these target students. A small minority of mainstreamed students participated in the other two higher tracks. In an improved research design, the mainstreamed learners who attended classes in other tracks would be shadowed as well as the lowest track mainstreamed learners as well.

Some additional modifications are suggested for improving ways to uncover the finer-grained nuances of interaction and competence. It is essential to include a second participant observer of a different gender and race. A team of participant observers could collect more data, establish a rapport with a wider range of students, and collaborate on data analysis. Other modifications include: timing interactional segments, more detailed interview questions that ask students how standards are

negotiated, a longitudinal study that examines interaction patterns of a group of students over four years, using parent and sibling interviews, videotaping peer interaction and presenting it to other students, developing vignettes based on fieldnote excerpts and submitting them to larger numbers of students in the form of a questionnaire, and recoding fieldnotes from the teacher's lens, rather than the students'.

Conclusion

This study described a slice of the social world of mainstreamed students. Through an ethnographic approach, the researcher compared mainstreamed and nondisabled learners according to their peer interactions, the social standards they expressed, and the social standards they "acted out." In conclusion, the findings contradicted the notion that mainstreamed learners deviate socially from their peers. More similarities than differences were found among mainstreamed and nondisabled learners. At McArthur, they said and did the same kinds of things with peers. For the most part, they were judged similarly and adhered to common peer standards. Some individual mainstreamed learners regularly violated peer standards while in resource classes. The evidence does not support the conclusion that as a group, mainstreamed students differ socially. It does suggest that some mainstreamed

individuals act in ways contrary to their mainstreamed peers.

High school students exhibited a keen level of social awareness. Peer standards were not hard, steadfast rules that governed behavior, but judgments that were negotiated within different contexts. Students were able to express these social judgments and contextual nuances. Using the students' own words as a basis for identifying social deficits (standards), this study led to a different perspective on social interaction.

Many complexities exist in studying social interaction - the context of interaction, the negotiation of standards, and the interpretation of meaning. The McArthur study was an initial effort to understand such complexities, only "the tip of the iceberg" has been uncovered.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Alley, G.R., Deshler, D.D., Clark, F.L., Schumaker, J.B., & Warner, M.M. (1983). Learning disabilities in adolescent and adult populations: Research implications (Part II). Focus on Exceptional Children, 15(9), 1-14.

Banikowski, A.K. (1981). The verbal cognitive-socialization strategies used by learning disabled and non-learning disabled junior high school adolescents in a peer-to-peer interaction activity. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas.

Blumer, H. (1969). Symbolic interactionism. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bruck, M., & Hebert, M. (1982). Correlates of learning disabled students' peer interaction patterns. Learning Disability Quarterly, 5(4), 332-333.

Bruininks, R.H., Rynders, J.E., & Gross, J.C., (1974). Social acceptance of mildly retarded pupils in resource rooms and regular classes. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 78(4), 377-383.

Bruning, J.L., Kintz, B.L. (1977). Computational handbook of statistics (2nd ed.). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company.

Bryan, T.H. (1974). Peer popularity of learning disabled children. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 7(10), 31-35.

Bryan, T.H. (1976). Peer popularity of learning disabled children: A replication. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 9(5), 307-311.

Bryan, T.H. (1982). Social skills of learning disabled children and youth: An overview. Learning Disability Quarterly, 5(4), 332-333.

Bryan, T.H., & Bryan, J.H. (1978). Social interactions of learning disabled children. Learning Disability Quarterly, 1(1), 33-38.

Bryan, T.H., & Bryan, J.H. (1981). Experiences of learning disabled children. In B.K. Keogh (Ed.), Advances in special education (vol. 3) (pp. 150-187). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Cartledge, G., Frew, T., & Zaharias, J. (1985). Social skill needs of mainstreamed students: peer and teacher perceptions. Learning Disability Quarterly, 8(2),132-140.

Dawes, R.M. (1984). Approaches to the measurement of attitudes. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), Attitudes and attitude change in special education (pp. 70-92). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children.

Denzin, N.K. (1977). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. NY: McGraw-Hill.

Deshler, D.D., Schumaker, J.B., Warner, M.W., Alley, G.R., & Clark, F.L. (1980). An epidemiological study of learning disabled adolescents in secondary schools: Social status, peer relationships, activities in and out of school, and time use (Research Report No.18). Lawrence: University of Kansas, Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities.

Dudley-Marling, C.C., & Edmiaston, R. (1985). Social status of learning disabled children and adolescents: A review. Learning Disability Quarterly, 8(3), 189-204.

Dunn, L.M., & Markward, F.C. (1970). Peabody individual achievement test. Circle Pines, MN: American Guidance Service.

Evertson, C.M., & Green, J.L. (1987). Observation as inquiry and method. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), Handbook of research on teaching (3rd ed.) (pp. 162-213). NY: MacMillan.

