ABSTRACT
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two-year study of cross-age teaching; (2) identifies six stages that
children go through in learning to teach; (3) applies those stages to
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supervisor in helping children to become successful teachers.
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CHILDREN AS TEACHERS

Stages in Cross-Age Tutoring

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Cross-age teaching is an ancient practice which is currently under-going a revival in schools. At first it was used mainly to relieve the burden of the regular teacher and to give individual attention to the tutees. Then teachers discovered that cross-age teaching greatly benefited the older children as well. Tutoring programs are popping up everywhere to improve reading achievement, increase motivation, and provide a positive work experience. Finally, cross-age teaching has been advocated as a way to halt the break-down of the family and reduce the age-segregation in our society.

Coleman, et al. in Youth: Transition to Adulthood maintain that children spend an increasingly longer time in school, yet school basically does not give the skills and experiences necessary for becoming an adult. Specifically, schools do not provide:

> Opportunities for responsible action, situations in
> which [the child] came to have authority over matters
> that affected other persons, occasions in which he
> experienced the consequences of his own actions.
> (Coleman, 1975, p. viii)

The authors suggest tutoring as one way to give young people responsible roles, reduce age-segregation, and create a greater sense of community within a school.

Bronfenbrenner, too, thinks "the most urgent needed innovation in the American classroom is the involvement of pupils in responsible tasks on behalf of others within the classroom, the school, the neighborhood, and the community." (Bronfenbrenner, 1973, p. 160)

He suggests that older classrooms adopt younger classrooms, with pupils having younger "brothers" and "sisters" -- to help them learn and play with them outside of school. Bronfenbrenner argues that cross-age relationships are critical both to increase a sense of community and to promote development of the older and the younger children.

Since cross-age teaching is being widely touted by academicians and policy makers as a remedy for many social ills, it is important to take a closer look at what actually happens when a child takes the role of teacher. In this paper I shall:

(1) describe a two-year study of cross-age teaching;

(2) identify six stages that children go through in learning to teach;

(3) apply those stages to case studies of two tutors: one failure and one success; and

(4) discuss the implications of the stages for the role of the supervisor in helping children to become successful teachers.

The Cross-Age Teaching Program

I designed and implemented a two-year investigation of a cross-age teaching program in which sixth graders (the tutors) taught second graders (the tutees) in an inner-city elementary school. The first year I did a pilot study of six tutoring pairs; the second year the program was expanded to include all the children in the sixth grade (24) and in the second grade (25).

The objective of the pilot study was to document the process a child goes through in learning to teach and to examine the effect of tutoring on

the tutor's view of teaching and learning. I hoped the program would change the tutor's concept of learning from a passive absorption of facts to a more dynamic questioning--and would lead the tutors to learn more on their own. I expected that by playing the role of teacher the child would become more conscious of the way he learned and a more active learner.

I also expected that behaviors practiced in the teacher role would carry over into the student role; i.e., through taking the role of teacher the tutor would alter his own role as learner. As a teacher, the older child has a number of responsibilities: making decisions about what to teach, planning lessons, identifying needs and interests in the pupil, evaluating the pupil's performance. I thought that if children have some control over the learning situation as tutors, perhaps they would then feel more control as learners. I hoped that this greater sense of control would contribute to the development of a more positive self-concept for the tutors.

A review of the scant cross-age teaching literature that exists suggested that the innovation had great potential for giving a tutor more responsibility and a more positive self-concept. But the studies lacked a theoretical framework and did not document the process of cross-age tutoring.

Role Theory

Role theory provides a logical framework for analyzing cross-age teaching. The crux of the theory is the idea that playing a new role alters the concept of self and the concept of others who normally play that role. In order to develop the self, an individual has to become an object to himself (through becoming a "me"). To do this he has to step outside himself and take the attitude of others toward himself. This ability to take the point of view of others helps him to develop beliefs about himself--his own self concept. Thus taking the role of another is vital to the development of self concept (G.H. Mead, 1934).

A person performs a particular role according to the expectations of others. In most schools the learner's role is determined largely by the expectations of the teacher. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) have demonstrated how a teacher's expectations influence children's learning. Holt (1964) and Jackson (1968) both document children's views of the teacher as an authority figure and as a "dispenser of knowledge," as well as children's views of their own role as passive learners.

In order for the role-playing experience to be successful in changing the tutors' attitudes toward teaching and learning and improving their self-concept during the cross-age teaching experience, two conditions are necessary: (1) a firm commitment to the role, and (2) a chance to take initiative in the role.

If the tutor sees the teacher role as beneficial to himself, he will want to play the role and will work hard at it. A tutor may also become involved in the role because he likes being in a position of power, testing himself, or helping someone. Or if the tutor is treated as an authority by his pupil or as a colleague by his teacher, he will begin to treat himself

differently. If the tutor adopts the behavior of a teacher, he will then see himself as someone who can teach. In addition, he will have a different concept of what a teacher is. Teaching takes on a new meaning by virtue of the fact that he has done it.

Unless children see teaching as beneficial in some way to themselves, they will gradually lose the motivation to keep playing the role. If children dislike what the role represents or what it is doing to them, they will be unenthusiastic about performing the role. They may feel that the role has no point, or that it is actually detrimental to their goals. For example, they may feel they are taking up time that could be better used for studying which would raise their grades. In such cases, the commitment to the teaching role is bound to be inadequate. In short, the more the role succeeds in gaining a tutor's personal involvement, the greater the probability that it will affect his attitude and behavior.

The second condition for a successful role-taking experience is a chance to exercise initiative within the role. If the role provides wide latitude for children to take initiative, then the role-taking experience will have a greater impact on their attitudes and behavior. If, on the contrary, the role is circumscribed or constricting--if the tutors are told precisely what to teach or if the methods allowed are restricted--then the attitudes will be less likely to change.

