

# Young children who intervene in peer conflicts in multicultural child care centers

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## Summary

In emotionally uncertain situations — as in conflicts of high intensity — young children rely on their teachers, and teachers often intervene in rows. However, child interventions in peer conflicts are also common. In this paper we discuss child interventions in peer conflicts by 2- and 3-year old children at Dutch child care centers. When children are nearby the conflict the probability of an intervention is 0.29. Support of one of the opponents is the most common intervention behavior. The probability of an intervention becomes higher when the teacher is out of sight and the intervening child is playing with one of the opponents. Older children intervene more often than younger children, and Moroccan and Antillean children intervene more often than Dutch children. The findings are related to the 'Relationship Model' of conflict management of de Waal, theories of cognitive development, and of cultural differences in education.

*Keywords:* peer conflicts, young children, child intervention, cultural differences.

## Introduction

Conflicts of interest between group members are an almost inevitable part of group living. Such conflicts may be limited to the two original opponents, but in many animal species and in human beings uninvolved individuals can intervene. Such interventions differ in their nature (Strayer & Noël, 1986),

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and species differ in the probability that interventions take place (e.g., savannah baboons, *Papio anubis*: Silk et al., 2004; children: Strayer & Noël, 1986; Grammer, 1992; Farver, 1996). The tendency of adult human beings to intervene in a conflict depends on characteristics of the situation such as intensity of the conflict and presence of other bystanders (Critelli & Keith, 2003); and characteristics of the bystander and the opponents such as age, gender, cultural background and belonging to the same group (de Waal, 2000; Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2005). Little is known of the intervention behavior of young children in peer conflicts.

In this paper we will discuss our study of child interventions of 2- and 3-year olds in peer conflicts in Dutch multicultural child care centers. The focus of the study is on incidence, exploration of factors that add to the young children's tendency to intervene, and patterns of interventions. The study is based on two theoretical frameworks. We start from the de Waal's Relation Model that focuses on the relational dynamics of conflicts. Besides that we use a developmental psychological framework to analyze the effects of factors that are related to the development of the young children.

## **Theoretical framework**

### *The relational model*

Recently researchers have become aware of the pro-social behavior of young children during and after conflicts. Conflicts have often been studied in isolation, but the Relational Model proposes that conflicts should be assessed within a social framework (Killen & de Waal, 2000; de Waal, 2000). According to the Relational Model, in groups (families, peer groups) the expression of aggression during conflicts is constrained by a need to maintain beneficial relationships. Behavior to reduce the impact of conflicts during and after conflicts can be expected when social relations are valued. Studies of behavior after conflicts in young children show that 2-year-old children already engage in acts of reconciliation, i.e., affiliative behavior after a conflict (Butovskaya et al., 2000). Forms of child reconciliation, expressed in invitations to play, body contacts, offers of objects, self-ridicule and verbal apologies, all serve to enhance tolerance (Killen & de Waal, 2000; Verbeek et al., 2000). One of the most stable results of conflict studies is the finding that playing together after a conflict occurs significantly more often when chil-

dren played together before the conflict than when they played alone (Shantz, 1987; Laursen & Hartup, 1989; Horowitz, 2005; Singer & de Haan, 2007). Based on de Waal's theoretical model we hypothesize that the characteristics of social relationships between the opponents and the intervening child will also influence the probability that a third child intervenes in a conflict and his or her role in the conflict in the following ways. We expect that when the intervening child plays together with one of the opponents, she/he will support her/his playmate to maintain the relationship and to continue with the shared play. Children that play with neither opponent will have the lowest tendency to intervene.

Violent conflicts are a more serious threat of the social relations within the group than conflicts without strong negative emotions. Teachers more often respond to peer conflicts of high intensity than to conflicts of low intensity (Rourou et al., 2006), but what can we expect of young children in this regard? On the one hand conflicts with a high intensity can evoke in young children the urge to intervene, just as in teachers, and a high intensity conflict may be more 'contagious' (Zahn-Waxler et al., 1992; Hoffman, 2000). On the other hand the risks of intervening in a high intensity conflict are much higher for children than for teachers. Therefore, these risks may negatively influence the probability of intervention (Chapais, 1991; Silk, 2002; Silk et al., 2004). This leads to contradicting predictions.