Fincham, F., & Barling, J. (1978). Locus-of-control and generosity in learning disabled, normal achieving and gifted children. Child Development, 49(2), 530-533.

Foster, S.L., DeLawyer, D.D., & Guevremont, D.C. (1985). Selecting targets for social skills training with children and adolescents. In K.D. Gadow (Ed.), Advances in learning and behavioral disorders (vol. 4) (pp. 77-132). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Garrett, M.K., & Crump, W.D. (1980). Peer acceptance, teacher preference, and social status among learning disabled students. Learning Disability Quarterly, 3(3), 42-48.

Gaylord-Ross, R., & Haring, T. (1987). Social interaction research for adolescents with severe handicaps. Behavioral Disorders, 12(4), 264-275.

Gelzheiser, L.M. (1987). Reducing the number of students identified as being learning disabled: A question of practice, philosophy, or policy? Exceptional Children, 54(2), 145-150.

Goetz, J.P., & LeCompte, M.D. (1984). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Goffman, E. (1963). Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity. NY: Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Goffman, E. (1971). The presentation of self in everyday life. In E.P. Hollander and R.G. Hunt (Eds.), Current perspectives in social psychology (3rd ed.) (pp. 311-321). NY: Oxford Press.

Goodman, H., Gottlieb, J., & Harrison, R.H. (1972). Social acceptance of EMRs integrated into a nongraded elementary school. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 76(4), 412-417.

Gottlieb, J. (1978). Observing social adaptation in schools. In G. Sackett (Ed.), Observing behavior: Theory and applications in mental retardation (vol. 1) (pp. 285-309). Baltimore: University Park Press.

Gottlieb J., & Budoff, M. (1973). Social acceptability of retarded children in nongraded schools differing in architecture. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 78(1), 15-19.

Gottlieb, J., Cohen, L., & Goldstein, L. (1974). Social contact and personal adjustment as variables relating toward EMR children. Training School Bulletin, 71(1), 9-16.

Gottlieb, J., & Davis, J.E. (1973). Social acceptance of EMR children during overt behavioral interactions. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 78(2), 141-143.

Gottlieb, J., Semmel, M.I., & Veldman, D.J. (1978). Correlates of social status among mainstreamed mentally retarded children. Journal of Educational Psychology, 70(3), 396-405.

Grant, C.A., & Sleeter, C.E. (1986). After the school bell rings. NY: Falmer Press.

Greenspan, S. (1981). Social competence and handicapped individuals: Practical implications of a proposed model. In B.K. Keogh (Ed.), Advances in special education (vol. 3) (pp. 41-82). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Gregory, J.F., Shananan, T., & Walberg, H. (1986). A profile of learning disabled twelfth-graders in regular classes. Learning Disability Quarterly, 9(1), 33-42.

Gresham, F.M. (1981). Social skills training with handicapped children: A review. Review of Educational Research, 51(10), 139-176.

Gresham, F.M., & Reschly, D.J. (1986). Social skill deficits and low peer acceptance of mainstreamed learning disabled children. Learning Disability Quarterly, 9(1), 23-32.

Hallahan, D.P., & Kauffman, J.M. (1977). Labels, categories, behaviors: ED, LD, and EMR reconsidered. The Journal of Special Education, 11(2), 139-149.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). Ethnography: principals in practice. NY: Tavistock Publications.

Hollinger, J.D. (1987). Social skills for behaviorally disordered children as preparation for mainstreaming: Theory, practice, and new directions. Remedial and Special Education, 8(4), 17-27.

Horowitz, E.C. (1981). Popularity, decentering ability, and role-taking skills in learning disabled and normal children. Learning Disability Quarterly, 4(10,) 23-30.

Jastak, J.F., & Jastak, S. (1978). Wide range achievement test. Wilmington, DE: Jastak Associates.

Jones, R.L., & Guskin, S.L. (1984). Attitudes and attitude change in special education. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), Attitudes and attitude change in special education (pp. 1-20). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children.

Kavale, K.A., & Forness, S.R. (1985). Learning disability and the history of science: Paradigm or paradox? Remedial and Special Education, 6(4), 12-24.

MacMillan, D.L., & Morrison, G.M. (1980). Correlates of social status among mildly handicapped learners in self-contained special classes. Journal of Educational Psychology, 72(4), 437-444.

MacMillan, D.L., & Morrison, G.M. (1984). Sociometric research in special education. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), Attitudes and attitude change in special education: Theory and practice (pp.93-117). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children.

MacMillan, D.L., Keogh, B.K., & Jones, R.L. (1987). Special education research on mildly handicapped learners. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), Handbook of research on teaching (3rd ed.) (pp. 255-295). New York:MacMillan.