Results of the Pilot Study

During the one-year Pilot Study I worked with six tutors who in turn taught eight second graders. The tutors planned, taught, and evaluated their lessons three days a week for four months. My role was essentially to guide the planning and evaluation sessions and to observe closely the tutoring process. Using anthropological field methods, primarily participant observation and pre- and post-tutoring interviews, supplemented by tutors' field notes, projective tests, and informal communications with teachers, I recorded the attitudes and behavior of the tutors.

The results indicated that there were tremendous individual differences in the children's experiences as teachers. For some, tutoring provided a chance to adopt a role which they were ready and eager to take. For others it was a frustrating and negative experience. Three tutors took to the teaching role like fish to water, two dropped out, and one felt he was a failure as a teacher.

The three tutors whom I have labeled "successes" had positive views of the teacher role before tutoring. Initial interview data indicated that they saw teachers as patient, fair, intellectually stimulating, willing to hear students opinions, and personally interested in their pupils. These students also said that they worked best in situations where they worked on their own.

> I learned the most in Miss B.'s room because sometimes
> she wasn't there, and I did a lot of work on my own,
> arithmetic and reading and stuff like that, especially
> if she wasn't there.

These three tutors always planned lessons carefully, used a variety of resources in their teaching and analyzed and evaluated their teaching experience

in their journals. In fact, they held the same ideas of teaching and learning that were valued by the tutoring program--taking initiative, identifying and extending pupils' interests, exploring in depth a particular substantive area.

Tutoring gave these three children a greater sense of authority.

> I feel like I'm the teacher. When I'm in the
> tutoring room I feel like I'm the boss, and
> when I'm in my regular classroom I feel like
> I'm the employee...

Tutoring also affected the successful tutors' views of teaching and learning. As Margaret said:

> ...before I wanted a teacher that was perfect,
> nothing wrong with her, and I wouldn't want that
> now.

She realized that teachers were fallible and she now recognized the important effect of high expectations:

> The same mistake I was making the teachers make too,
> some of the time. Like letting pupils do anything
> they want when they get up, walk around. You should
> say something to them so they sit down. And if they
> don't want to write something, you should urge them
> to do it.

The main thing she learned from tutoring was

> ...Responsibility, I guess. Being in charge of kids;
> being the boss; being the one who has to make decisions
> about what we're going to do; being the one who has to
> make them learn it.

Margaret felt she had affected her pupil, a shy second grader, positively.

> When I came...she wasn't talking to anybody. After I came
> in there she was talking to a lot of people.

She thought she herself was different in tutoring than in her regular class. She was very quiet in class, but she liked to talk in tutoring:

> If I don't talk, they won't talk. It's kind of
> that I have to have something to say in here.

Of the three unsuccessful tutors, one dropped out because of personal problems unrelated to tutoring, the second tutor felt more at home in his regular (traditional) classroom and left by choice; the third, Eric, completed the tutoring responsibilities but felt he had failed as a teacher.

What accounts for the differences between the successful and unsuccessful tutors? Role theory gives us a partial explanation. For children who were already somewhat intellectually curious, self-confident, independent, and able to take responsibility in learning situations, taking the role of teacher was a chance for them to play out and explore a particular view of learning. In their regular sixth grade classroom they read textbooks and answered the questions at the end of the chapter ("What is the annual rainfall in Rome?"). The cross-age teaching program provided the successful tutors with a chance to practice a repertoire of behaviors which they valued, but which their sixth-grade teacher did not.

For children who were less confident about new learning situations, however, or who did not have a particularly positive identification with the teacher role, tutoring had a neutral or negative experience. Joshua said:

> [I want] a strict teacher. A *strict* teacher! Like
> when the pupils are bad, teacher don't tell them to
> go sit down and fold his hands, but punish him.

This "unsuccessful" tutor simply did not share the values of the tutoring

program.   In all cases, the "failures" felt no sense of accomplishment

and could see no benefit to themselves from the tutoring experience.

Teaching and learning are not merely matters of identifying and

playing roles, however. Equally important in the process are the

learning environment or conte:t, the developmental level of the tutors

and pupils, and the mastery and recognition of skills.   In order to

explain the successes and failures among the tutors, we must look beyond

role theory.

The cross-age teaching program was carried out in a _school_ where.

traditional educational values and practices were the rule. The context

of the program was thus somewhat alien to its values. Many of the teachers

were not self-directed, intellectually curious, interested in problem-

solving, or well-integrated. Behaving as a teacher in such a situation

would not, therefore, be likely to produce these qualities in the tutors.

Even assuming that these qualities were a part of the teachers' behavior,

the children may never have learned the teacher's role. If they have

never practiced these behaviors, they have nothing to transfer to their

other roles. Finally, the general school environment contributed to the

lack of role transfer. Margaret and Donald ("successes") both asserted

that they talked, made decisions about learning, and took responsibility

in tutoring, but not in their regular classroom. They may have perceived

that the expectations of the teacher and the school precluded such asser-

tive, self-directed learning behavior. Given the current values of the

school, which of course were not changed by the cross-age teaching program,
it was somewhat unrealistic to expect the children to apply their behavior
as tutors to their behavior as pupils in the class. These contextual
factors contributed to "failure" in some students, while other tutors
were encouraged to be successful since they could practice in the program
behaviors they valued but could not adopt in the classroom. In the two
years I was at the Thorndike School, for instance, I rarely observed the
sixth-grade teacher engaged in instruction. The pupils spent most of their
time doing arithmetic problems, reading textbooks, and writing out answers
to chapter questions. Almost never did the teacher have a discussion with
her pupils or ask their opinion about substantive matters. When I asked
the tutors to give their views on something, one asked, "May I ask you a
question? Do you think writing your opinion is talking back?"