Young children rely on the teacher or parents for security and support in difficult situations (Jones & Reynolds, 1992; Killen & Nucci, 1995; Malloy & McMurray, 1996; Sims et al., 1996). When the children hit, kick, shout or cry, most teachers intervene immediately in their conflict (Singer & de Haan, 2007). Because of young children reliance on teachers we expect that young children intervene in a peer conflict when the teacher is not nearby.

#### *Developmental psychological framework*

The characteristics of the individual child also will influence his or her tendency to intervene. The age and level of cognitive development strongly influence children's social behavior. From developmental psychological theory, it appears that young children are increasingly able to solve their conflicts by taking into account the perspective of their interactive partner (Wellman, 2002; Colonnaesi, 2005). According to the evolutionary social-cognition theory of Tomasello (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006), human beings are inherently cooperative. Children as young as 18 months old are

willing and able to help other persons to achieve their goals; even when they do not know that person (i.e., an experimenter). This requires both an understanding of others' goals as an altruistic motivation to help. Experiments show that 3-year-olds are already able to describe incompatible desires to two persons (Rakoczy et al., 2007). The development of insight into differences in beliefs of other persons develops a bit later; in most children from the end of their third year. Growing empathic skills may influence the children's ability to evaluate complex conflict situations between peers (Strayer & Schroeder, 1989; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1998). Therefore, we expected that older children will be more often involved in interventions — especially in finding compromises that are acceptable for both opponents — than younger children.

From their third year children develop a sense of group affiliation along gender and ethnic lines (Jackson et al., 1997; Martin & Fabes, 2001). Therefore, we expect that an intervening child will give support more often to a child of the same gender and cultural background as the intervening child itself.

A specific cultural background may also have an influence on the intervention behavior of children (Butovskaya et al., 2000). Adults from collectivistically oriented cultures tend to use a conflict style in which conflict resolution by third parties plays a more important role than in individualistically oriented cultures, where they are more confrontational and direct (Blyth & Pope, 1988; Bierbrauer & Klinger, 2005). Therefore, we expect that children of different cultural backgrounds may differ in their intervention behavior.

#### *Behavior of the intervening child*

In uncertain situations young children look at an adult to get some indication of how they should feel and act (Singer, 2002; Singer & Hännikäinen, 2002; Doherty, 2003). This so-called social referencing often occurs during peer conflicts (Singer, 2002; Singer & Hännikäinen, 2002). We expect that intervening children will more often look at the teacher compared with not intervening children nearby the conflict, because more emotional turbulence and uncertainty is invoked in intervening children.

Studies of child interventions mention support as the most common behavior of the intervening child (e.g., Strayer & Noel, 1986; Grammer, 1992; Butovskaya et al., 2000; de Haan & Singer, 2001; Chaux, 2005). Support is

defined as taking side of one of the opponents in a conflict. We expect to find support as the main intervention behavior.

On rare occasions, mediation, i.e., an intervention to find compromises and to stop the conflict, is observed in young children (Butovskaya et al., 2000). Mediation presupposes complex psychological actions to take into account the incompatible desires of the two opponents (Strayer & Schroeder, 1989; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1998). Therefore, we expect to find only few examples of mediation and only in the older children.

Young children have a strong tendency to imitate each others behavior (Meltzoff, 2002). Especially behavior in situations that evoke strong emotions, as in the case of conflicts, is often imitated. We expect to find examples of imitation in the intervening child.