Madden, N.A., & Slavin, R.E. (1983). Mainstreaming students with mild handicaps: Academic and social outcomes. Review of Educational Research, 53(4), 519-569.

Madden, R., Gardner, E.R., Rudmean, H.C., Karlsen, B., & Merwin, J.C. (1982). The stanford achievement test. (1983). NY: The Psychological Corporation.

Maheady, L., & Maitland, G.E. (1982). Assessing social Perception abilities in learning disabled students. Learning Disability Quarterly, 5(4), 363-370.

Marston, D. (1987). Does categorical teacher certification benefit the mildly handicapped child? Exceptional Child, 53(5), 423-431.

McEvoy, M.A., & Odom, S.L. (1987). Social interaction training for preschool children with behavioral disorders. Behavioral Disorders, 12(4), 242-251.

Moore, S.R., & Simpson, R.L. (1984). Reciprocity in the teacher-pupil and peer verbal interactions of learning disabled, behavior-disordered, and regular education students. Learning Disability Quarterly, 7(1), 30-38.

Morrison, G.M. (1981). Sociometric measurement: Methodological consideration of its use with mildly learning handicapped and nonhandicapped children. Journal of Educational Psychology, 73(2), 193-201.

National Institute on Dyslexia, (1988). Federal interagency committee issues report to the US Congress. Update, 1(3), 1-2.

Newman, R.K., & Simpson, R.L. (1983). Modifying the least restrictive environment to facilitate the integration of severely emotionally disturbed children and youth. Behavioral Disorders, 8(2), 103-112.

Pearl, R., Bryan, T., & Donahue, M. (1980). Learning disabled children's attributions for success and failure. Learning Disability Quarterly, (3)1, 3-9.

Pelto, P.J., & Pelto, G.H. (1970). Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry (2nd ed.). NY: Cambridge University Press.

Perlmutter, B.F., Crocker, J., Cordray, D., & Garstecki, D. (1983). Sociometric status and related personality characteristics of mainstreamed learning disabled adolescents. Learning Disability Quarterly, 6(1), 20-30.

Sabornie, E.J., & Kauffman, J.M. (1985). Regular classroom sociometric status of behaviorally disordered adolescents. Behavioral Disorders, 10(3), 268-274.

Sabornie, E.J., & Kauffman, J.M. (1986). Social acceptance of learning disabled adolescents. Learning Disability Quarterly, 9(1), 33-42.

Sainato, D.M., Zigmond, N., & Strain, P.E. (1983). Social status and initiations of interaction by learning disabled students in a regular education setting. Analysis and Intervention in Developmental Disabilities, 3(1), 71-87.

Schloss, P.J., Schloss, C.N., Wood, C.E., & Kiehl, W.S. (1986). A critical review of social skills research with behaviorally disordered students. Behavioral Disorders, 12(1),1-14.

Schumaker, J.B., Wildgen, J.S., & Sherman, J.A. (1982). Social interactions of learning disabled junior high students in their regular classrooms: An observational analysis. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 15(6), 355-362.

Scranton, T.R., & Ryckman, D.B. (1979). Sociometric status of learning disabled children in an integrative program. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 12(6), 49-54.

Seidel, J.V., Kjolseth, R., & Seymour, E. (1988). The ethnograph: A program for the computer assisted analysis of text based data (Version 3.0). Littleton, CO: Qualis Research Associates.

Sheare, J.B. (1974). Social acceptance of EMR adolescents in integrated programs. American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 78(6), 678-682.

Shores, R.E. (1987). Overview of research on social interaction: A historical and personal perspective. Behavioral Disorders, 12(4),233-241.

Silver, D.S., & Young, R.D. (1985). Interpersonal problem-solving abilities, peer status, and behavioral adjustment in learning disabled and non-learning disabled adolescents. In K.D. Gadow (Ed.), Advances in learning and behavioral disorders (vol. 4) (pp. 201-223). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Simpson, R.L. (1987). Social interactions of behaviorally disordered children and youth: Where are we and where do we need to go? Behavioral Disorders, 12(4), 292-298.

Siperstein, G.N., Bopp, M.J., & Bak, J.J. (1978). Social status of learning disabled children. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 11(12), 49-53.

Siperstein, G.N., & Goding, M.J. (1983). Social integration of learning disabled children in regular classrooms. In K.D. Gadow & I. Bialer (Eds.), Advances in learning and behavioral disorders (vol. 2) (pp. 227-263). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Spradley, J.P. (1980). Participant observation. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Tennessee Department of Education. (1985). Special education student evaluation manual. Unpublished manual.

Triandus, H.C., Adamopoulos, J., & Brinberg, D. (1984). Perspectives and issues in the study of attitudes. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), Attitudes and attitude change in special education (pp. 21-40). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children.

Vacc, N.A. (1968). A study of emotionally disturbed children in regular and special classes. Exceptional Children, 35(3), 197-206.