Another qualification to the application of role theory to cross-age
teaching is the cognitive developmental stage of the children. I had assumed
that sixth-grade children would be critical of their schooling and full of
alternative ways of learning to the drill, repetition, right-answer routine.
As tutors, I thought they would bring their original and varied ideas about
learning into practice. In fact, some of the tutors were critical, but
none really had any alternatives to the learning model at the Thorndike. The
notion of children's "models of learning" was itself a construct in my head,
not in theirs. The children did not have well-worked-out models of what the
learning process entailed; the question was not important to them. Since
they did not have a coherent plan of how learning should occur and

since the program did not provide any alternative models, many tutors never expanded upon the teacher role. Sixth-grade children are clearly able to adopt and adapt the teacher role. But generally they have not reached a point where it is possible to conceptualize a learning model. Therefore, learning must be construed in terms of concrete techniques, strategies, and materials which the tutors need in order to be effective teachers, not in terms of ideas and models in the children's heads.

Finally, teaching and learning relate to mastering and recognizing skills: competence. According to Robert White (1961, p. 104), a sense of competence comes from "cumulative success, experiences with manipulating the environment." Almost all of the tutors felt success experiences with both the subject matter and their pupils. Yet it is clear from these cases that some children had the competence to perform well in the teaching role before tutoring and that these students improved their skills while others did not have the skills to begin with and were unable or unwilling to acquire them through cross-age teaching. Most students fall between these extremes. For them, the question arises, can we identify the points at which intervention will be helpful and the type of intervention that is appropriate?

Stages of Cross-Age Teaching

During the second year of the cross-age teaching program, there was a more comprehensive intervention. The three supervisors (two student teachers and I) took a more active role than I had the first year. We acted as role models for the tutors, stressed the importance of continuity

and integration of subject matter, and consciously tried to help the tutors
apply their personal experiences to teaching. The intervention and greater
understanding of the process of tutoring helped make the experience more
positive for a greater number of children. It became apparent that we
could identify the critical stages of cross-age teaching; that is, the
steps that the tutors go through in learning to teach. A closer look
at these stages should be helpful to the supervisor of cross-age teaching
in learning how and when to intervene to help those tutors who are having
trouble.

I will briefly mention each of these six stages of cross-age teaching
and analyze them with reference to their implications for two tutors: one
failure and one success.

1. *Establishing a sense of competence.*

   In this initial stage the tutor starts with his own
   strengths and adopts various props associated with
   teachers to establish a position of authority.

2. *Contacting the child's interests.*

   Having established control and expertise, the tutor
   becomes less concerned with his own authority and
   begins to identify and work on the needs and in-
   terests of his pupil. He is able to deal with the
   challenge to his authority and competence which
   occurs particularly at this early stage.

3. *Drawing on resources to expand the child's interests.*

   The tutor finds or creates materials appropriate to
   the child's level.

4. *Recognizing and coping with the end of an activity.*

   Having survived the hiatus that usually occurs at this
   point in the process, the tutor comes to realize that a
   particular topic is no longer productive. He has to stop,
   take stock, and locate the child's interests again.

5. *Reciprocating expectations.*

   In this stage the expectations of tutor and pupil re-enforce each other in their new roles.

6. *Becoming self aware; more conscious of the role.*

   The tutor is able to see the effects of his teaching on himself; and he becomes more critical of his own teachers as well as more precise about his views of good teaching.

With these stages in mind, let us look at the two tutors, Eric and Margaret. Each presents the student's attitudes as stated in the initial interview on teachers and learning. They describe their best teacher and their worst teacher and give reasons for their choices. They describe their "ideal teacher"—the teacher they would choose if they could have any kind of teacher in the world. They are asked to describe the situation in school where they have learned the most, what they would like to learn about, what they think is most important to know about, the difference between learning at home and at school, and their perception of themselves as learners. Finally, they describe their "dream school," the school they would build if they had "a million dollars" and complete control of design, program and personnel.

I have deliberately dealt with attitudes toward teachers and learning separately from tutoring behavior because people often say one thing and do another. After presenting the tutor's views on teaching and learning, each case study then has a description of the actual tutoring behavior. The data come from my field notes, the tutors' field

notes, and the transcripts of tutoring sessions and discussions. In
describing the tutoring behavior, I am particularly interested in the
tutor's teaching style, the criteria and variety of the content of his
lessons, his handling of authority and the relationship with his pupil.
Authority is determined by several concrete behaviors: ability to plan
lessons, anticipation of pupil's needs, and control of pupil.

In the second interview the tutor is asked directly about the effect
of the experience on himself. The impact of the cross-age teaching pro-
gram on the tutor is assessed both by how he tutors and by what he says
about the program.

ERIC BARROWS

> [I learned] that teaching is hard. That's all
> ...Sixth graders can't be teachers....[I
> learned] that I can't teach.

Views of Teaching and Learning

In Eric's view teachers should be "mean" and "nice." He would "be
meaner to the class" than his regular teacher, "so they would do everything
I say." He "wouldn't let them write on the board." He'd make them write a
lot "instead of talking and things." He'd "give them a lot of homework.
Just to see if they would do it." If they didn't, he would "give them a U
in homework." And he wouldn't promote those students who "don't learn much."