## Methods

### *Data collection*

Our study is based on the analyses of 96 h of video and audio tape of 96 2- and 3-year-old focus children in 23 different Dutch multicultural child-care centers. 32 Native Dutch, 32 Moroccan and 32 Antillean children were followed during free play; the behavior of the focus children and their surroundings — peers, teachers and play things — were taped with a handheld camera two times for 30 min on different days. Free play was defined as a situation in which the children were free to choose what they wanted to do, and they may play with or without interaction with the teacher. Most child-care centres were located in four major Dutch cities Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, and some were located in smaller municipalities in the Netherlands. All centers had qualified teachers and a heterogeneous composition of ethnic backgrounds of children. In the centers there were at most six and at least three children from the ethnic group of the focus child. The mean group size during our data collection was 10 children with two teachers (Rourou et al., 2006).

Our research design was beforehand approved by an ethical committee. We had also informed the parents of the focus children, as well as the parents of the other children present during filming. The researches that were physical present during taping never intervened in the peer conflicts.

All the tapes were checked for conflicts in which the focus children were involved. A conflict was defined as 'an incident in which one indi-

vidual protests, retaliates against or resists the actions of another individual' (Rourou et al., 2006). In total 1131 conflicts were observed and analyzed. For all the conflicts it was determined whether there were other children nearby the conflict and whether these were intervening in the conflict or not. A child nearby was defined as a child within a circle of 2 m of the opponents and or with eye contact with one of the opponents before the onset of the conflict. The children nearby the conflict were coded on gender, age and ethnicity. This study was based on the analyses of all conflicts with children nearby; in some of these conflicts a bystander intervened in the conflict.

#### *Characteristics of the social situation*

##### Absence of teacher support

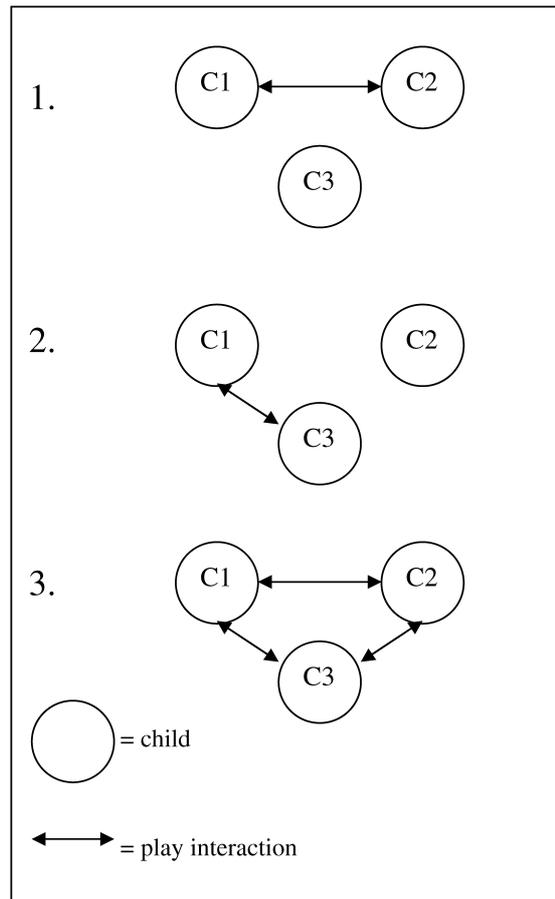
We determined whether the teacher intervened in the peer conflicts with bystanders and whether she was nearby the conflict. The category 'nearby' was divided into three subcategories; sitting and/or playing with the children, in the direct environment of the children and out of sight.

##### The play-relation between the bystander and peers in conflict

From the perspective of the children nearby the following situations were possible (Figure 1). The first situation occurs when the child nearby (C3) did not play with the peers in conflict (C1 and C2). This was irrespective of whether C1 and C2 played together. This situation was called no play. The second possible situation was when C3 played with C1 or C2 and C1 and C2 did not play together. This situation was called dyadic play. The third possible situation occurred when C3 played with both C1 and C2, and C1 and C2 were playing together, which was called triadic play. For all the children nearby the conflict the pre-conflict situation was determined. For the children nearby who also intervened in the conflict the post-conflict situation, which was described as no play, dyadic or triadic play, was determined as well. Conflicts with more than three children involved were excluded, because those conflicts were far more complicated.