Vacc, N.A. (1972). Long term effects of special class intervention for emotionally disturbed children. Exceptional Children, 39(1), 15-22.

Wechsler, D. (1974). Wechsler intelligence scale for children-revised. NY: The Psychological Corporation.

Wechsler, D. (1981). Wechsler adult intelligence scale-revised. NY: The Psychological Corporation.

Woodcock, R.W., & Johnson, M.B. (1978). Woodcock-Johnson psycho-educational battery. Hingham, MA: Teaching Resources Corporation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Describe the different ways students interact in your classroom? What interactions do you permit? Which do you try to discourage?

2. Describe the way your students act towards [mainstreamed student].
   How does he act towards them?

3. Describe the way [mainstreamed student] fits in with his peers, in your classroom.

4. Are there different student groups at McArthur? What are the names of these groups?

5. (Given student roster) Please put your students into social groups, based on the way they relate to one another in your classroom.

6. (Given fieldnote excerpts) These are some descriptions of what students did in their classes. Could you please read each one and decide if they have similarities or differences which can separate them into groups. Sort them and then tell me about these groups. [If the person doesn't understand, go to 6.1.]

6.1. I'm interested in uncovering the ways students relate or interact with each other. I call these examples of social interaction. I'd like you to help me find groups or categories of student social interaction.

APPENDIX B

STUDENT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Age

2. What grade are you in?

3. How long have you been at McArthur?

4. What school did you go to before McArthur?

5. Do you have any family members that have gone here? Who are they, How long ago did they attend?

6. Are there different groups of students at McArthur? *

   A. What are the names of these groups?

   B. How would you describe each group?

   C. Can a person belong to more than one group? Are any groups separate from the others?

   Which groups let people overlap into other groups? Which groups are separate?

7. This is a list of your groups. Please show me which groups these students belong in. While we do this, if any other groups come to mind, tell me and we can include them on the list.

8. Do you share a locker? With who? Describe this person. What group is he/she in?

---

* If they answer "no" to #6:

A. Are there people who mostly hang around together?
B. What do they have in common?
C. Could you say they're a kind of a group? [If they say yes - go to 6.A. If they say no - continue below.]
D. Since they aren't groups, what would you call them?
E. How is this different from being in a group?
F. Are there different kinds of ____?
G. What are the names of these ____? (Continue with modified 6.1.B., using their term.)

9. What does it take to have some friends at McArthur?

10. For each group named by student: What does it take to belong to this group? What is important to this group?

11. Why do you think you're in ------ group(s)?

12. Could a person do something that would make them become ignored by their group? What would some of these things be?

13. Are there people who don't belong to any group? Who are they? Why is it that they don't fit in?

APPENDIX C

STUDENT GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

[I read the following directions out loud, as students follow along in their duplicate handout.]

I have interviewed you individually about what it takes for a student to "belong" and have friends in this school. Now I'd like to hear from you as a group. These are stories that describe various school scenes. I have changed student codes to made-up names so that no one will know the identities of the people.

Please read the first story card and discuss the following questions as a group. [I read the story card out loud, using the same tone of voice as the participants had used]:

1. How would you judge the actions of those involved in this scene? [I prompt them by stating for each participant in the scene, "How would you judge what --- did?"]
2. Why do you think these students acted the way they did? [I prompt them by asking for each participant, "Why do you think ---- said [or did] that?"]
3. Has something similar to this ever happened to you or someone you know? How did you react? How did they react?
4. Would you be interested in becoming friends with any of these people, why or why not?

Please continue these steps for all the stories.

APPENDIX D

TARGET MAINSTREAMED STUDENT INTERVIEWS

Set One

1. Why do you come to school? What do you get out of it?
2. How do you feel about McArthur High School?
3. What do you think of the teachers you have for your classes? (Start with first period.)
4. How do you feel about the school work you're given in your classes? (Start with first period.)
5. What do you think of the students here?

Set Two

These questions refer to the activities you've done in and out of school during this school year.

Did you go to any of the following outside events? Was anyone else with you? Were they students here at ---?

1. Football games. (How many times?)
2. Other school sporting events. (How many times?)
3. [Local pizza parlor] after a game. (How many times?)
4. Concerts. (How many times?)
5. The County Fair. (How many times?)
6. [Local festival.]
7. [Local festival.]
8. What other things do you do after school? Who do you do them with? Are they students here at McArthur?

Did you go to any of the following events during school? Name the people you sat with and talked to.

9. [Sporting event during school]
10. [Sporting event during school]
11. [Assembly]
12. [Assembly]
13. [Assembly]
14. [Assembly]
15. Homecoming dance.
16. [Sporting event during school]

17. Who do you usually spend lunchtime with?
18. List the people in your home group. Which ones do you talk to? What groups do they belong to?
19. Who do you usually talk to when you ride to and from school?
20. Do you work? How many hours?