Eric believed that he himself learned more if the teacher is—
somewhat "mean." He described a former teacher who "was mean and then
he was real nice." He gave a lot of homework, did not allow the students
to write on the board, but taught a great deal of social studies and
seemed to infuse the class with a sense of purpose. If he could have
any type of teacher, Eric would want "a nice and a mean teacher,"..."for
the nice side, not give a lot of homework and not do much, but for the
bad side, sometimes we'd have a whole lot of work" because "we might
learn more, you know." He felt that a nice teacher who did not give a
lot of work really didn't teach him anything.

Eric was very hesitant to answer questions about his views on
learning. He felt that the situation in which he had learned most was
in fifth-grade social studies "because we used to do that mostly every
afternoon." If he could choose anything, he would like to learn about
baseball, arithmetic and science--the areas of his greatest proficiency.
At first he couldn't think how he could learn more about these areas, but
then he thought he could learn about baseball from a coach or by being on
a team, and about science fr-m "someone that teaches science" or from
books. He thought the most important thing to learn in life was how to
get a job.

As a learner Eric acted "sometimes bad and sometimes good." He was
"bad"

> ...when I don't want to do things, like history and
> geography and language. Not really bad, I just like to
> be bad most of the time. I don't know why really. I
> talk and fool around and go outside....When we have to
> write punishment, I'm bad at that.

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In fact, Eric was a good reader (7.3 level in 6th grade) and a generally
quiet, well-behaved pupil.

In his interview Eric indicated a concern about authority and control
in teachers. His example about giving homework just to see if the pupils
would do it suggests a belief that the teacher has a right to set arbi-
trary tasks to prove his control. The task need not have any intrinsic
worth. The pupil performs the task because the teacher said so, not be-
cause of any legitimacy of the task. Eric felt that the meaner the teacher,
the more apt he was to learn. For Eric, discipline was an important pre-
requisite for learning. At the same time, he thought a teacher should
be "nice" and interested in his subject! In his views of good teaching,
Eric represented a middle position among the tutors. He was neither as
positive about teachers as the successful tutors (who saw them as pre-
dominantly intellectually stimulating and personally caring), nor as
negative as the tutors who dropped out (who saw good teachers mainly
as disciplinarians). Eric had two strong themes in his view of teachers:
control and interest.

Tutoring Behavior

In describing how Eric approached the role of teacher I shall discuss
what he taught and how he interacted with his pupil Benjy. Eric decided to
start with Benjy's interests. "This isn't a regular subject, so I have to
do what he's interested in." He found out that Benjy was interested in
electronics, but he did not understand how radios operated and could not

think of a way to teach what Benjy wanted to learn. Then Eric tried to
teach a subject he knew something about: insects. He brought in several
books with pictures of various insects. But Benjy was not interested.
He described the situation in his field notes.

> He was acting up today. We did not learn much. I
> was teaching him about insects. He said he hates
> insects except butterflies. Tomorrow I will teach
> about seeds. And we will plant the bean.

Eric knew nothing about butterflies. After this initial concern about,
and attempts to deal with, his pupil's interests, Eric's teaching became
less oriented toward Benjy's needs and concerns.

In reference to the stages of learning to teach in cross-age
teaching, Eric skipped stage one. He did not start out with his own
strengths and he did not demonstrate to his pupil his own competence or
interests. Instead he went straight to stage two, contacting the child's
interests, and he discovered that Benjy was interested in things that
Eric did not know about. There seem to be two problems here. First, Eric
did not feel that his competencies--baseball, for example, and other aspects
of his personal experience--were appropriate for a school setting. Second,
his view of the teaching role lead him to believe that he had to possess the
knowledge himself, rather than acquire it through various resources.

After that Eric basically had two lessons: reading a biography of
George Washington Carver and growing a bean plant. He saw a connection be-
tween the two; he had specially chosen to teach about Carver because "he
was the only plant doctor I knew." When he introduced the two topics his

lesson plan read: "Tomorrow we will read a book about George Washington Carver and compare the plant to the plant in the book." He also had another purpose: "The thing I want him to learn is that he was a slave and he got free." Every day he would read aloud a section from the Carver book in a soft voice, most of the time unaware of Benjy's reaction. Occasionally, Eric would ask Benjy some questions, or tell him something about slavery.

Every day Benjy would carry the bean plant upstairs and put in on the windowsill of the tutoring room. When the reading excerpt was over, Benjy would get the plant, return to his seat, and write out his "Daily Bean Report." They watered it, counted the stalks, measured how much they grew from week to week, and speculated on why some leaves turned brown. The plant report indicates that Benjy had a keen eye and in fact learned something from watching the bean plant grow. The point is that the plant was just about the only meaningful enterprise Eric presented and without other stimulating activities, it too began to be a chore.

It seems fair to say that Eric never moved to stage three in the cross-age teaching process—he never drew on resources to meet Benjy's needs. Eric tried to draw on his pupil's interests, but lacked the knowledge and skills to do so. The first year tutoring program did not help him develop the specific competences he needed.

The only other thing that Eric did was design and construct a cardboard boat. He seemed to build the boat to show his own competence,

rather than to teach Benjy how to do it. He gave Benjy no materials to work with and never explained what he was doing or how to do it. But he seemed happier with the boat than with Carver or the plant. Perhaps he felt he was teaching Benjy that he was proficient in something.

It is almost as if Eric realized belatedly in his efforts to learn to teach that he had to demonstrate some area of competence to his pupil. He had not done so in the beginning when he could have established a kind of authority by demonstrating his expertise.

Of his two views of teacher—generating and extending pupils' interests and maintaining control—the latter gradually predominated as Eric failed to teach something that sustained Benjy's interest. Eric did not perceive the relationship between thorough lesson planning and control. As the months wore on, he resorted to techniques of control used by the only role models he had—his own teachers. He never got beyond the early stages in learning to teach; he got stuck in stage two and didn't have the skills to move on. Having failed to go anywhere with Benjy's interest and lacking alternatives, he reverted to the only other role model he knew, that of disciplinarian. The rest of this case study documents continued deterioration.