##### The intensity of the conflict

Conflicts were divided into three categories of intensity (Singer, 2002; Rourou et al., 2006) from low to high intensity:



**Figure 1.** Possible pre- and post-conflict play relations. The play relation of the intervening child (C3) in the conflict: (1) C3 plays alone from both opponents in conflict (C1 and C2) = no play; (2) C3 plays together with one of the opponents in conflict = dyadic play; (3) C3 plays together with both opponents in conflict = triadic play.

1. Mishaps: a child showed little response. This type of conflict existed of 2 or 3 moves; action–reaction or action–reaction–action.

2. Disagreement: the children negotiated and react more than once verbally or non-verbally. There were no strong emotions present. This type of conflict existed of more than 3 moves.

3. Row: the children reacted more than once and showed strong emotions such as anger, sadness, fear and/or guilt.

*Characteristics of intervening child*

To determine the characteristics of the intervening child, of all children nearby the conflict we determined the age, gender and culture. Age was divided into four groups; 24–30 months, 31–36 months, 37–42 months and 43–48 months old. We distinguished between girls and boys and for culture between native Dutch, Moroccan, Antillean and other.

*Behavior of the intervening child*

## Social referencing

We coded social referencing in bystanders in case the child looked at the teacher or into the camera. We also coded looking around; we assumed that these children were looking for their teacher.

## Roles of the intervening child in the conflict

The intervening child could take four different roles in the conflict:

1. Support: The intervening child (C3) took the side of one of the opponents (either C1 or C2).
2. Mediation to stop the conflict: C3 did not choose the side of C1 or C2, but tried to end the conflict. The intervening child could do this by addressing C1, C2, or both.
3. Taking advantage of the conflict situation: C3 did not choose the side of C1 or C2 but was interested in the reason of conflict. When, for example, the conflict between C1 and C2 was about a toy, the intervening child took or aimed at this toy.
4. Opposition against both: C3 did not choose the side of C1 or C2 but steered up the conflict, by for example yelling or hitting both C1 and C2.

## Imitation of one of the opponents

We coded imitation when the intervening child copied the behavior of one of the opponents.

*Reliability*

Inter-reliability of codes — except age, gender and cultural background — was calculated with the Kappa coefficient ( $\kappa$ ) (Martin & Bateson, 2007). In

total there were 2 coders, both unaware of the hypothesis. For the determination whether the children and teachers were nearby or not the reliability was 0.71 ( $N = 587$ ); for pre- and post-conflict situations the reliability was 0.81 ( $N = 21$ ); for which one of the children is the intervening child the reliability was 0.93 ( $N = 21$ ); and for the behavior of the intervening child during the conflict the reliability was 0.68 ( $N = 21$ ).

### *Statistics*

The variables of all conflicts were entered in SPSS and analyzed with  $\chi^2$  tests and improved Bonferroni tests. The  $\chi^2$  test investigates whether there is a relation between variables or whether they are independent of one another (Zar, 1999; de Vocht, 2004). The improved Bonferroni test is a multi comparison test and shows where significant differences are exactly found (de Vocht, 2004). For every test conflicts with important missing values were excluded. Univariate statistics were used, because the data set was too small to allow for multivariate analyses. In all analyses the 0.05 level of confidence defined the significance and tests were two-tailed.

All target children involved in a conflict with a child intervention, were on average involved in two conflicts ( $SD = 1.7$ ). Looking at the dispersion between the target children with respect to the frequency of their peer conflicts, 4 children contributed significantly more ( $>2SD$ ) to the total of conflicts with an intervention. However, without those children the results were similar and, therefore, we did not exclude them from our study. Furthermore, with respect to the other children in the group that were involved in the peer conflicts, we think that the probability that one specific child strongly influenced our results is unlikely, because we videotaped on two different days in 23 child care centers and because of the low stability in Dutch child care centers.

## **Results**

### *Number of conflicts*

In total 1131 conflicts were observed. There were 33 conflicts with an unclear situation and these were excluded from the analyses. Of the 1098 conflicts analyzed further, 17% of the conflicts involved an intervention by a child.