APPENDIX E

NONINTERACTIVE STUDENTS

CLASS A

Mainstreamed		Nondisabled	
S35	9/16*	S168	10/16*
S38	2/16	S169	6/16
S44	1/16	S164	4/16
		S167	3/16
		S155	2/16
		S156	2/16
		S160	2/16
		S172	2/16
		S151	2/16
		S152	1/16
		S153	1/16
		S157	1/16
		S158	1/16
		S159	1/16
		S161	1/16

Mainstreamed: Represents 65% (3/5) of the mainstreamed students in Class A.

Nondisabled: Represents 83.3% (15/18) of the nondisabled students in Class A.

CLASS B

Mainstreamed		Nondisabled	
S31	3/13	S212	8/13*
		S218	7/13*
		S217	3/13
		S200	2/13
		S202	2/13
		S204	2/13
		S201	1/13
		S203	1/13
		S211	1/13
		S214	1/13
		S216	1/13

Mainstreamed: Represents 14.3% (1/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class B

Nondisabled: Represents 53% (11/20) of the nondisabled students in Class B.

*These are the isolates. They were noninteractive for more than 50% of their class periods.

APPENDIX E (con't)

NONINTERACTIVE STUDENTS

CLASS C

Mainstreamed

Student	
S3	3/14
S57	3/14
S38	1/14
S46	1/14
S8	1/14

Represents 71.4% (5/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class C.

Nondisabled

Student	
S258	4/14
S265	4/14
S263	3/14
S252	1/14
S253	1/14
S261	1/14
S250	1/14
S267	1/14
S270	1/14

Represents 47.4% (9/19) of the nondisabled students in Class C

LRE

S19 5/14

This was the only LRE student in Class.

CLASS D

Mainstreamed

S53 1/12

Represents 25% (1/4) of the mainstreamed students in Class D.

Nondisabled

Student	
S413	5/12
S414	2/12
S410	2/12
S416	1/12
S407	1/12
S406	1/12
S400	1/12
S214	1/12

Represents 40% (8/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

Mainstreamed	10/23	= 43.5%
Nondisabled	43/77	= 55.8%

APPENDIX F

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN ENTERTAINMENT

CLASS A

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S35	S151
S37	S152
S38	S153
S44	S154
S46	S155
	S156
	S157
	S158
	S159
	S160
	S161
	S163
	S164
	S169
	S171
	S172
Represents 100% (5/5) of the mainstreamed students in Class A.	Represents 88.9% (16/18) of the nondisabled students in Class A.

CLASS B

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S5	S200
S25	S201
S26	S202
S29	S203
S31	S204
S47	S205
S52	S206
	S207
	S208
	S209
	S210
	S211
	S213
	S214
	S215
	S216
	S218
	S219
Represents 100% (7/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class B.	Represents 90% (18/20) of the nondisabled students in Class B.

APPENDIX F (con't)

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN ENTERTAINMENT

CLASS C

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S3	S250
S8	S251
S18	S252
S28	S253
S38	S254
S46	S255
	S256
	S257
	S259
	S261
	S262
	S263
	S264
	S265
	S267
	S269
	S270

Mainstreamed: Represents 85.7% (6/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class C.

Nondisabled: Represents 89.5% (17/19) of the nondisabled students in Class C.

LRE

S19

(The only LRE student in class.)

CLASS D

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S26	S214
S28	S215
S47	S252
S53	S400
	S401
	S402
	S403
	S404
	S405
	S406
	S407
	S408
	S409
	S412
	S413
	S414
	S415
	S417

Mainstreamed: Represents 100% (4/4) of the mainstreamed students in Class D.

Nondisabled: Represents 90% (18/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

Mainstreamed	22/23	=	95.6%
Nondisabled	69/77	=	89.6%

APPENDIX G

STAR ENTERTAINERS

CLASS A

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(none)	S154 S163

CLASS B

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S52	S206

CLASS C

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S46	S253

CLASS D

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(none)	S412

PERIPHERALLY ENTERTAINED STUDENTS

CLASS A

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(none)	S152

CLASS B

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S26 S31	S205 S208

CLASS C

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(none)	(none)

CLASS D

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(none)	S252 S409

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
Entertainers	2/23 = 8.7%	5/77 = 6.5%
Entertained	2/23 = 8.7%	5/77 = 6.5%

APPENDIX H

FAILED ATTEMPTS AT HUMOR

CLASS A		CLASS B	
Mainstreamed	**Nondisabled**	**Mainstreamed**	**Nondisabled**
S44 (1) [S157]	S163 (1) [S46] S160 (2) [S155,S157] S164 (1) [S157] S151 (1) [S154] S161 (1) [S171]	(none)	S205 (1) [S203]
Represents 20% 1/5) of the mainstreamed students in Class A.	Represents 27.8% (5/18) of the nondisabled students in Class A.		Represents 5% (1/20) of the mainstreamed students in Class B.