Eric's teaching followed a set pattern: He would forget his lesson plans or materials, then he would get scared that he had nothing to teach, and finally he would take it out on Benjy by threats, tests, or boring and meaningless tasks.

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One day when he had not planned, he filled a piece of graph paper
with random marks and then asked Benjy to count them. (This was a stan-
dard "punishment" his sixth-grade teacher often gave.) After getting to
about 77 Benjy began to groan. He could see no purpose to the task. Eric
admitted that he was unprepared and could think of nothing else to do.
On another occasion he made Benjy read silently out of the biography of
George Washington Carver (which was on a sixth-grade level), while he pre-
pared a lesson on beans from an encyclopedia.

Discipline, control, and having Benjy "mind" him were important to
Eric throughout the cross-age teaching program, yet he never seemed to
progress to the point where he felt confident that Benjy would do what
he wanted. He sometimes placed Benjy on a small chair with his back to
the other children to sustain his authority. Occasionally Benjy challenged
Eric, but in a joking kind of way. He drew a portrait of Eric and put a
dunce cap on it. Or he requested Eric, as he was droning on, to ask him
some questions. Or he ribbed him for wearing sneakers all the time and not
shoes. But though he sometimes called the shots during a lesson and some-
times did not disguise his boredom and impatience, Benjy never openly re-
belled against Eric. Eric knew he had some measure of control over Benjy,
but he also knew the difference between the control of conduct and the control
of learning.

Eric realized that Benjy behaved well when he was interested in the
subject, but he could never seem to create more stimulating lessons. In a
hypothetical progress report to Benjy's mother he wrote:

Benjy, sometimes he is good, and sometimes he
is bad, like when he likes something I teach
him he is good, but when he doesn't·like the
work, he just looks out the window or at the
other tutors.

Eric's ever-present concern with keeping Benjy under control strongly

influenced his relationship with his pupil. Eric was quiet, and a bit shy

or distant. Often he and Benjy didn't interact at all. When there was a

task that they could both do, Eric would do it alone and Benjy would watch.

One day, for example, they had to tie the stalks of the bean plant to

stakes. Instead of showing Benjy how to put in the stakes and loosely tie

the stalks to them, Eric spent 40 minutes in deep concentration tying all

the stalks himself. Benjy watched, then looked around at the other tutoring

pairs, then leafed through his math book in a desultory manner.

Eric began several abortive projects, but he was unable to cope with

ending the Carver and bean projects--which consequently went on and on far

beyond any possible usefulness. This inability to reach stage four in

the process of teaching his first project hindered the success of any new

undertakings.

Eric felt that the lack of a good relationship was not entirely his

own fault. When the other tutors intimated that he did not care about his

pupil he wrote in his field notes that the pupil really didn't care about

tutoring.

Eric set up tasks (as in the case of his building the cardboard boat)

so he could prove his own competence. As he explained afterwards, "I

wouldn't let Benjy do it because he didn't know how." He explained why he

had tended to the plant himself rather than take the time to show Benjy,

"Benjy wasn't dying, the plant was." By this time the two were in a kind of

negative stage five: reciprocating expectations. Benjy expected that
Eric probably would not do much more than read from the Carver biography
and water and observe the bean plant. Eric expected that Benjy might be
bored, but wouldn't get too much out of hand. They didn't expect much
from each other in the way of teaching or learning.

By the end of his teaching experience, Eric was pretty gloomy about
his participation in the tutoring program. On the positive side he ad-
mitted he behaved better in tutoring than in the room ("When I'm tutoring,
I'm not that bad, but in the room...Why? because in tutoring you don't
have to be bossed around by a lot of other people...") He thought the
most important thing about the program was "to tutor a person, to teach
them something," but he didn't think he was a good teacher, and he didn't
like anything about teaching. He hated to plan and he thought his biggest
problems were "planning, teaching him, and telling him what words meant."
The only thing he learned from tutoring is "that teaching is hard, that's
all."

He didn't know if Benjy had learned anything. He said, "He was mostly
bad, he just ignored me." He realized that part of the problem was that
Benjy was bored with George Washington Carver and that the book was diffi-
cult for a second grader. If he had it to do over again, Eric would not
teach the same things, "...because then I'd know what he didn't like."

He thought that tutoring had made him realize that his school needed
"better lights and better teachers." The teachers should be smarter, "They
should have college teachers...and they'd know more." He thought Benjy had

learned that "sixth graders can't be teachers." He was appalled that the

program might be expanded for the whole sixth grade the next year and

commented: "I'd hate to be in the sixth grade next year."

> The tutoring experience...taught me a lesson. The
> teacher thinks it's a hard time on us. I think it's
> a hard time just with one person, but with a whole
> class, it should be real hard for the teacher....
> What I learned about myself is, that I can't teach

At the end of the program Eric had become more self-aware and

had changed his view of teaching and learning, as is indicated in the

last stage of the cross-age teaching process. He learned, however,

that teaching is hard, that he couldn't teach, and that he had failed

to affect someone else's life positively. Put strongly, the program

proved to him that he was incompetent as a teacher. Like stage five,

stage six occurred, but in a strongly negative fashion.

MARGARET

While Eric was unsuccessful in his teaching experience and illustrates the negative effects of cross-age teaching, Margaret was very successful in her tutoring and exemplifies the stages positively. Margaret was very bright, hard-working and quiet in class. She read constantly and told me that she liked reading good authors. Her reading level in May was 8.6. She was chosen for the program because her teacher hoped it would help her to become less shy.