In 484 conflicts there were no other children nearby. When considering only the 614 conflicts with other children nearby, in 29% of the conflicts a child intervened. Only in 2 cases the intervening child was not nearby the conflict.

#### *Characteristics of the social situation*

##### The location of the teacher

'The location of the teacher' did have a significant affect on the probability of intervention by an intervening child ( $\chi^2 = 19.467$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $\alpha < 0.001$ ). When the teacher was in the direct environment of the children, the probability of intervention was not different from the average probability, while it was significantly lower when the teacher was playing and/or sitting with the children. In contrast, when the teacher was out of sight the probability of intervention by a child nearby was significantly higher than on average.

##### The play-relation between the child nearby and peers in conflict

The pre-conflict situation had a significant effect on the probability of intervention by a child nearby ( $\chi^2 = 32.920$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $\alpha < 0.001$ ). Of all children who intervened in the conflict, 37% were in a triadic play pre-conflict situation, 40% in a dyadic and 18% in a no play pre-conflict situation. In addition, the pre-conflict situation had a significant effect on the post-conflict situation ( $\chi^2 = 49.581$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $\alpha < 0.001$ ). Of the 123 conflicts examined (unclear situations excluded), 31 (25%) conflicts ended in a no play, 47 (38%) in a dyadic play and 45 (37%) in a triadic play post-conflict situation. All pre-conflict situations resulted significantly more often in the same post-conflict situation.

When a child gave support to one of the opponents, this was significantly more often to a child of its own gender ( $\chi^2 = 7.184$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $\alpha = 0.007$ ). Support was given to a child with the same gender in 64% of all support given. For the cultural background the data were insufficient to test.

##### The intensity of the conflict

The data showed that the intensity of conflict had a significant effect on the probability of intervention by a child nearby ( $\chi^2 = 17.455$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $\alpha < 0.001$ ). The probability of an intervention by a child in a 'mishap' was lower than on average, while it was higher in both disagreements and rows. Of all mishaps there was an intervening child in 6% of them, while for disagreements and rows this was 14% and 21%, respectively.

*Characteristics of intervening child*

Age had a significant effect on the tendency of a child to intervene ( $\chi^2 = 19.899$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $\alpha = 0.000$ ). Of all children nearby a conflict, older children had a higher probability to intervene than younger children. 10% of all children in the age 24–30 months nearby a conflict intervened in the conflict. In the age groups 31–36, 37–42 and 43–48 months this was 16%, 28% and 24%, respectively. See Table 1 for a summary of the results.

Cultural background also had a significant effect ( $\chi^2 = 12.381$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $\alpha = 0.002$ ). Moroccan and Antillean children intervened significantly more often in a conflict than Dutch children did. There was no significant difference between the Moroccan and Antillean children. Of all Moroccan children nearby a conflict 30% intervened in the conflict. For Antillean children this was 37% and for Dutch children this was only 17%.

Girls and boys showed no significantly different tendency to intervene ( $\chi^2 = 1.216$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $\alpha = 0.270$ ).

*Behavior of the intervening child*

## Social referencing

Children nearby the conflict often showed high interest in what was happening. They looked both at the teachers and the children around them. However,

**Table 1.** Characteristics of intervening child.

	Non-intervening (%)	Intervening (%)
Age*		
24–30 months old	90%	10%
31–36 months old	84%	16%
37–42 months old	72%	28%
43–48 months old	76%	24%
Gender		
Girls	80%	20%
Boys	83%	17%
Cultural background*		
Native Dutch	83%	17%
Morrocan	70%	30%
Antillean	63%	37%

\* Significant difference: age  $\alpha = 0.000$ ; cultural background  $\alpha = 0.002$ .

children who intervened in the conflict looked more often into the camera than nearby children who did not intervene in the conflict ( $\chi^2 = 15.155$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $\alpha < 0.001$ ). The same applied for looking for the teacher; the children who intervened in the conflict looked more often for the teacher than children who did not intervene ( $\chi^2 = 6.939$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $\alpha = 0.008$ ).