CLASS C		CLASS D	
Mainstreamed	**Nondisabled**	**Mainstreamed**	**Nondisabled**
S3 (1) [S91] S46 (2) [S8,S18]	S250 (1) [S46]	(none)	S408 (5) [S412]
Represents 26.8% (2/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class C.	Represents 5.3% (1/19) of the nondisabled students in Class C.		Represents 5% (1/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

LRE

S19 (1) [S91]

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

Mainstreamed	3/23	= 1.3%
Nondisabled	8/77	= 1%

APPENDIX I

RIDICULED STUDENTS

CLASS A

Mainstreamed

S44 (2) [S38, S154, S158]

S46 (2) [S159, S161, S171, S163, S165]

S38 (1) [S159, S161, S171]

Represents 60% (3/5) of the mainstreamed students in Class A.

Nondisabled

None

CLASS B

Mainstreamed

S31 (1) [S26, S52, S205]

Represents 14.3% (1/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class B.

Nondisabled

S203 [S5, S47, S206, S207, S213, S216]

Represents 5% (1/20) of the nondisabled students in Class B.

CLASS C

Mainstreamed

S3 (1) [entire class, except S19]*

Represents 1.4% (1/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class C.

Nondisabled

S262 (1) [S264]

Represents 5.3% (1/19) of the nondisabled students in Class C.

CLASS D

Mainstreamed

S53 (3) [S215, S412]

Represents 25% (1/4) of the mainstreamed students in Class D.

Nondisabled

S215 (1) [S412]

S409 (5) [S412]

Represents 10% (2/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

LRE

S19 (3) [entire class, except S3; S251, S253, S256, S257]

*This incident involved S3 & S19 being ridiculed together.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
Ridiculed	6/23 = 2.6%	4/77 = 5.2%
Ridiculers[1]	5/16 = 3.1%	14/58 = 2.4%

[1]This does not include Class C.

APPENDIX J

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN HELPING

CLASS A

Mainstreamed

S37
S38
S44
S46

Represents 80% (4/5) of the mainstreamed students in Class A.

Nondisabled

S151
S152
S154
S155
S157
S158
S159
S160
S161
S163
S164
S169
S171
S172

Represents 77.8% (14/18) of the nondisabled students in Class A.

CLASS B

Mainstreamed

S5
S25
S26
S29
S31
S47
S52

Represents 100% (7/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class B.

Nondisabled

S203
S205
S206
S207
S216

Represents 25% (5/20) of the nondisabled students in Class B.

APPENDIX J (con't)

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN HELPING

CLASS C

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S3	S91
S18	S251
S57	S252
S28	S253
S38	S255
S46	S256
	S257
	S258
	S259
	S262
	S263
	S264
	S265
	S267
	S269

Mainstreamed: Represents 85.7% (6/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class C.

Nondisabled: Represents 78.9% (15/19) of the nondisabled students in Class C.

LRE

S19

(The only LRE student in class.)

CLASS D

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S26	S214
S28	S215
S47	S252
S53	S408
	S409
	S412
	S413
	S414
	S415
	S417

Mainstreamed: Represents 100% (4/4) of the mainstreamed students in Class D.

Nondisabled: Represents 50% (10/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

Mainstreamed	21/23	= 91.3%
Nondisabled	44/77	= 57.1%

APPENDIX K

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN SHARING

CLASS A		CLASS B	
Mainstreamed	Nondisabled	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S35	S152	S5	S201
S37	S153	S26	S203
S38	S154	S29	S206
S46	S155	S31	S207
	S159	S47	S208
	S160		S210
	S161		S213
	S163		S215
	S164		S216
	S167		S217
Represents 80% (4/5) of the mainstreamed students in Class A.	Represents 55% (10/18) of the nondisabled students in Class A.	Represents 71.4% (5/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class B.	Represents 50% (10/20) of the nondisabled students in Class B.

APPENDIX K (con't)

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN SHARING

CLASS C		CLASS D	
Mainstreamed	Nondisabled	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
Not recorded for this class due to the constant movement by students and their frequent use of tools and equipment.		S26	S214
		S28	S215
		S47	S252
		S53	S400
			S401
		Represents 100% (4/4) of the mainstreamed students in Class D.	S406
			S407
			S408
			S412
			S413
			Represents 50% (10/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:[1]

Mainstreamed	13/16	=	81.2%
Nondisabled	30/58	=	51.7%

[1]This does not include Class C.