Views of Teaching and Learning

The best teacher Margaret ever had

> ...let us have our own opinions. With some
> teachers you can't do that, you have to wave
> your hand. And we didn't rush things....

If Margaret could have any teacher she wanted, she said she would be

> ...patient and understanding. She wouldn't just
> be putting on an act. She would really want us
> to learn. She wouldn't just want to get her pay-
> check every week. She'd have to care about us,
> and she'd have to help some kids maybe after
> school....

Margaret wanted to learn things by herself: "I'll do it on my own, go to the library, use books at home, take walks outside, collect different things, go on a different park."

Margaret thought for a long time about what was the most important thing to learn in life, not just in school. Finally she said, "Respect, respect everybody, respect other people." Margaret said that she did not actively ask questions in class and suggested that asking questions implied weakness and made one open to ridicule. If the teacher was introducing

something difficult, Margaret would try it out on her own rather than seek help. At the same time Margaret was quite confident that she could learn virtually anything if she set her mind to it and worked hard at it: "If I want to learn, I will."

Thus Margaret viewed teaching as a personal endeavor. Teachers should establish warm relationships with pupils, yet at the same time have high expectations. She seemed fairly confident of her ability to handle new learning situations. Margaret's expressed interest in teaching and learning predisposed her toward a program that allowed her to seriously play the role of teacher. Her views of teaching and learning were generally similar to the values of the tutoring program itself. Her enthusiasm for tutoring from the beginning and her high expectations increased the likelihood of her success.

Tutoring Behavior

When I asked Margaret what a tutor should begin with in teaching a pupil, she asserted, "...what you're *good* in teaching." Margaret was "good" in literature and her first lesson plans indicated her own interests as well careful planning to achieve particular goals:

> There is a story in my book about a parrot.
> I'll read the story and we'll talk about it. I want
> her to learn how they made up stories in days of old.
> I want her to know what fiction is and half-fiction
> and half-true is. I want her to be able to write a
> half-fiction and half-true story.

Unlike Eric, Margaret starts with great confidence, drawing on her own interests and strengths, as appropriate in the first stage of teaching in a cross-age program. There is no stumbling and probing at this early point to ask the pupils what they want to do. Instead, very specific and realistic tasks are set in which Margaret is confident of both her

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competence and her teaching capability.

Margaret based her classes on a perception of her pupil's needs.
One day she designed a game "to improve Melinda's memory." Margaret
had a great sense of continuity and always related new material to pre-
vious things her pupils had learned or to familiar things outside of
school. After her first projects in story reading and telling, she
began to try to find out the interests of her pupil:

> I don't think I'll start any lessons today. I'll get to
> know her and ask her what she likes, what she'd like to
> do later on when she's grown up, what she thinks of im-
> proving the community....Before I teach her things like
> reading, I have to get her to enjoy doing things with me.

She clearly perceived the relationship between careful planning and
controlling the teaching situation. Invariably she was prepared and
usually her lessons were based on the pupil's needs and performance
of the day before. An early example of Margaret's teaching st ic
illustrates her use of imagination as well as her directness in tackling
a specific need, in this case Melinda's reticence.

After a series of questions and monosyllabic answers from Melinda,
Margaret said, "Don't you say anything but 'yes'? Is that all you say?
Are you dead? You're alive?" She asked a series of fanciful ques-
tions.

> Margaret: Are you going to be a hippopotamus when you grow up?
> Melinda: No
> Margaret: Are you always like this?
> Melinda: No
> Margaret: Do you talk a lot?
> Melinda: Yeah.
> Margaret: You sure about that?
> Melinda: Yeah.

Margaret went smoothly from drawing upon her own competence to the second stage of teaching in a cross-age program, working on the needs and interests of her pupil. As is often the case, she met considerable resistance and testing at this stage. In Melinda's case it took the form of silence and lack of response.

Then they talked a bit about Melinda's pet cat, Fluffy. Throughout the conversation Margaret probed gently, trying to loosen up Melinda, invented imaginary questions, tolerated the long silences and tried to disguise her mounting frustration. Margaret tried various strategies to get Melinda to respond. She experimented with a number of different topics and materials. She used the tape recorder, took Melinda to the zoo, and brought in a variety of things from home including a stuffed yellow and blue bird for Melinda to touch and describe. Then she tried role reversal, with Melinda acting as teacher and Margaret sitting silently at her desk. As teacher Melinda began to smile and was less taciturn. Margaret varied the content of her lessons from straight, conventional subjects and skills (arithmetic, spelling, penmanship) to games, relaxing activities, and creative projects (like writing a letter to Mrs. Hippopotamus). She constantly improvised during the lesson. For example, once she was reading a story about Father Bear going fishing and she stopped to describe the various parts of a bear's anatomy. She was very inventive in devising lesson materials and always used them to make a point. She used rag dolls, made out of remnants, to teach about family relationships, and felt puppets and role playing to teach about the function of a nurse and a policeman.

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Once Margaret thought she had uncovered an interest or need of
Melinda's, she was quite prepared to try to build upon it. She possessed
an amazing array of techniques for drawing out Melinda's ideas and she
spent time and effort finding and preparing special materials when she
thought they would be helpful.

Margaret's work was frustrating and slow because Melinda was so
unresponsive. After all her planning and after a really fine and ex-
citing lesson, Melinda would sometimes sit in quiet resistance. Finally
Margaret wrote in her journal:

> I think it would be better if I got someone
> else or just quit. She does pay attention, she
> just doesn't care. I think it would be unfair to
> just go in and take someone else. I'm going to
> talk to her straight out.