#### Roles of the intervening child in the conflict

In 70% of the cases of intervention the intervening child gave *support* to one of the children in the conflict, in most cases this concerned support to the child she/he was playing with in the pre-conflict situation (in 89% of the situations). In 15% of the cases the intervening child took advantage of the conflict situation and took the object that the two opponents were fighting for. Mediation to stop the conflict occurred in 13% of the situations and there was only one case where the child gave opposition against both the opponents in conflict. Appendix 1 gives an example of support, of mediation and trying to stop the conflict, and of taking advantage of the conflict situation.

The behavior of the intervening child did not differ significantly for girls and boys ( $\chi^2 = 2.088$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $\alpha = 0.55$ ). The available data were insufficient to test whether intervention behavior depended on intensity of conflict or culture and age of child.

#### Imitation

Support was often based on imitation; the intervening child imitated the child she/he was supporting (21% of the cases). Imitation occurred verbally as well as non-verbally. Also when the intervening child confiscated the object the two were fighting for, imitation by the intervening child was seen in 3 out of the 19 conflicts. Intervening children that stopped the conflict never used imitation.

#### Round-up

In short our study showed the following results. In 17% of all peer conflicts we found intervention by a child. This frequency is comparable to earlier studies (Strayer & Noel, 1986; Grammer, 1992; Farver, 1996). The interventions were almost exclusively done by children nearby the conflict. In only two conflicts a child that was further away intervened; these two intervening

children were called to the conflict by one of the opponents. When we exclusively focussed on the children nearby, the tendency of children to intervene was much higher, namely in 29% of the conflicts.

The children tended to intervene when there was no teacher nearby, and when they were playing with one of the opponents before the onset of the conflict. This is in line with our hypotheses, that young children rely on teachers, and that they are inclined to maintain the relationship with their play mates and to continue with their shared play. We found a tendency to support opponents of the same gender; boys supported more often boys, and girls supported more often girls. This finding supports our hypotheses about group affiliation along gender lines. Our data were insufficient to test the tendency to support children with the same ethnic background. With regard to the intensity of the conflict, the children tended to intervene in conflicts with a higher level of intensity.

In line with our hypotheses about age, older children intervened more frequently, than the younger children. With regard to gender, we did not find a difference between boys and girls in tendency to intervene. As hypothesized, the Dutch children — from a culture with an individualistic orientation — were less inclined to intervene than the Moroccan and Antillean children, from cultures with a collectivistic orientation.

Children who intervened looked more often for the teachers than non-intervening children nearby the conflict. This is in line with our hypothesis that intervening children are more emotionally aroused and engaged in social referencing than non-intervening children. Supporting one of the opponents was the most common behavior of the intervening child. Mediation, which presupposes more complex psychological actions, was rare. Support often had the character of imitation of the behavior of the supported opponent.

## **Discussion**

Young children rely on their teachers in emotionally uncertain situations, such as conflicts. Especially in conflicts with a high level of intensity they engaged in social referencing, and in three quarters of all rows the teachers intervened. Our study confirms the theoretical and empirical insights into the central role of teachers in the wellbeing of young children (Jones & Reynolds, 1992; Howes & James, 2002). Nevertheless, young children also

intervened in peer conflicts. The children tended to intervene when they were nearby and when there was no teacher nearby. In fact they intervened quite often; 17% of the conflicts compared with 20% of the conflicts with a teacher intervention that was found in the study of Rourou et al. (2006). However, in rows — conflicts with a high intensity — teachers intervened more often; the children intervened in 21% of the rows and the teachers in 74% of the rows.

To understand the psychological mechanisms that are at work in an intervening child in peer conflicts the Relational Model of de Waal (2000) is helpful. According to de Waal's model, the expression of aggression during conflicts is constrained by a need to maintain beneficial relationships in groups (families, peer groups). Young children may have an innate mechanism to protect the relationships that they value. That mechanism may explain young children's tendency to intervene in rows, despite the risks to get hurt in a violent conflict: conflicts of high intensity are a greater threat to the social relations within the group than conflicts of low intensity. That innate mechanism may also explain young children's tendency to support their play mate and children of the same gender: they take the side of the opponents that are most valuable to them.