APPENDIX L

GIVE HELP/POSSESSIONS

CLASS A

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S38 H	S158 H
S46 P	S169 H
	S163 P

CLASS B

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(None)	S206 H
	S208 P

CLASS C

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S46 H	S257 H

CLASS D

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(None)	S412 H

APPENDIX M

RECEIVE HELP/POSSESSIONS

CLASS A		CLASS B	
Mainstreamed	Nondisabled	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S44 H	S171 H	(None)	S207 P

CLASS C		CLASS D	
Mainstreamed	Nondisabled	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S28 H	S265 H	(None)	S252 H

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
Givers	3/23 = 13%	7/77 = 9%
Receivers	2/23 = 8.7%	4/77 = 5.2%

APPENDIX N (con't)

TARGET OF CRITICISM

CLASS A		CLASS B	
Mainstreamed	Nondisabled	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S30 (1) [S91]* **S38** (1) [S267] Represents 28.6% (2/7) of the mainstreamed students in Class C.	**S251** [S254] **S256** (2) [S254, S250] Represents 10.5% (2/19) of the nondisabled students in Class C.	**S28** (1) [S214] **S53** (1) [S403] Represents 50% (2/4) of the mainstreamed students in Class D.	**S214** (1) [S412] **S252** (2) [S412] **S401** (1) [S412] **S404** (1) [S402] **S409** (5) [S252, S412] Represents 25% (5/20) of the nondisabled students in Class D.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
Targets	5/23 = 21.7%	17/77 = 22.1%
Critics	1/23 = 4.3%	21/77 = 27.3%

APPENDIX O

STUDENTS INVOLVED IN PRAISE

CLASS A

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(None)	S163 [S72] Represents 5.5% of the nondisabled students in Class A.

CLASS B

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(None)	S213 [S203] S214 [S209, S210] Represents 10% of the nondisabled students in Class B.

CLASS C

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
S46 [S253] Represents 1.4% of the mainstreamed students in Class C.	(None)

CLASS D

Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
(None)	S214 [S252, S28] Represents 10% of the nondisabled students in Class D.

ACROSS CLASS PERCENTAGES:

	Mainstreamed	Nondisabled
Praised Students	1/23 = 4.3%	5/77 = 6.4%
Receivers	1/23 = 4.3%	7/77 = 9%

APPENDIX P

EPISODIC EVENTS OF THE REMAINING
HIGH PROFILE VIOLATORS

Jim, S21, a mainstreamed student.

Peer reports:

- *"Jim got lots of tardies and had detention. He didn't show up for it. So, [the principal] asked him, "Do you want three licks or suspension?" Jim told him, 'Give me a suspension.' Then he went home and his Mom gave him three [licks] and when he came to school [the teacher] gave him three [licks] again. He's crazy."*

- *"He's a thief. He's a punk."*

- *Paul: "Ray [a black student] said to Jim, 'Nigger, you're sure in a hurry to get your ass back to Key at Kennedy High.'"*
  Researcher: "What's Key?"
  Paul: "That's a program for real bad kids. They get no freedom there. He [Jim] was in Key and they gave him another chance to come here. He's blowing it, really screwing it up!"

Jim often entertained and annoyed students by his cursing and insults.

- *The students are writing.*
  Jim makes loud noises by scrapping his chair on the floor.
  Macy (annoyed): "Hey boy! You're making too much noise!"
  Jim (calm and serious): "Fuck you!"
  The students look up from their assignment. They seem tense.
  Justin (in an exaggerated voice): "Oh! Who said that?"
  Macy angrily says something (?) to Jim.
  Jim (serious): "Then kiss my ass-pirin!"
  Justin (in a silly voice): "Ass-pirin?"
  The students laugh.

He bragged about his accomplishments. Usually the students didn't believe him.

- *Jim: "I'll bet nobody can do what I did. I went up [names a ridge] on that dirt road, to the top."*
  Tom: "No, you didn't. They closed it off. A guy flipped."
  Ray: "No way did you do that!"
  Tim: "What bike do you have?"
  Jim names the brand.
  Tim: "That's a wimpy bike."

Jim was involved with a stolen merchandise ring and regularly brought his wares into class to sell. He talked about his connections openly in class and was frequently warned about it by peers.

- *The students are discussing a stolen car ring that has been under investigation.*
  Jim: "I don't understand none of this."
  Ray (angry): "You understand!"
  Ellen (angry): "Shut up, Jim."
  Later on Jim walks up to Ray and Ellen.
  Jim: "What's that you say about me being a nigger?" [both Ellen and Ray are black students]
  Ellen: "You know too much."
  Jim: "About what?"
  Ellen: "About cars."

Students didn't seem to trust him.

- *Randy is missing a piece of lead from his pencil.*
  Randy (angry): "Put it back!"
  Jim: "I don't have anything of yours."
  Randy walks up to Jim, standing an inch away.
  He shouts that he knows Jim took it and that he wants it back.
  Jim shouts that he didn't take anything and that it probably dropped on the floor.
  Randy insists that he took it.
  They argue.