When Margaret talked to her "straight out," Melinda indicated that she
really liked to come to tutoring, but she still wouldn't talk.

Renewing her attempt to motivate Melinda and wanting to teach one
topic more in depth, Margaret was open to the suggestion of her
supervisor that she teach one unit for two weeks and then take
Melinda on a related trip.

They chose to learn about shells. Margaret got books about shells,
asked the librarian to bring in some shells and made little Shell Note-
books for Melinda. She reported in her field notes:

> I taught today about shells and had some shells
> to show her....I felt very good today. She
> learned different things such as: what color
> it is (brown and white), what the name of the
> shell is (Krebs Welentrap), where you find
> that shell....Tomorrow the shell I am going to
> teach is conch.

Melinda wrote in her notebooks that animals live in shells and shells are like houses. After teaching about shells for two weeks, Margaret took Melinda to the Aquarium one Saturday. They lingered over the special exhibit of shells and tried to identify the shells in the bottom of the fish tanks. When they returned to school, Margaret had Melinda write a story about the trip.

The trip had been fun and Melinda had shown some evidence of learning in her notes, but she was still unresponsive in tutoring. Margaret had to be persuaded to continue. She had reached a plateau: she could not think of anything she wanted to teach under these circumstances: "I did not teach anything. I felt awful. Melinda did not learn anything. She just sat there. IT WAS JUST A BLACK DAY."

Often, after the tutor has begun to probe and expand upon the pupil's interests and found a variety of resources with which to do this, there is a period of depression, a hiatus. Melinda's resistance was very stubborn and Margaret's feeling of frustration and hopelessness was deep. She continued to improvise new techniques and improve upon old ones and to find new materials. Intervention from the supervisor helped her order the materials better and suggested a way to cope with ending one activity before introducing another.

By this time, however, Melinda's unspoken expectations began to play a strong part in Margaret's self-definition. Melinda counted on her and she felt she couldn't disappoint her. She felt a commitment to her pupil and decided a tutor should not be permitted to drop or

switch pupils:

> ...because their pupils get used to them. And
> they might like her and then when they go to
> someone else, they feel sad. And then they
> are mad because you're not going to teach them
> any more.

She felt she should tutor even if she wasn't in the mood and even if

Melinda seemed not to care, because "I know she really is expecting me.

And I don't come. That's like Christmas--and you don't come."

Only very gradually did Melinda begin to bloom. One day Margaret

swung her on the stairs and she smiled. Another day Margaret passed her

in the hall, during the morning "silent filing." Again Melinda smiled.

She gave other little indications that she might be reaching out to

Margaret. As Margaret wrote after a month of tutoring, "She acted as

if she wanted to tell me something. I found out a lot of her problems

in school."

Margaret's concern that Melinda like her and care about tutoring.

gradually lessened. During the early part of the program Margaret fre-

quently mentioned Melinda's lack of involvement in tutoring and described

what Melinda had learned in terms of her emotional response. But as she

became confident that Melinda did like her ("She seemed to enjoy herself

and I think she likes me now"), Margaret became more involved with Melinda's

academic progress. By the end of the program, Margaret felt more confident,

more accepted and more valuable:

> [I felt] very happy and surprised when this sentence
> came up in language and Melinda put my name in: "My
> friend is _Margaret_." I'm delighted to know I'm a friend.

After appropriate intervention kept Margaret from giving up too soon,
Margaret began to read Melinda's subtle signs of affection and Melinda
began to show these more openly. Margaret learned that children differ
in the ways they show feelings. As Margaret had higher expectations,
Melinda responded and the teaching and learning cycle of mutual, supportive
expectations was under way.

Margaret began to feel that, despite all the problems she had had
with Melinda, she had a better relationship with her pupil than her teacher
did with her. As she said, "I would like my teacher to teach me the way I
teach Melinda." She felt she understood teaching much more than when she
had started. She almost felt as if she could legitimately demand more
of her own teacher.

> When I was first tutoring, I didn't know how to.
> I didn't know what kind of teacher I liked. But
> after I have been tutoring for a long time I know
> because I was teaching someone else.

Earlier she had thought her teacher didn't teach anything badly. Now she
was critical of her for dictating essay topics. "I don't like it when
they say, 'Write about this. Write about that.' I want to go into a
big field with green grass...and write about what I want." And now she
wanted an ideal teacher who was much more personally aware than her pre-
vious ideal:

> Everybody'd admire her and she'd make the kids feel
> needed and help them if they're having personal
> problems. Give them each attention.

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When I asked the tutors to make up questions that they thought were important to ask themselves about the program, Margaret suggested, "What feelings did you get from coming up here?" She paused a long time before answering, and then replied:

> Wanting to be with more people. - Because I like it.
> Usually I like to be alone, but I like to be with
> people more here. I didn't like to be with a lot of
> people and now I like it. I go more places; I didn't
> used to do that. I like being with her (Melinda),
> so I want to be with more people.

Margaret thought the purpose of the program was "to see if kids can teach kids better than teachers can and to see if they can help them more." She thought the purpose was achieved:

> For me I think it was. Because in Melinda's room,
> I came in there and she was doing things, walking
> around, but she wasn't telling anybody. After I came
> in there she was talking to a lot of people. I don't
> know if she learned more, but she talks to more people.
> That was her only problem.

Margaret also thought that I had learned something from the program:

> Maybe that we're not all stupid...maybe we're a little
> smarter than you thought we would be, have more ideas.
> Most times grown-ups don't think we have any opinions
> of our own.