In addition, there are probably also other mechanisms at work. The evolutionary social-cognition model of Tomasello (Warneken & Tomasello, 2006) predicts that young children are willing and able to help another in simple social situations. From their third year they develop increasing complex skills to understand incompatible desires and beliefs of opponents. In line with this model, our study shows the importance of age and cognitive development. The 2-year-olds intervened less often than the 3-year-olds. Mediation, i.e., the intervention to find compromises and to stop the conflict, was rare in our study, while support and taking the side of one of the opponents was most common. This phenomenon can be explained by the innate mechanisms that are hypothesized by de Waal — to protect valued relationships — and Tomasello — innate tendency to help and support. Alternatively, it can also be explained by the differences in cognitive skills in 2- and 3-year-olds that Tomasello points at. Mediation presupposes psychological actions that take into account the different desires and or beliefs of both opponents. Probably these psychological actions are beyond the cognitive capacities of the children we studied. To get more insight into the role of cognitive development

we need studies of older children to compare with our results. Especially longitudinal studies would be elucidating in this regard.

Finally, we want to point at the mechanisms that relate to the role of culture and education at home. The Dutch children intervened less often than the Antillean and Moroccan children. That is in line with our hypotheses about differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultures orientations in the Dutch, and the Antillean and Moroccan families, respectively. However, for a better understanding we need studies of the home upbringing of families with different cultural orientations. How do parents respond to conflicts between siblings and between peers? How do siblings and members of the same ethnic community respond to interethnic peer conflicts? Our study was too small and the children too young to study the relationships between ethnic affiliation and intervention behavior along ethnic lines. Understanding the development of interethnic and intercultural relations from an early age is a challenge for scientists, politicians and teachers.

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### Appendix A: Examples of the intervening behaviour

#### *Support*

Wail (3 years and 4 months old; 3 : 4) is playing with Romey (3 : 6). Then he walks to Irem (2 : 9) who is playing with a parking-garage. Wail asks Irem if he can have the parking-garage, but Irem resists by putting her hand on the garage and pulling it closer to her. Wail puts his hand on the garage, but his repeated trials fail. Then he calls for Romey. Romey comes and tries to take the garage out of the hands of Irem. 'Was from him, wasn't it?' Romey says to Irem. But Romey does not succeed either. Then Romey and Wail give up and return to their former joint play.

#### *Imitation*

Nora (3 : 1) walks to two boys Tayrell (2 : 11) and Jerzy (3 : 3) who are sitting on a bench with a magazine. Nora takes place on a chair in front of the bench. Tayrell kicks two times in the air and makes a hit movement to Nora. Jerzy sees what Tayrell is doing and directly imitates him. The two boys imitate each other a couple of times in their movements and Tayrell starts to call to Nora 'go away Donna Donna' and he looks to Jerzy. Jerzy imitates the words. This goes on until Jerzy points to the magazine and the attention of both Tayrell and Jerzy is not with the conflict anymore. Nora walks away from them.

*Mediation*

Quintly (3 : 11), Bojan (3 : 9) and Vivianne (2 : 7) are going to play at the sand table. Bojan takes a shovel out of the sand and Quintly takes it out of his hands. Vivianne looks in the camera for help. Bojan and Quintly keep fighting over the shovel. Vivianne looks continually to Bojan and Quintly. She has now two shovels of here own in her hands and looks at them. She looks at Bojan and offers one of here shovels to him.

*Taking advantage of the conflict*

Marlies (3 : 1) is sitting next to Liza (3 : 1) and talks with her. Marlies wants to take the pillow next to Liza. She tries to get it, but Liza puts here hand on the pillow. Lucie (2 : 10) is sitting in front of the two girls and is watching them. Marlies tries a second time to take the pillow and fails again. Then Lucie points to the pillow, stands up and sits down on the pillow. Liza does not protest. The conflict is over and the three girls stay together.

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