<u>John,</u> S48, a mainstreamed student.

Peer reports:

- *"We call him Elvis cuz he's a Nerd."*

· *"They the same as not popular. Like that boy in [names the class] who do the computer [John]. They don't talk, they don't joke, they don't like girls. They work work constantly. Jobs and working is important. The library too."*

· *"Oh, I forgot 'Nerds.' They're real smart and they really get into working. I'll show you what one looks like. [She imitates John's bouncing walk, simulating wearing a backpack.] They call him George McFly. He's the nerd on 'Back to the Future.'"*

His jokes were considered weird and irritating. (Refer to page 170 for another one of his attempts at humor.)

· *John walks in and grabs Melissa's purse. He's grinning and seems to be enjoying himself. Melissa grabs it and they're having a tug-of-war.*
Melissa (angry): "Let go! Let go!
Sam (in a loud voice): "Leave her alone!"
John stops and leaves.
Sam to Melissa: "See, that's what you have to do. Just yell at him. He'll stop."

His peers tended to either ignore him or insult him. One student didn't want to be associated with John for fear of jeopardizing her reputation.

· *Pauline and the researcher are talking in the hall, John interrupts.*
John (smiling): "Do you need a ride?"
Pauline (serious): "No, not today."
John asks me if I'll come into some of his classes.
We discuss this while Pauline silently watches.
John leaves.
Pauline rolls her eyes and makes a sour face.
Pauline: "I hate him. He always does that!"
Researcher: "What?"
Pauline: "He always interrupts me when I'm with my friends and asks me (in a falsetto voice), 'Do you need a ride?' He does it for attention. My friends'll ask, 'Who's <u>that?'</u>

And I tell them, 'I don't know?' I don't want them to know I know him. No way!"
Researcher: "Do you ride with him?"
Pauline: "Yeah, cuz sometimes I don't like the bus."

Peter, S412, a nondisabled student.

Peer reports:

- *"Peter's a hillbilly ... he does it on purpose."*
- *"He runs his mouth too much."*

He often controlled the class and corrected students.

- *The students are giving their oral reports.*
  Students are told to take notes and ask questions of the presenters.
  Peter is the only student who asks them questions.
  After Ralph presents, Peter begins his questions.
  Peter: "One more time."
  Ralph repeats the information.
  Peter: "Yuck!" [When Ralph mentions "mucus"]
  Peter: "What's the meaning of all those words?"
  Ralph (defiantly): "Look it up."
  Teacher: "Do you want me to tell you what they mean?"
  Peter: "Nah. I was only getting on him."
  Several minutes later, Peter's friend, Tony, refuses to read his oral report because he says it's too difficult to read.
  Tony passes the report to Peter.
  Peter writes on it.
  Tony: "What are you doing?"
  Peter: "I'm helping you."
  Peter crosses out the more difficult passages and returns it to Tony.
  Tony begins to read the edited version and stops.
  Tony (frustrated, to the teacher): "I'm not ready cuz I don't understand what he did."
  Peter (angry): "Look stupid!"
  Peter gets out of his seat and shows him which sentences to read...
  Peter (angry): "Don't read it then! I could care less. I don't care what you're trying to do."

Teacher: "Good, Peter. Good for you."
Tony (to teacher): "If you'd seen how he did it, you'd know what I mean."
Peter (to Tony): "If you weren't so crazy, I wouldn't do this for you!"
They laugh and the tension subsides.

Peter offended many students. (See also Example One on page 168.)

Peter (laughs): "You remind me of the song, "Why does she walk like a woman, but talk like a man?'."
Sarah (angry): "And when I smack you, don't you say a word!"

VITA

Marge Terhaar-Yonkers was born in Buffalo, New York on August 25, 1954. She graduated from Bishop Neumann High School (Williamsville, New York) in June 1972. In December 1976, she graduated Magna Cum Laude, receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in Special Education from The State University College of New York at Buffalo. Several years later she completed a Master's of Arts degree in Learning Handicapped at San Jose State University, and graduated Summa Cum Laude (May 1982). Her thesis was, "Creative Art for the Learning Handicapped." In the Fall of 1985 she entered The University of Tennessee at Knoxville, accepting a research assistantship. She received a Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Special Education in August 1989.

Over an eight year period, the author had taught Learning Disabled and Behavior Disordered students in New York, California, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. She worked in various settings, ranging from a special day school to resource programs in public schools.

Ms. Terhaar-Yonkers is a member of the following organizations: Council for Exceptional Children, American Educational Research Association, Society for the Study of Symbolic Interactionism, and Kappa Delta Pi and Pi Lambda

Theta, honor societies in education. She will be moving to Raleigh, North Carolina upon graduation.