Tutoring seems to have given Margaret an opportunity to develop friendships with her pupils and to exercise the considerable talents she possesses. But for Margaret there was no carryover of the tutoring role to classroom behavior. She talked much more in tutoring, but she remained very quiet in class. Tutoring seemed to have no impact on her role as a learner in the classroom. She felt she could understand the teacher's

point of view better than she had before and she had a clearer idea of

the kind of teacher she would want to have. The program affected her views

of teaching, but not her behavior as a pupil in her own classroom. She

also developed insight into the learning process and the need for a child

to take initiative as a learner.

> Sometimes you have to wait with them because they
> wouldn't know what to do and they just sit there
> and pout and you have to kind of help them, but
> you can't always help them, you've got to let
> them think by themselves so that they'll know
> what to do by their own self...they have to learn.

Margaret had reached stage six--becoming self aware and more conscious
of the teacher role--and she was able to apply this knowledge in her work
with Melinda. Her teacher's style and the traditional atmosphere of the
school made it impossible to do this back in her own classroom. Most im-
portant at this stage is that Margaret's self concept had changed and been
strengthened by her success in establishing with Melinda the warm personal
relationship that she wanted with her own teachers.

Ericson has described the period of seven to eleven as the age for trying

on roles. Ericson refers to a "sense of industry" during this latency period,

and White (1961, p. 138) contends that "during latency the chief developments

are in the sphere of competence." He further elaborates on Erikson's theory:

> The child reaches a point where he is no longer
> satisfied with just play and make-believe. In line
> with his interest in becoming an adult, he needs to
> feel useful and to be able to make things and deal
> with things that have significance in the adult
> world....His efforts may be enhanced by "positive

> identification with those who know things and know
> how to *do* things."   The danger lies in the possi-
> bility that success will prove to be elusive and
> social encouragement too weak, in which case the
> legacy of the stage may be a lasting sense of
> inadequacy and inferiority.   (p. 129)

This age, then, represents a period of great potential for the development

of competence or for the developemnt of a sense of inferiority.   The challenge

is to maximize the opportunities for children to become successful teachers.

One path to competence is through the adoption of an adult role such as

teacher.

Implications for the Role of Supervisor

Some children, like some adults, take naturally to teaching.   Like

Margaret they seem to possess a personality, imagination, ability to

connect with pupils, and skills up her sleeve that good teachers usually

have.   Others, like Eric, don't readily adopt the role of teacher.   He was

motivated, he cared very much what he was doing, and he wanted to help his

pupil, but he lacked the skills needed to teach and the program did not give

him the support he needed.   The question now becomes, what role can a

supervisor take to help these tutors who need it to learn the steps of

cross-age teaching?

1.   *Establishing a sense of competence.*

It is clear that attitudes toward teaching and learning before tutoring

have something to do with the way a tutor approaches the role of teacher.

The supervisor should find out a potential tutor's concept of a good teacher

and how he best likes to learn before the tutoring program begins.   This

knowledge can help you tailor the intervention to individual tutors.

The supervisor's role at this initial stage is to identify the strengths of the tutor and legitimate the tutor's use of his own competences--even if the tutor thinks this is inappropriate. Eric, for instance, might have been counseled to teach about baseball. He would have to be persuaded that baseball--a non-school subject--would be a valid topic to teach and he would need techniques to teach it.

2. *Contacting the child's interests.*

The role of the supervisor is to help the tutor find out what the pupil is interested in or what his particular needs are, and then to provide concrete ways that the tutor's strengths and competencies can be directed toward helping the child.

3. *Drawing on resources to expand the child's interests.*

When Eric found out that Benjy wanted to learn about butterflies, the program failed to provide him with any concrete suggestions. Here the supervisor could have suggested that Eric get butterfly pictures or books from the library, get materials from home, and plan a coherent unit around this one particular interest. The supervisor also should have provided particular suggestions on *how* to teach the subject.

4. *Recognizing and coping with the end of an activity.*

Having tutors write an evaluation after each lesson, including how they felt about the day, can help make clear to them how things are going, their own feelings about whether the pupil is bored, and whether they think it is time for a change. Weekly discussions among tutors can also help.

5. *Reciprocating Expectations.*

The supervisor can help the tutor voice his own expectations of
his pupil and point out behaviors, comments, gestures, etc., on the
part of the tutee that indicate the child's expectations. It is impor-
tant, too, that the supervisor act as a role model for the tutor, so
the tutors can learn new techniques--particularly if they have a limited
repertoire of teaching behaviors.

6. *Becoming self-aware; more conscious of the role.*

A tutor needs a chance to talk about how the experience of tutoring
has effected him, how he thinks he might have changed, what he learned about
teaching and himself.

The results of the second-year program indicated that tutors felt
mastery over subject matter ("I didn't understand what I was learning until
I started to teach. I learned something about something I didn't know there
was.") and over their own capacities for self-directed learning. ("If a
real teacher teaches her pupils with geography, you couldn't go ahead in
geography. But if you were tutoring somebody, you could go ahead in things
that you could learn more about.") The tutors also learned particular skills
and abilities associated with the teacher role. "I can work with little kids"
and "I learned how well I can teach" and "I understood more about being a
pupil" were typical responses.

The tutors felt their pupils improved in mathematical and reading skills
and had learned new content areas, such as the way people live in Japan, the
life style of fishes, how seeds grow into plants. The second graders also

had a chance to do more creative writing than in their regular class. A few tutors felt that their pupils had learned insights into themselves and other people during the tutoring sessions, for example, one learned how to deal with failure: "She learned that...it was nothing to cry about because everybody makes mistakes."

With an understanding of the stages that children go through in learning to teach, and with an intervention based on those steps, the program was able to help more tutors successfully adopt the role of teacher and feel more competent in the arena of teaching and learning.

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